

**DIVERSITY WITHIN FEMINIST
DISCOURSES IN TURKEY SINCE
1990S: THE CASE OF PAZARTESI
AND ROZA JOURNALS**

Thesis submitted to the

Institute of Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Political Science and Public Administration

by

Ziynet Seda ÖZCAN

Fatih University

April 2011

© Ziynet Seda ÖZCAN

All Rights Reserved, 2011

For my mom: she is the one who loves and supports me in her all life

APPROVAL PAGE

Student : Ziyet Seda ÖZCAN
Institute : Institute of Social Sciences
Department : Political Science and Public Administration
Thesis Subject : Diversity within Feminist Discourses In Turkey Since 1990s:
The Case Of Pazartesi and Roza Journals
Thesis Date : April 2011

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

Assist. Prof. Dr. Şammas SALUR
Head of Department

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

Prof. Dr. Ömer ÇAHA
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Ömer ÇAHA
Prof. Dr. M. Lutfullah KARAMAN
Assist. Prof. Dr. Şammas SALUR

It is approved that this thesis has been written in compliance with the formatting rules laid down by the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences.

Assoc. Prof. Mehmet KARAKUYU
Director

AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:
 - i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
 - ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

Ziynet Seda ÖZCAN

April, 2011

ABSTRACT

Ziynet Seda ÖZCAN

April 2011

Feminist movement constructs its position in the periphery to challenge the central position of male power and to reach emancipation of women. The movement has gone through a certain transformation as manifested by the first wave, second wave and third wave feminism, which varies from country to country with respect to the special structure, history, experience, traditions and customs of that country. This thesis focuses specifically on feminism in Turkey since 1990s in the light of third wave feminism. The aim of this thesis is to show the diversities of feminist discourses on the basis of the discourses of Pazartesi and Roza journals from 1990s. While Pazartesi is published by mainstream feminists from Turkey and can be considered as an example of the transformation of feminism in Turkey, Roza as a Kurdish feminist journal puts distance with Turkish feminism as it establishes its own feminism in the framework of identity politics. This work analyzes how these journals identified their feminist approaches and their identity under the third wave feminism and tries to show the diversities of feminist discourses in Turkey since 1990s.

Key words: Black feminism, third wave feminism, identity, ethnicity, motherhood, body politics, family, birth control, Kurdish feminism, Turkish feminism.

KISA ÖZET

Ziynet Seda ÖZCAN

April 2011

Feminist hareket pozisyonu çevrede inşa ederek erkek egemen güce karşı çıkmakta ve kadının özgürleşmesini hedeflemektedir. Feminist hareket birinci, ikinci ve üçüncü dalga şeklinde dönüşümler yaşanmıştır. Fakat bu dönüşümler ülkenin yapısı, tarihi-tecrübeleri, gelenekleri- görenekleri doğrultusunda ülkeden ülkeye değişiklik göstermektedir. Bu tez spesifik olarak üçüncü dalga feminizm ışığında 1990'lar Türkiye'sindeki feminizme odaklanacaktır. Tezin amacı 1990'lardaki dergilerden Pazartesi ve Roza'nın söylemleri temel alınarak, Türkiye'deki feminist söylemlerdeki farklılaşmaları göstermektedir. Pazartesi ana akım feministler tarafından yayımlanmıştır. Ve Pazartesi Türkiye'nin feminist tarihi devamı olarak farz edilerek, Türkiye'deki feminizm değişimin örneği olarak değerlendirilebilir. Roza ise Kürt feminist dergisi olarak Türk feminizmine mesafe koyarak, kimlik politikası çerçevesinde kendi feminizmini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Böylece üçüncü dalga feminizm göre bu dergilerin feminist yaklaşımlarının ve kimliklerin nasıl tanımladığı gösterilerek 1990'lardan itibaren Türkiye'deki feminist söylemdeki farklılaşmalar tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyah Feminizm, üçüncü dalga feminizm, kimlik, etnisite, annelik, beden politikası, aile, doğum kontrol, Kürt Feminizmi, Türk Feminizmi.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL PAGE.....	III
AUTHOR DECLARATION	IV
ABSTRACT.....	V
KISA ÖZET	VI
LIST OF TABLE.....	VII
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	X
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	XI
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I: FEMINISM FROM FIRST WAVE TO THIRD WAVE AND POST FEMINISM.....	9
1.1. The First Wave Feminism: The Struggle for getting Equality with men	10
1.2. Second Wave Feminism: From Equality to Diversity and Emancipation	13
1.2.1. Cultural and Eco Feminism.....	14
1.2.2. Marxist Feminism.....	15
1.2.3. Radical Feminism.....	16
1.2.4. Socialist Feminism	19
1.2.5. Psychoanalytic Feminism.....	20
1.2.6. Existentialist Feminism	22
1.3. Third Wave Feminism: Claim on the Contextual Oppression of Women.....	24
1.3.1. Black Feminism.....	30
1.4. Post Feminism	33

CHAPTER II: THE FEMINIST APPROACH AND IDENTITY	
POLITICS IN PAZARTESI	36
2.1. The Feminist Approach of Pazartesi	40
2.1.1. The Body Politics in Pazartesi	46
2.1.2. Motherhood and Birth control in Pazartesi.....	48
2.1.3. The Family Politics in Pazartesi	51
2.2. The Conflict Between Gender and Political Identity of Pazartesi.....	52
2.3. The Approach of Pazartesi to Kurdish Women and Islamic Women ...	56
2.3.1. The Approach of Pazartesi to Kurdish Women.....	57
2.3.2. The Approach of Pazartesi to Islamic Women	61
2.4. The Stance of Pazartesi to the State	65
2.4.1. Woman’s Organizations and Portraits of Woman in Pazartesi	68
CHAPTER III: FEMINIST APPROACH AND KURDISH	
IDENTITY IN ROZA	73
3.1. The Feminist Identity in Roza	75
3.1.1. The Body Politics of Roza: Rape Culture and Honor Killing	85
3.1.2. Motherhood-Family-Birth Control in Roza	88
3.2. Roza and Ethnicity: The struggle for Kurdish Identity	91
3.2.1. Roza and Kurdish Woman’s Organizations	94
3.2.2. Kurdish Woman’s Portraits Presented by Roza.....	97
3.2.3. The Struggle of Roza for Mother Tongue in Daily life and in Education	99
CHAPTER IV: THE COMPARISON OF PAZARTESI AND	
ROZA IN RESPECT TO THE FEMINIST APPROACH AND	
IDENTITY POLITICS	104
4.1. Diverse Feminism in Pazartesi and Roza	104
4.1.1. The Body Politics in Pazartesi and Roza.....	107
4.1.2. Motherhood-Birth Control-Family Pazartesi and Roza	109

4.2. The Identity Politics: From Single Identity to Dual Identities?	112
4.2.1. Kurdish Language as Mother Tongue in Daily life and Education in Pazartesi and Roza	115
4.2.2. The Approach of Pazartesi and Roza to Islamic Women.....	117
4.2.3. The Approach of Pazartesi and Roza to The State	120
CONCLUSION	124
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	128

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AK-DER : Ayrımcılığa Karşı Kadın Hakları Derneği (Women Rights Association against Discrimination)
- CHP : Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People Party)
- ÇATOM : Çok Amaçlı Toplum Merkezi (Multi Purpose Community Center)
- ÇYDD : Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (The Association in Support of Contemporary Living)
- DDKAD : Devrimci Demokrat Kadınlar Derneği (Revolutionary Democrat Women's Association)
- HADEP : Devrimci İşçi Sendikası Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Revolutionary Worker's Trade Union)
- KSSGM : Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü (The Directorate General on Status of Women)
- KADAV : Kürt Kadınları Dayanışma Vakfı (The Association of Kurdish Women's Solidarity)
- KA-DER : Kadın Adayları Destekleme ve Eğitim Derneği (The Policy of the Association for Support and Training of Women Candidates)
- KA-MER : Diyarbakır Kadın Merkezi (Women's Center in Diyarbakır)
- MHP : Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (National Action Party)
- ÖDP : Özgürlük Ve Dayanışma Partisi (Freedom and Democracy Party)
- RP : Refah Partisi (Welfare Party)
- TKB : Türk Kadınlar Birliği (The Unity of Turkish Women)
- TKV : Türk Kadınlar Vakfı (Turkish Women's Foundation)
- YAZKO : Yazarlar ve Çevirmenler Kooperatifi (Cooperative of Writers and Translators)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My thanks and appreciation to Prof. Dr. Ömer Çaha for persevering with me as my advisor throughout the time it took me to complete this study and write this thesis. I have been indebted to him for his support.

I would like to thank deeply to Assist. Prof. Dr. Şammas Salur and Prof. Dr. Lutfullah Karaman due to their valuable advises and supports during the thesis defense.

I am grateful as well to my mother who encouraged me to finish my thesis and provide lovely environment all minutes of this study. And without her, it is impossible to continue to my thesis.

I need to thank for the support and advice of Özge Yağış who motivated me and contributed to draw the structure of my thesis. Especially I am so thankful Tuba Kibar who helped me with the challenging questions.

I would like to thanks librarians of Fatih University for assisting to reach the resources which I used for my thesis.

It is a pleasure to thank the many people who I could not remember and made this thesis possible.

INTRODUCTION

As it is well known identity is constructed on the basis of the *other's* identity. Abstract identity is transformed into concrete identity through symbols, myths and common experience. Concrete identity can be separated as center and periphery within the framework of both identities (we) and counter identity (others). For example West- East, nation - ethnicity, male–female are domains that are in effect within the dichotomy of center and periphery. When center identities feel threatened, they try to dominate the identities of the periphery. From this point of view, feminism can be regarded as a movement which orients its direction towards the position of male sovereignty in the center and as such feminism can be constructed in the periphery to challenge the center.

Regarding the history of feminism in Turkey, state building projects had an impact over women during the process of nationalization. Granting rights to women can be interpreted on the basis of preservation of power of center against the periphery. In this phase, the state controlled all power that can be in opposition to it as an alternative. Women were controlled by the state in order to present a specific image of the country as the teacher and mother of nation on the principle of reforms but this also prevented the independent woman's movement from coming into existence. Women in nation state and ethnic movements continue to be mothers of ethnicity and representatives of ethnic culture. It can be said that national project and ethnic movement draws a certain type of gender roles. For the success of the movement or the project, women are pushed inside of the movement for their ability at mobilization as if acting as human resources for the movement. They provide the movement with the basic needs, either in the front lines or behind while they are promised freedom. After the success of the state building project, the women are expected to return to their reproduction- maternal role while they continue to be represented as the image by the state, which can be interpreted as the boundaries defined by the state building project. Women have been charming objects due to

their role in triggering society to increase mobility and performance to obtain success.

Both national and ethnic movements oriented towards women who have a given identity in regard to the structure of nationalism. On the other hand, the participation of women in the movement is realized with the promise of freedom, liberty and equality. For instance, these women who are active in the struggle can be more free as they achieve independence from the authority of men. Or women are portrayed as the mothers of the nation which enabled their commitment to their nation or ethnicity meaning sending their children to war, which results in their identification with the nation or ethnicity. This is true when state represents masculinity whilst territory and the land are identified with femininity. Analogy between woman and territory / between nation and family has an effect over the status and image of women.¹ For example, women are regarded as “guardians of their culture, bodyguards of national collectives”.² These women’s roles are defined as pillars of the society. Yet, the limits of a women’s activity are determined on the basis of policy of the nation state building and national movement. Therefore the conditions of the existence of women in private and public space are blurred, which is influenced by ethnic-political boundaries.³ If state draws a certain type of borders in the framework of nationalism, there will always be some groups which stay outside of this circle. Despite the differences in the gender policy of the state, different groups are assumed under a single nation and a single unit under citizenship. Citizenship, which the constitution defines, articulates the relation between different groups and the state. One thing to consider is that though the state has a heterogeneous structure, it prioritizes the group which constitutes the core element of the state and implements policies to favor this group, which is called, “gardener state practice” by Zygmunt Bauman. This means that as the state works to increase the number of the flowers, it tends to mow the crabgrass.⁴ On the other

¹ Joane Nagel, “Erkeklik ve Milliyetçilik: Ulusun inşasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik”, in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşegül Altınay, trans. Aksu Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000), 84.

² Nira Yuval-Davis & Pnina Werbner, “Introduction: Women And New Discourse of Citizenship”, in *Women, Citizenship And Difference*, eds. Nira Yuval-Davis & Pnina Werbner, (London: Zed Press, 1999), 13.

³ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernlik ve Müphemlik*, trans. İsmail Türkmen, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2003), 42.

hand, the micro level groups, which are located in the peripheries, continue to struggle with the state against its assimilation policies.

Independent feminist movement started during the last period of the Ottoman Empire. After the foundation of the Republic, it challenged Turkish Republic to obtain political rights until 1935.⁵ So Ottoman activist women in the early period of Turkish Republic persisted to struggle with the state in the context of political rights. In spite of the lack of political rights of women, they founded Women 'People Party (*Kadınlar Halk Fırkası*) under the leadership of Nezihe Muhittin even before Terakki Perver Fırkası. This attempt of women faced objections from the official ideology and as a result Women' People Party was dissolved. Then, the Union of Turkish Women was founded in order to have political rights. However the state did not welcome these women who were considered to be outside of control and they were pressured by the state to change the structure of this association in the direction of charity. After obtaining political rights, the Union of Turkish Women dissolved itself which indicated the sleep of feminist movement. Ömer Çaha expressed that the reasons of the dissolution of The Union of Turkish Women were the stance of women towards the women's problem is derived from the structure of the Ottoman Empire and secondly the pressures from the ruling elite of Turkish Republic.⁶ Women as Republicans started to serve official ideology and its needs⁷ as 'patriotic genderless citizens'.⁸ On the other hand, it should be noted that education and suffrage rights of women were given with the modernization –westernization process.⁹ Here the aim of the state can be examined in two ways. On one side, the image of the state depends on the image of women, which is the measure of modernization and civilization-Westernization and it can veil the one party system of Turkey and the image of despotism. On the other side, the attempt was to obtain the loyalty of women to Kemalist reforms and use them as a reserve army for the regime. Therefore, the state tried to create a certain type of women in order to spread the

⁵Ömer Çaha, "Türkiye'de Kadının Hareketinin Tarihi: Değişen Bir Şey Var Mı?", in Kadın *Bianeli Çerçevesinde Türkiye'de Kadın ve Sivil Toplum*, (İstanbul, March 2001), pp. 7-8; See also Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2003).

⁶ Ömer Çaha, "Türkiye'de Kadın Hareketi ve Feminin Sivil Toplumun Gelişimi?", *Kadın Çalışmaları Dergisi* 3, no. 1, (April 2007): 1-20.

⁷Çaha, "Türkiye'de Kadının Hareketinin Tarihi: Değişen Bir Şey Var Mı?", 8.

⁸ Çaha, "Türkiye'de Kadın Hareketi ve Feminin Sivil Toplumun Gelişimi?" 5.

⁹ Nermin Abadan Unat, "Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Kadını", in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat, (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1979), 14.

official ideology. There is one type of image that depicts the women who appear in public space and they are shown to be liberated thanks to the Kemalist reforms. According to this, responsibilities of the Republican women are not only to protect the honor of the nation but also to represent symbols of modernization and westernization via asexual teachers.¹⁰ So republican women worked for Kemalist reforms and their roles as women were defined by the nation state's "needs". And the mobilization of women was allowed with regard to national interest.¹¹

The 1970s are a key period when we consider that women who were part of the leftist movement obtained woman's consciousness through active appearance in public space to challenge the state and its official ideology. Women of the 1970s were considered as rebellious women who rejected the role given by the Kemalist reforms. But as Çaha expressed the image of women in the socialist movement was framed around the concept of *asexual bacı*. So, women were again on the street within the socialist movement without any consideration of their gender.

1980s in Turkey is a period during whose economy is transformed from import substitution to the export substitution, which allowed the emergence of different groups from the periphery to challenge the strong position of the state which had the power at the center to allocate resources to other groups. This development helped the appearance of diversities in the public space. State's control mechanisms effective in the private and public sphere were challenged by different social movements and NGOs. The feminist movement can be considered among these social movements. In other words, the feminist movement is awoken from its sleep and started to proclaim the Republic because independent women's movement emerged at the last period of Ottoman Empire.

The 1980s is an important period in the history of feminism in Turkey because since 1935 the women's movement had been asleep. But during 1980s, they came back as street movements. Women with their gender identity emerged in public space on behalf of themselves this time in the context of feminism. Under the slogan of

¹⁰ Yeşim Arat, "Women Prime Minister in Turkey? Did it matter", *Women & Politics* 19, no. 4 (1998): 1-22.

personal is political, women resisted their traditional roles, which are identified with motherhood, being the mother of nation, symbols of honor, patriarchal structure and private space and organized demonstrations against violence to women. On the other hand some socialist women, the 1980s were the period of transformation from socialist identity to feminist identity. Because like Kemalism, socialism has the same tendency to portray women as asexual in public space, which is defined by the term *gender blind*. So women created their own movement in order to focus only on women's "issues and problems". They demanded change in regulations about women and demanded the violence against women to stop. With this agenda, they organized many demonstrations. For example they forced the government to sign the Committee on The Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) In the 1980s, women were seen as a separate group of men and common oppression and womanhood are the common concepts of the feminist movement in Turkey.

The 1990s opened a new age of feminist movement in Turkey which includes the institutionalization process of feminist movements and project feminism. New women groups such as Islamic women and Kurdish women emerged to challenge the mainstream feminist movement to put forward other identities based on religion and ethnicity besides womanhood. They struggled against different kinds of oppression in the realm of identity politics in line with the motives of third wave feminism. Kurdish women identified themselves with their ethnic identity in 1980s but in 1990s the identity of femininity also came to prominence within Kurdish women's movement. So femininity and ethnicity forms the main structure of Kurdish woman's identity. This process might be explained through the appearance of women in public space such as the active participation of women in the political parties –exemplified by demonstrations and contact with international NGOs for human rights issues, democracy and minority rights that helped Kurdish women to develop woman's consciousness in response to political and social events. Kurdish women's struggle can be compared to the black women's struggle under the third wave feminism. While center belongs to men in the patriarchal structure, semi periphery belongs to women who are from the dominant culture, and Kurdish women take their place in the periphery.

¹¹ Deniz Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler*, (İstanbul:

In this thesis, I intend to examine the diversity within feminist discourses since 1990s in relation to third wave feminism by focusing on the cases of Pazartesi which was published by feminists from Turkish oriented women and the journal of Roza which was issued by Kurdish women. Pazartesi and Roza will be analyzed and compared from the perspective of identity politics and feminist approach. The methodology of this thesis is based on discourse analysis, which can be defined as an interdisciplinary study that connects humanities and social sciences.¹² Topics, photos and structure of writing in these journals are the guidelines of this analysis. The issues of Roza and Pazartesi are the main sources and I preferred to avoid secondary sources. The aim of this preference is to focus directly on the texts and conduct an analysis within these boundaries. In order to examine the discourses of these journals, I obtained 16 issues of Roza and 48 issues of Pazartesi. I was able to obtain seventy percent of the issues of Pazartesi published between 1995- 2001. The comparison of the issues between 1996-1999 was more significant but I also used a sampling method to obtain a general view of the discourse of Pazartesi for the issues after 2001, as the diversity of the discourses of these journals via numerous issues was intended to be shown. The texts of these journals are classified according to chosen topics which are held significant during the examination process and placed as part of the thesis. It was challenging to combine the ideas of articles in the journals because of different ranges of contents.

The outline of this thesis is as follows: In the first chapter, an overview of the theories of first, second, third wave feminism and post feminism will be presented in a detailed way. But third wave feminism constitutes the main theoretical focus of this thesis. This chapter includes a literature review conveying feminist theories which sheds light on the discourse of feminist journals of Pazartesi and Roza.

In the second chapter of this thesis, Pazartesi will be analyzed under two sections centering on feminist approach and identity politics. Firstly, Pazartesi will be introduced in a general way. Later, the feminist approach of Pazartesi will be discussed. Then under the section on the feminist approach in Pazartesi, issues such

Metis, 2007), 181.

¹² Teun A. Van Dijk, "Structures of News", *News as Discourse*, (Hove & London: Erlbaum Associates, 1988), 17.

as motherhood, family, birth control and body politics will be examined. After the discussion of the feminist approach of Pazartesi, identity politics will be taken into consideration as it is pertinent to the following discussions of the third chapter. Identity politics which addresses political and feminist identity of Pazartesi has impact over the stance of Pazartesi. In relation with identity politics, firstly the conflict between gender and political identity of Pazartesi will be discussed. And secondly approach of Pazartesi to Kurdish women, to Islamic women, to the state and women's organizations and portraits presented by Pazartesi will be examined. The reason is for the analysis of the representation of woman's organizations and portraits under the approach of Pazartesi to state is firstly there is a challenge to Kemalist ideology and state and secondly it shows the feminist resources and history particular to feminists in Turkey in relation to local feminism.

It should be mentioned that although the 1980s is noteworthy to understand the transition of feminist discourse and history, these periods are not analyzed under separate title in this thesis but discusses within the chapter on Pazartesi, which is an example of the continuity of feminist history in Turkey.

The third chapter is devoted to the analysis of Roza with respect to feminist approach and Kurdish identity. After a short introduction of Roza, the first section of the second chapter addresses feminist identity with a focus on black feminism under the third wave feminism. Then, issues of motherhood, family, birth control and body politics will be examined as subtitles of the feminist approach of Roza. The second section of the analysis of Roza consists of a discussion of ethnic identity. After the discussion on ethnic identity, the issue of education, mother tongue, Kurdish woman's organizations and portraits are going to be analyzed.

Fourth chapter consists of the comparison between Roza and Pazartesi. In the first part of this chapter which addresses feminist approach, the discourse of Roza and Pazartesi on motherhood, family, birth control, and body politics are compared. In the second part, which focuses on identity politics, the approach of Roza and Pazartesi to Kurdish as a mother tongue in daily life and in education, to the state and

to Islamic women will be examined. The section on identity politics also indicates the relation with third wave feminism which resists one type of identity. But on the other hand it embraces the notion of common oppression under sisterhood. This chapter is mostly built upon the resources that are used in the chapters on Roza and Pazartesi.

Finally, this work concludes with an overall evaluation of the previous chapters. It analyzes to what extent Pazartesi and Roza share the same views or differ on the issues mentioned above in the framework of feminist approach and identity politics under the third wave feminism.

CHAPTER I

FEMINISM FROM THE FIRST WAVE TO THE THIRD WAVE AND POST FEMINISM

Feminist movements and theories have an organic connection, that is to say a movement can lead to the emergence of a theory or a theory can have an impact on the emergence of a movement. For example, suffragist women sought to have education and political rights and their movement created what is called liberal feminism. The second example is not related to feminism but it illustrates how theory can be the core element in the emergence of a social movement. Karl Marx established his theory on the basis of his observation of the current political, economic and social life and leftist movements are rooted in Marxist theory. It is significant to take into consideration the relation between theory and social movement.

While feminist theory seeks to examine woman's oppression, feminist movement is directed at tackling the oppression of woman.¹³ Different feminist theories identify different causes for the oppression of women and accordingly they suggest different solutions. This chapter aims to review the transformation of feminist theories from the first wave to the third wave and post feminism. At the same time, this history shows us that different movements occurred at different times in different places. This indicates that feminism does not have a monolithic, fixed and static character but instead it embraces changeability and flexibility throughout time and space.

The aim of this chapter is to elaborate on the main focus of first, second, third wave feminism and post feminism which constitutes the theoretical frame of this thesis. It should be noted that third wave feminism is the main theory of this thesis

¹³ Metin Yüksel, *Diversifying Feminism in Turkey in the 1990s*, (M.A. diss., Bilkent University, 2003), 5.

and the first wave, second wave and post feminism are discussed in order to show the transformations in the history of feminism.

1.1. The First Wave Feminism: The Struggle for Getting Equality with Men

Universal human nature and reason were the central subjects of the Enlightenment period. Reason was regarded to be superior to emotions and as an aspect belonging to men while emotions were presented as a feature of women. During this period, debates revolved around whether women should have natural rights or not because it was pointed out that only men possessed reason. That is the subject of rights is a matter related to men and not women who were framed outside of reason. Starting from that point, the basic goals of the first wave feminism were to focus on political and civil rights within the framework of equal opportunity. The first wave feminists defended the universality of human nature and reason. Liberal feminists are representatives of the first wave feminism. Their motto was *equality for women*. They emphasized the fact that women have the same capacities as man, which can be revealed by social arrangements such as education.¹⁴ They were against the notion that there were intellectual differences between the sexes due to natural and biological reasons.¹⁵ Also they opposed the understanding that men are rational, objective and scientific; whereas women are seen as emotional, sensual, lacking reason, and as a barrier to social progress.¹⁶ These notions used to define masculinity and femininity.

Mary Wollstonecraft is a key figure of the first wave feminism. In her book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, she criticized married women from the bourgeoisie. She saw these women as “the feathered face”¹⁷ and said that “they plume themselves and stalk with mock majesty from perch to perch”. She regarded that these women were just concerned with their beauty¹⁸ and were educated only to

¹⁴ Judith Evans, *Feminist Theory Today: Introduction to Second Wave Feminism*, (London: Sage, 1998), 13.

¹⁵ June Hannam, *Feminism*, (Edinburgh: Pearson Longman, 2007), 18-19.

¹⁶ Id.

¹⁷ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, (Mineola N.Y&London: Dover Publication, 1996), 58.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

be good mothers and wives.¹⁹ According to her, the reason of the slavery of women is the education system which is constructed according to a specifically defined gender role. Hence, she attacked Rousseau's *Emile*, in which he suggested different kinds of education for men and women on the basis of gender. He wrote that a boy needs to develop his natural instinct for independence and freedom in line with the necessities of public life and citizenship, whereas education of women should be designed for her domestic role as mothers and carriers. Unlike Rousseau, for Wollstonecraft women are capable of reason, what they lack is the education to develop their character.

Another figure within the first wave feminism is John Stuart Mill. In his book *Subjection of Women*, Mill defended that women should have economic and political rights. He wrote that they had the right to follow their happiness. The virtues assigned to women actually prevent the development of their capacities and restrict them within the private space. He does not accept the notion that women lack reason and intellectual knowledge because of their nature. He argued for equal education, which would increase the intellectual level of women. However, Mill paradoxically suggested that women choose to marry with free will, so motherhood is the main duty of women whose will it is to marry. Harriet Taylor, like Mill, indicated the importance of education for the equality between women and men. She said that women not only would get the same education as men but this also would enable them to have the same civil rights and economic opportunities.²⁰ Taylor argued that the source of inequality between women and men was not related to biology; rather it was due to the general condition of the society.²¹ For her, life, liberty, pursuit of happiness are the basic rights, yet these don't only belong to one sex - men- and she declared that without the right to vote, it would be impossible to achieve justice.²² Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the representatives of the first wave feminism, also supported suffrage, property rights, birth control, and divorce law. In her book, the

¹⁹ Ibid., 42.

²⁰ Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Feminist Thought: More Comprehensive Introduction*, (the USA: West View Press 1998), 15.

²¹ Harriet Hardy Taylor, "Enfranchisement of Women", in *Essays on Sexual Equality: John Stuart Mill, Harriet Hardy & Taylor Mill*, ed. Alice S. Rossi, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 99.

²² Ibid., 97.

Woman's *Bible*, She indicated that natural rights are more superior than the Bible. She said that:

The first account dignifies woman as an important factor in the creation, equal in power and glory with man. The second makes her a mere afterthought. The world in good running order without her. The only reason for her advent being the solitude of man..... Accepting the view that man was prior to the creation, some Scriptural writer's say that as the woman was of the man, and therefore, her position should be one of subjection. Grant it, then as the historical fact is reversed in our day, and the man is now of the woman, shall his place be one of subjection? ²³

Stanton tried to show the equality between women and men as an essence of natural law. She criticized the view which regards women as a part of man, which therefore justifies the subordination of women. She also attacked the Bible because she believed that Bible constructs the power of men and their superiority against women. Therefore, Stanton firstly demanded the right to obtain women's sovereignty.

Susan Anthony, who focused on the legal system from the aspect of natural law, is also a significant figure within the first wave feminism. Anthony indicated that women as human beings shall have rights like men. ²⁴ Otherwise this brought the question "whether women are human beings or not". In line with that approach, she struggled with the constitution court in the USA in order to obtain legal rights of women.

Sarah Grimké, in her book *Letters on the Equality of Sexes*, showed that the disadvantage of women in education, marriage and economic status is not because of intellectual disability, but because of lack of equal opportunity in terms of access to resources.²⁵ She also pointed out the situation of black slave women who were forced to work and have sexual relations. Grimké took part in the antislavery movement. According to her, slavery damaged white women as well since the rapists were their husbands and their children.¹⁹

²³Elizabeth Stanton, "Chapter II: Comments on Genesis", *The Woman's Bible* - 1895/1898, p. 58, mybebook.com/download_free_ebook/... woman-s.../ebook23791.pdf, (accessed, May 15, 2010).

²⁴ Josephine Donovan, *Feminist Teori*, trans. Meltem Ağduk Gevrek, Fevziye Sayılan & Aksu Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009), 46-48.

Betty Friedan, author of *Feminist Mystique*, is also a representative of liberal feminism. She focused on the unhappiness of wealthy-white-suburban- middle class women and defended that working in public space provides the equality between men – women. Thus, she criticized the traditional role of women that tells them to stay at home and continue to play the role of mother. It can be said that Friedan opened the way to second wave feminism with her identification of women’s traditional role at home.

The first wave feminism was a struggle against legal discrimination which leads to the degradation of women into secondary position; against institutional discrimination which causes gender oriented recruitment- equal work but not equal payment- ; and social discrimination which reinforces differences between men and women.²⁶ Hence, the first wave feminists demanded citizenship, property rights, civil rights and political rights. They believed if women could represent themselves in public space, the equality between men and women can be realized. The first wave feminists do not suggest a solution through revolution or dissolution of the institution of family; they propose a solution realized by legal arrangements.

1.2. The Second Wave Feminism: From Equality to Diversity and Emancipation

The second wave feminism focused on the reasons behind the subordination of women and struggled against oppression. The starting point is mainly the private life. Unlike liberal feminists, who fought for equal rights especially in public space, second wave feminism struggles for the emancipation of women from all kinds of oppression.²⁷ In this part, eco -cultural feminism, socialist feminism, Marxist feminism, radical feminism, psychoanalytic feminism, and existentialist feminism will be examined with respect to the second wave feminism.

²⁵ Gerda Lerner, *The Feminist Thought of Sarah Grimké*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1998), 77-78.

²⁶ Andrea. Nye, *Feminist Theory and The Philosophies of Man*, (New York: Routledge, 1988), 39.

²⁷ Ömer Çaha, “Feminizm”, in *Siyaset*, ed. Mümtaz’er Türköne, (İstanbul: Opus, 2009), 560.

1.2.1. Cultural and Eco Feminism

Contrary to liberal feminism, cultural feminism tried to highlight the characteristics of women with an emphasis on differences. The character and values of women are identified with goodness. Cultural feminism made a connection with all women under the flag of sameness and located difference between man and woman, while liberal feminism tried to show the sameness of men and women. It can be said that cultural feminism made use of essentialist discourses as the acceptance of universality of womanhood suggests. Attributes associated with women such as care giving, nurturing, kindness, motherhood are praised while the values- character of men is excoriated. They supported gynocentrism, the superiority of women, and suggested that values of women are derogated by men.

Mary Daly, Andree Collard and Adrienne Rich are the main figures of cultural feminism. Mary Daly, in her book *Gyn-Ecology*, indicated that men have death power and women have life-giving power.²⁸ She made connections between women and ecology. She wrote that men use technology in order to control ecology and women and damages them at the same time. Daly praised the values which patriarchy regards as bad, such as “Hags are good”, with the belief that these values challenge patriarchy.²⁹ Andree Collard, author of *Rape of the Wild*, depicted men as the enemy of ecology and women. Collard shares Daly’s belief that there was matriarchate before patriarchy but it was overthrown by men. She argues that women should remember their “kinship, egalitarianism, nurturance-based values”.³⁰

A general outline of the approach of eco-feminists can be stated as

There is a close connection between the oppression of women and the oppression of nature.... Understanding the nature of this connection is necessary to adequately understand the oppression of women and the oppression of nature..... feminist theory must include an ecological perspective and solutions to ecological problems must include a feminist perspective.³¹

²⁸Tong,(1998), 257.

²⁹ Evans, 84-85.

³⁰ Andrée Collard and Joyce Contrucci, *Rape of Wild*, (London: Women’s Press, 1988), 8.

³¹ Karen J. Warren, “Feminism and Ecology: Making Connections”, *Environmental Ethic* 16, (Spring 1987): 3-20.

Hence they advocate a strong relation between women and nature. In the clash between women - nature versus men - culture, the first is superior.³² The features that are associated with women such as caring, nurturing, intuitiveness are not constructed by culture but rather they emerge from biological and psychological experience.³³

1.2.2. Marxist Feminism

The book of Friedrich Engels, *The origins of the Family, Private Property and State*, is the main source of Marxist feminists. Engels argued that, all women are subject to proletarianization within marriage and the family represents the capitalist system of relations.³⁴ Women's class status is established by economic determinism. According to this theory, within the family, male is seen as the bourgeoisie while the female is regarded as the proletariat.³⁵ Marxism repudiates essentially approaches to human nature and argues that there is dialectic between biology and human nature.³⁶ Marxist feminists maintain that there is no difference between a housewife and a prostitute because both are economically depended on men.³⁷ In a class based society, the opportunity of equality cannot be obtained. The reason behind the oppression of women is not based on gender but on the differences of classes.³⁸ In the socialist system, women will win their independence from their husbands as the institution of family which reinforces capitalism will no longer exist.

Historical material determinism which means a mode of production, determines the economic, political and social life, alienation to production processes and raising class consciousness are the concepts used by Marxist feminists to adapt feminism. They argue that women are confined to home by the capitalist system and the routine of household lead to the alienation of women. So women find no means

³² Tong, (1998), 255-256.

³³Id.

³⁴Imelda Whelehan, *Modern Feminist Thought: From Second Wave to 'Post -Feminism*, (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1999), 47.

³⁵ Friedrich, Engels *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, (New York: International Publishers, 1972), 137.

³⁶ Ibid., 46.

³⁷Nye, 39-41.

³⁸ D. B. Massey & et al., "Spatial division of labor in Practice", *Environmental and Planning A* 21, no. 5, (1989): 692.

and purpose in their lives. The alienation of women is stronger than men since they do not have the chance to participate in public life. There are two solutions to overcome the alienation - oppression of women and trivialization of housework: Socialization of domestic labor and wage for housework. Socialization of domestic labor helps the women who work in public industry as it proposes that they will not have to work both outside and at home. Wage for housework which is paid by the state will create surplus value for the household³⁹ and contribute to the development of class consciousness of the housewife. But in this case, wage for household also results in keeping women in the private space isolated from public space.⁴⁰

Although Marxist feminists tried to establish a relation with Marxism, gender issues and oppression of women are not topics taken into consideration by Marxism. Marxist approach puts forward the belief that in the socialist society, all oppression will be ended. Dissolution of family would remove the oppression of women. According to Alison Jaggar, Marxist feminists cannot eliminate the oppression of women by men as they consider the oppressor to be capitalism.⁴¹ She implies that Marxist theory cannot provide an understanding of the historical account of the sexual division labor.⁴² Therefore, Marxist feminism is criticized by radical and socialist feminists due to the constriction of their orientation as it stays within the boundary of capitalism.

1.2.3. Radical Feminism

According to radical feminism, the reason of the oppression of women is patriarchy as an ideology. Radical feminists, as opposed to the liberal feminists, argued that legal equality did not change the position of women in the first wave feminism and that Marxist feminists do not refer to the essence of oppression of women. Radical feminism within the women's liberation movements challenges both Marxism and liberalism due to these reasons. Radicals focused on personal life and

³⁹ Mariarosa Dalla Costa & Selma James, "Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community", in *The Power of Women and Supervision of Community*, eds. Mariarosa Dalla Costa & Selma James, (Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1972), 34.

⁴⁰ Barbara Bergmann, *The Economic Emergence of Women*, (New York: Basic Books, 1986), 212.

⁴¹ Rosemarie Putnam Tong, *Feminist Thought*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1998), 116.

consciousness raising with the slogan “personal is political”; while liberal feminists focused on social structure and the unequal position of women in public space. Radicals drew attention that magazines and advertisements re-create the image of women as wife and mother, presenting the main goal of woman is to do housework, taking care of their husband and children.

Radical feminists insisted on grass root activities and collective activism. We can assert that theory and practice have an organic relation in radical feminism. For Alison Jaggar gender is considered as a social construct, from which permeate all other forms of material and ideological oppression. They exposed the universality of female oppression under patriarchy. They maintained that for the realization of a female revolution, raising consciousness is crucial, so women must be aware of their passive role.⁴³ The inquiry into every single aspect of life is regarded as a basic target of radical feminists. They see lesbianism as a political act since sexual relation is considered as a power relation and another area of male sovereignty. Within that power relation, the image of women is passive and masochist while men are active and sadist.⁴⁴ Radical feminism views pornography as a kind of power relation to show the superiority of men over women. They argue that there is a direct relation between images of women and sexual violence, which leads to the justification of the subordination of women.⁴⁵

Shulamith Firestone, in her book *Dialectic Sex*, argued that what determines history is not mode of production but rather patriarchy; that is the reproduction process. By this, she meant that the real separation of class is between women and men and not between worker and bourgeoisie.⁴⁶ Women must capture the instrument of reproduction technology through ideological revolution, which will result in the removal of sexual roles. She says patriarchy exploits women’s biological capacity. Hence, it is suggested that the biological bond between mother and child should be

⁴² Alison M. Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, (the USA: Rowman & Littlefield Press, 1983), 72.

⁴³ Robin Morgan, *Sisterhood is Powerful: an Anthology of Writing from Women’s Liberation Movement*, (New York: Vintage Book, 1970), 1.

⁴⁴ J. Grant, *Fundamental Feminism: Contesting the Core Concept of Feminist Theory*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), 24.

⁴⁵ Catharine A. MacKinnon, “Francis Biddle’s Sister: Pornography, Civil Rights, and Speech”, in *Feminism Unmodified: Discourse on Life and Law*, (the USA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 176.

⁴⁶ Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), 41.

eliminated through socializing child care and domestic arrangements. She regards women's capacity to reproduce as the main cause of oppression. Marriage, family and motherhood are perceived as institutions which cause the subordination of women that need to be removed.

Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* is one of the main resources of radical feminism and the author indicates that personal lives are affected by patriarchy and the politics of the state which politicizes the private life.⁴⁷ She says sex roles, masculinity and femininity are determined by the needs and values of the patriarchal system. Hence, the male is endowed with aggression, intelligence, force, efficacy; while passivity, ignorance, docility, 'virtue' and ineffectuality refer to the female's character.⁴⁸ She pointed out that the role of the female is constructed on biological features of women which are used by male power for the oppression of women on the basis of limited capacities of women.⁴⁹ According to Mary Daly, similar to Millet, femininity is constructed; therefore the traditional traits of femininity require reinterpretation.⁵⁰ Millet defends androgyny which means having the best traits of both men and women, whereas Marilyn French's *Beyond the Power*, unlike Millet, draws attention to her ideal of androgyny which puts forth that women's features are better than men.⁵¹

Criticisms to radical feminism concentrates on two subjects; firstly on the reasons of oppression and secondly on the suggestion of biological revolution via control of reproduction technology that would prevent the use of women biology by patriarchy. Radical feminists are attacked for the oversimplification of female oppression, their perception of gender difference "as a universal and a historical system of male domination which make all men the enemy and women's subordination inevitable".⁵² The second criticism is related to the solution radical feminists put forth to provide freedom of women via reproduction control. This is criticized especially by cultural-eco feminists on the basis that women's power

⁴⁷ Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics*, (London: Virago, 1977), 24.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁹ *Id.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵¹ Tong, (1998), 55.

⁵² Whelehan, 85.

comes from their biology and that is the reason that men try to limit women's reproductive power.⁵³

1.2.4. Socialist Feminism

Socialist feminism combined the tenets of Marxist feminism and radical feminism but at the same time argued against the deficiency of both theories. They indicated the problem of Marxist feminism is "to fit in" Marxism'.⁵⁴ Their main criticism against Marxist feminists is that they regard capitalism and class difference as the sole reason of oppression of women and they focus mainly on the public space. And their criticism to radical feminism is about its emphasis on private space regardless of the public space unlike Marxist feminism and its understanding of patriarchy as the only factor in the universal subordination of women. Thus, socialist feminist approach brings together the issues of public-private space, processes of production-reproduction and patriarchy - capitalism.⁵⁵

The combination of patriarchy and capitalism is examined by socialist feminism in two ways. The first approach regards capitalism and patriarchy as two separate groups. Under this approach, one side focuses on the material aspect of patriarchy and the other side takes into consideration the non-material aspects of patriarchy. For Heidi Hartman, it is the material aspect of patriarchy that disables women's access to material resources and prevents their control of reproduction process.⁵⁶ On the other hand, Juliet Mitchell perceived capitalism as the material dimension and patriarchy as the non material structure which is more dominant in private space.⁵⁷ Family produces not only non material products like sexuality, reproduction and socialization of children but also material products that serve the functioning of economy for capitalism. Therefore, she regards family as an ideological and economic unit. Mitchell also underlined the fact that the dissolution of capitalism will only remove the economic side but patriarchy will prevail, which

⁵³ Mary O'Brien, *the Politics of Reproduction*, (Boston: Routhledge & Kegan Poul, 1981), 8.

⁵⁴ Evans, 109.

⁵⁵ Çaha, (2009), 567.

⁵⁶ Heidi Hartmann, "the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union", *Capital & Class* 3, no. 2, (Summer 1979): 1-33.

⁵⁷ Tong, (1998), 120.

can be exemplified by the socialist state. The second approach within socialist feminism considers patriarchy and capitalism to be a single system. Iris Young developed the theory that patriarchal elements are consequences of capitalism. She pointed out that the Marxist concept of class is not enough to explain the oppression of women, thus she employs the division of labor under the gender perspective.

Alison Jaggar, who is one of the representatives of socialist feminism, adapted the concept of alienation from Marxist terminology to the reproduction process. She expressed that woman was not free to decide how many children she wanted and was perceived only through the perspective of man. So for her, motherhood and sexuality are determined by both patriarchy and capitalism which leads to the alienation of woman to her own body.

As a result socialist feminism emerged to adapt the terminology of Marxist and radical feminism to explain the oppression of woman. Yet, both Marxist and radical feminism were criticized since for Marxist feminists oppression of women is created only by capitalism, while radicals found the reason of oppression only within patriarchy.

1.2.5. Psychoanalytic Feminism

Origins of psychoanalytic feminism are rooted in the theories of Sigmund Freud. According to Freud, Oedipus complex and castration are important steps to develop sexuality. In the Oedipus complex, the sexual attachment of the boy to the mother ends with the fear of castration as the boy thinks that his mother and sister do not have a penis because they were castrated by his father. After this process, boy starts to develop superego and internalizes the values of the father. On the other hand, the experience of Oedipus and castration complex for the girl is not the same with the boy. When the girl becomes aware of the fact that she does not have a penis, she switches her love from her mother to her father who has a penis. Then she wants to have a baby from her father, perceiving the baby as a penis substitute. However she cannot develop superego as castration complex is the main reason for its development. Freud says that the girl directs her love firstly to her father and then to other men and she derives sexual pleasure from feminine vagina, but not from

masculine clitoris; while the boy does not go through this transformation in the framework of sexual pleasure.⁵⁸ According to Freud, whereas men who have superego become a part of reason and stay in civilization; women- who do not develop castration complex- cannot internalize superego and thus they are identified with nature. Freud tried to explain how biology and psychology influence gender identities and gender roles with these theories.

Dinnerstein and Chodorow, who are psychoanalytic feminists, focused on pre-Oedipus complex and mother-children relation and they tend to find the reason of oppression of women in these areas. For Dinnerstein, child rearing makes women the target of all blames and all oppression.⁵⁹ Dinnerstein expressed that men, who depend on their mother during the pre-oedipal period try to control women-nature with the desire to demolish their dependency to the mother. On the other hand, women want to be controlled because they are afraid of their motherhood power.⁶⁰ The solution of Dinnerstein is that both women and men should take care of children -dual parenting- thereby responsibilities and blames belong to both father and mother. Nancy Chodorow rejected the idea that women should accept motherhood either because of biological reasons or social construction.⁶¹ For her, women choose motherhood unconsciously. In pre-Oedipal stage, boy perceives his body as different from his mother's and puts the distance with his mother in order to protect himself from his father's anger, while mother-daughter bond continue in a narcissistic way.⁶² Obsessive motherhood leads the daughter to be more dependent and emotional whereas the boy develops defensive traits and anger.⁶³ So for her, the reason of extreme motherhood is that the need of women is not met by her husband and as a result she devotes herself to her children. Chodorow, like Dinnerstein, suggested dual parenting.

⁵⁸ Tong, (1998), 134.

⁵⁹ Patricia Elliot, "Dorothy Dinnerstein and the Development of Narcissistic Discourse", From *Mastery Analysis: Theories of Gender in Psychoanalytic Feminism*, (the USA: Cornell University Press, 1991), 103.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 101- 102.

⁶¹ Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering*, (London: University of California Press, 1999), 13, 30.

⁶² Ibid., 92-93.

⁶³ Id.

The criticism to psychoanalytic feminism is that they only consider white, middle class-nuclear family, and that men also have the power of emotion in the family besides its being a social, economic and politic institution. These critics also ask why psychoanalytic feminists do not elaborate on the positive features of women. To conclude, the analysis of psychoanalytic feminism is attacked on the basis social construction, its focus on one type of family structure and situating male power in the family only as a social, political and economic institution.

1.2.6. Existentialist Feminism

Existentialist feminists advocate anti-essentialism on the subject of gender identity and adapts the concepts of “en soi” (being in itself) and “pour soi” (being for itself) from Sartre in order to unravel the underlying dynamics of woman’s oppression.⁶⁴

According to existentialist feminism, there is not a universal human nature separate from time and space. Human nature is derived from existence. Simon De Beauvoir, founder of existentialist feminism, started from the understanding that “being” is varied on the basis of consciousness to explain the woman's oppression.

She tried to understand why woman is the *second sex*. According to her, the body of a woman does not determine womanhood. She objected the theories which take their roots from biology because she thought that all features of woman are given by man in order to construct otherness.⁶⁵ Woman internalizes the sovereignty of man through the presentation of woman’s nature as a constant value.⁶⁶ In this case, woman is in the position of “en soi”, that is *being in itself* or the object. In other words a woman lives not for her but rather for men and thus is in the position of the object. Yet, De Beauvoir argued that if women use the ability of decision and choice, they can transform to “pour soi”; which means *being for itself*, that is being the subject and start to live for themselves. On the other hand, criticisms presented by

⁶⁴ Ursula Tidd, *Simone De Beauvoir*, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 25, 26, 27.

⁶⁵ Mary Jeanne Larrabee, “Existentialist Feminism”, ed. Lorraine Code, *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 187.

⁶⁶ Joseph Mahon, *The Second Sex: Woman as the Other, Existentialism, Feminism and Simon De Beauvoir*, (New York: Palgrave, 1997), 114.

eco-cultural feminist to existentialist feminism are based on the latter's rejection of woman's body and the reproduction ability of woman.⁶⁷ Unlike existentialist feminism, eco-cultural feminists defended that the power of women is derived from her nature-body. We can infer that while eco feminists presented their solution of emancipation of oppression by prioritizing woman's body; existentialist feminists refused to conceptualize the body within the framework of essentialism, and instead they put forth the ability of self decision and consciousness which addresses "pour soi" – (being for itself, being the subject) as the ways leading to the emancipation of women.

I tried to elaborate theories within the second wave of feminism in detail above. The main discussion of the second wave feminism revolves around the reasons of woman's oppression. It generally focused on the private space but this does not mean that the second wave feminists did not consider the importance of the public space. The reason why they directed their attention on private space is that the oppression of women started there which makes it politicized. In other words private space equals the bottom of the iceberg, while public space is considered to be the top of the iceberg. According to the second wave feminists, without deconstructing the bottom of the iceberg, revising the position of women in public space cannot bring emancipation of women.

Family, the construction of gender, motherhood, birth policy-abortion, housework, housewives, parenting, body, pornography, sexuality, the working conditions of women, the labor of women are the core concerns of the second wave feminism. The roles of woman are asserted as given by patriarchy and capitalism. They refused all these roles in political, economic and social life because all of them serve the oppression of women. In another words, the victimization of women is due to their gender and all the structures have to be destroyed to obtain the emancipation of women. They also illustrated the continuity of the inequalities between men and women in public space besides private space. Therefore, like the first wave feminists there is a struggle for equality as reflected for instance in *equal work and equal pay*.

⁶⁷ Jo Ann Pilardi, "Feminist Read The Second Sex", ed. Margaret A. Simons, *Feminist Interpretation of Simone De Beauvoir*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 33, 34, 35.

The second wave feminists regard women as different from men. Unlike the first wave feminists, manhood is not considered as something to be reached. So they do not attempt to show that women are the same with men. Instead, differences between man and woman are valued by the second wave feminists. Womanhood is omnipotent for them and all the values of men are attacked by the second wave feminists who tried to spread the values of woman as they defined them.

On the other hand, they tend to take up woman worldwide as a homogenous group. According to the second wave feminists, common oppression has to bound all women under the umbrella of sisterhood. Although they accept differences between men and women, this is not applied to the diversification within women. There are only two categories: womanhood and manhood. Actually, like the first wave feminists who emphasized sameness between men and women, second wave feminists insisted on sameness of women. They tried to produce models which embrace all women and portrayed a single type of women.

1.3. Third Wave Feminism: Claim on the Contextual Oppression of Women

Third wave feminism emerged to show that oppression of women does not work in just one way but rather in multiple ways. Stemming from the field of identity politics and challenging universal homogeneity, they advocated recognition of difference and diversity. Hence, the tendency of third wave feminism is to reject the perspective of dominant feminist discourse and the notion that locates the women in the periphery.⁶⁸

The approach of third wave feminist movement is to search for a redefinition of feminism rather than to be confined by the dominant feminist discourses.⁶⁹ So it encompasses environmentalism, anti-corporatism, human rights issues, and cultural

⁶⁸ Naz Rassool, "Fractured or flexible identities? Life histories of 'black' diasporic women in Britain", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997), 187.

⁶⁹ Carolyn Sorisio, "A Tale of Two Feminisms: Power and Victimization in Contemporary Feminist Debate", in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 136.

production⁷⁰ and opposes a single issue oriented movement. Meanwhile, third wave feminism as a movement contains traits of second wave feminism such as the critique of beauty, sexual abuse and power structure.⁷¹ Thus, it can be suggested that third wave feminism does not ignore second wave feminism exemplified by their slogan; “their struggle is still our struggle”.⁷² Whereas first and second wave feminist approach universalized the problems of women who are from different cultures, religions, classes and races;⁷³ third wave feminism which is constructed upon second wave underlines cultural-political differences such as differences in education, domestic violence, racism, and globalization.⁷⁴ In other words, this movement does not only belong to white- middle class women from the West but also includes colored, Islamic, third world women, too. Third wave feminism indicates differences between men and women but it also underlines differences amongst women.⁷⁵

Unlike second wave, third wave recognized diversity within women who support queer theory, cyber feminism, black feminism and cultural- popular feminism, hence identifying itself with not only one location but multiple locations as it is skeptical to universalization.⁷⁶ Their criticism to the first wave (abolition- voting rights: political-economic- civil rights) and second wave (gender) is that they do not represent all forms of women’s demands and oppression. The reaction to the first and second wave feminism is because of their marginalization of non-white

⁷⁰ Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, “ ‘It ‘s All about the Benjamins’: Economic Determinants of Third Wave Feminism in *the Unites States*”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis & Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 118.

⁷¹ Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, “Introduction”, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 3.

⁷² Deborah L. Siegel, “Reading between the Waves : Feminist Historiography in a ‘Post feminist’ Moment”, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 53.

⁷³ Gillian Howie & Ashley Touchert, Feminist Dissonance: The Logic of Late Feminism, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 46.

⁷⁴ Lise Shapiro Sanders, “ ‘Feminists Love Utopia’ Collaboration, Conflict and the Futures of Feminism”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 5.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

women which leads to the concept of otherness and this reaction makes visible varying shades of womanhood.⁷⁷

The main point of third wave is not to be confined by a singular concept of a *feminist*, but rather it accepts the plurality of *feminists*. In line with this, it gives opportunity to women to define themselves as feminist, womanist or pro-women.⁷⁸ For example, bell hooks, a representative of black feminism, says that black women do not put themselves in the category of feminists as they perceive that the term carries a middle class discourse of common oppression.⁷⁹ The same relation is valid for lesbians, women of color, poor women, and women from the working class who could not identify themselves with white middle class women's movement.

Nira Yuval Davis developed the concept of *transversal politics* to show the differences within women and to take into account their voices.⁸⁰ Her aim here is to criticize the essentialist notion of womanhood and the ignorance of other collective and individual identities. In this respect, she pointed out that under identity politics only the experiences of white-middle class women are homogenized through the process of consciousness raising.⁸¹ Similar to Davis, Cynthia Enloe commented that masculinity and femininity “has been created through specific decisions by specific people..... It required the daily exercise of power-domestic power, national power, and as we will see, international power.”⁸² Enloe is skeptical of the universalization of womanhood and manhood whose varied characteristics are derived from power relations.

⁷⁷Tali Edut, Dyann Logwood, Ophira Edut, “HUES Magazine: The Making of a Movement”, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 92-93.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁷⁹ bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, (Boston: South End, 1984), 5. The reason to lowercase of her name and surname is her chose.

⁸⁰ Nira Yuval Davis, *Gender and Nation*, (London: Sage, 1997), 125.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁸² Cynthia Enloe, “Gender Makes The World Go Round”, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, (University of California Press: 1989), 3.

Thus, third wave illustrates the refusal of fascist – monolithic movements⁸³ and tries to comprehend the power relations within and between women's movements, and also the transnational women experience.⁸⁴ In another words, third wave welcomed all kinds of products of difference within feminism. It gives top priority to include people of various genders, sexualities, nationalities and classes and combines equality and gender feminism.⁸⁵ Judith Butler, Morio Gatens, and Elisabeth Grosz put forward that “body has the same diversity as the social field..... The ways social forces reconfigure bodies are culturally informed”.⁸⁶ They are against the conceptualization of female-male bodies to establish a definition of women. For instance, during the 1990s, transgender feminism within third wave also argued that bodily differences are the basis of socially constructed hierarchies.⁸⁷ They denounced second wave as transphobic and for putting transgender in the category of gender identity disorder, psychopathology.⁸⁸ Transgender, which has a similar status to race and class, is considered not just related to sexual oppression and hierarchy but it is also about how the system creates multiple positions some of which are located in the center and which marginalizes certain identities.⁸⁹ It is concerned with how to see gender, sex and sexuality. Third wave feminism indicated that there is also a hierarchy within masculinity related to social power and gender, for instance in the positions of gay and black men.⁹⁰ Third wave presents that masculinity also fits into the feminist movement. Susan Douglas mentions the same experience among women. As she says, women grow up with a notion of female

⁸³ Leigh Shoemaker, “Part Animal, Part Machine: Self Definition, Rollins Style”, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 119.

⁸⁴ Anastasia Valassopoulos, “‘Also I Wanted So Much to Leave for the West’: Postcolonial Feminism Rides the Third Wave”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 207.

⁸⁵ Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, “Introduction”, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 8.

⁸⁶ Stone, 19.

⁸⁷ Susan Stryker, “Transgender Feminism: Queering the Woman Question”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 62.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁹⁰ Ana Marie Cox, Freya Johnson, Annalee Newitz & Jillian Sandell, Masculinity Without Men: Women Reconciling Feminism and Male Identification, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 180.

hierarchy in which some women – the wealthy, young, and beautiful are at the top of the pyramid while the poor, the dark skinned, ugly, old, and the fat are at the bottom.

Gloria Steinman blames white women from the middle class because “other women feel like a sitting dog being told to sit”.⁹¹ Hegemonic feminist structure of first wave and second wave implied that white feminism is at the top of the hierarchy via assimilation in the framework of universalism. That brings the issue of the superiority of gender over other identities which are seen as secondary, inferior, derivative and as traitors of the feminist cause.⁹² But the third wave insists on complex mechanisms of race, class and gender.⁹³ Class difference, racial diversity, multiplicity of sexual orientation is all indicators of different identity politics.⁹⁴ Within this context, Alice Walker uses the term *womanist* as “flowers of garden”, instead of “feminist”.⁹⁵ Third wave feminists open the door to women who call themselves non – feminist, who avoid *f* word, but who also support women’s rights.⁹⁶ Rebecca Walker draws attention to the inflexibility of second wave which led to the emergence of the split between *us* and *them*.⁹⁷ Third wave tries to reconcile the young generation whose problems are ignored within feminist movements and who do not like the image of feminists as man hating, fat, and no-fun lesbians.⁹⁸ So, it implies the rejection of feminist elitist approach and how feminist elite lost touch with the real problem of women.

The approach of third wave is anti-essentialist as we have mentioned before and they blame second wave to be essentialist and with identification of feminine

⁹¹ Gloria Steinem, “Foreword”, in *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Challenging the Face of Feminism*, ed. Rebecca Walker, (New York, Doubleday, 1995), xxii.

⁹² Mridula Nath Chakraborty, “Wa(i)ving It All Away: Producing Subject and Knowledge in Feminism of Colors”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 104-105.

⁹³ Sorisio, 143.

⁹⁴ Jane Spencer, “After words”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 298.

⁹⁵ Alice Walker, *In Search of Our Mothers’ Gardens: Womanist Prose*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983), Xi-Xii.

⁹⁶ Siegel, 63.

⁹⁷ Rebecca Walker, “Being Real: Introduction”, in *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism*, ed. Rebecca Walker, (New York: Anchor, 1995), xxix-xi.

⁹⁸ Melanie Waters, “Sexing It Up? Women, Pornography and Third Wave Feminism”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 258.

gender based on certain biological traits⁹⁹ and imposing a universally shared experience of women oppression.

Biology cannot be a common ground to base womanhood, because femininity is a cultural construct.¹⁰⁰ However, shared identity is necessary for collective action.¹⁰¹ So, one response to anti-essentialism is strategic essentialism to get political strategy with the purpose of collective action.¹⁰² One of the slogans of this perspective is sisterhood that establishes a global network through strategic essentialist policy. In this respect, some women and their problems became all women and all women's problem and strategic essentialism is criticized because it assumes that women have the same social positions, which ignores the different experiences of women.¹⁰³ Luce Irigaray says that:

The feminine Subject does not relate to the self, to other (s), to the world as masculine subjects do. This is not depend on bodily morphology and anatomy or social stereotypes, as many people imagine. Rather, it is a question of relational identity that precisely realizes the original connection between body and culture. These basic original givens determine a psychic and cultural identity peculiar to each sex, whatever could be the differences between a man and a woman.¹⁰⁴

Astrid Henry underlines solidarity instead of universalization of sisterhood, domination of one experience and life.¹⁰⁵ Also, sisterhood prevents us to see other forms of oppression like class, race, and homophobia.¹⁰⁶

To summarize, the multicultural aspect of third wave feminism challenges the Eurocentric voice and allow other voices. It includes all differences, diversities but

⁹⁹ Alison Stone, "On Genealogy of Women: A Defense of Anti Essentialism", in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 18.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 6.

¹⁰² Ibid., 20.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 21.

¹⁰⁴ Gillian Howie, "Interview with Luce Irigaray", eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 286.

¹⁰⁵ Astrid Henry, "Solidarity Sisterhood: Individualism Meets Collectivity in Feminism's Third Wave", ed. Jo Reger, *Different Wavelengths: Studies Contemporary Women's Movement*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 82.

¹⁰⁶ Sarisio, (1997),135.

does not totally refuse the first wave and second wave feminism. So, the aim of third wave feminism is to show the weak point of universalization and common oppression which put forth one type of woman's experience under sisterhood. From this point, they welcome all women worldwide with their experiences, diversities and differences.

Only black feminism will be referred to as a subtitle of third wave feminism because in the discussion on Roza, there will be references to black feminism in terms of the combined focus on ethnic and gender identity.

1.3.1. Black Feminism

Black Feminism is born against the hegemonic white ideology of feminism which ignores the existence of black women. Black women accept equality yet they do not want to participate in the movement because of the elitist and racist approach of white women which ignore the problems of black women.¹⁰⁷ In the name of women's liberation from biological essentialism, black feminists are suspicious of the idea of sisterhood because it evades the complexity of women experience and other forms of oppression women face.¹⁰⁸ In short, their criticism to white feminism is based on these ideas and its lack of touch with the culture of black women and women in the periphery.¹⁰⁹ For example, diasporic women tend to act in the direction of conformity because of their immigrant status and economic dependence on their husbands.¹¹⁰ Women refugees want an autonomous space and their voices to be heard in order to break from the patriarchal family and overcome economic, legal, and educational and language obstacles.¹¹¹ Third world women, black, diasporic immigrant, visible minority (white, non-white), ethnic, non-white women stayed outside of white feminism.¹¹² White women show themselves as more liberal and

¹⁰⁷ bell hooks, *Ain't A Woman, Black Women and Feminism*, (Boston: South East Press, 1999), 187, 189.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 190.

¹⁰⁹ Valerie A mos & Pratibha Parmar, "Challenging Imperial Feminism", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997), 54.

¹¹⁰ Magdalene Ang-Lygate, "Charting the spaces of (un)location: On theorizing Diaspora", ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 181.

¹¹¹ Pragna Patel, "Third wave feminism and black women's activism", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997), 256.

¹¹² Lygate, 170.

with a mission to enlighten society. And they criticize universal, Eurocentric approaches. Black feminism presents a triple oppression: race, gender, and class.¹¹³

bell hooks explains the situation of black women in these words:

Our silence was not a reaction against white women or solidarity of black patriarchy. Contemporary black women could not join white women to fight for women's rights as they do not share the same identity with them¹¹⁴

They are faced with racist and sexual oppression.¹¹⁵ Racism prevents the recognition of the sexual oppression of black women who are disappointed at not being seen as women. As they see it, white women think that their status will be damaged if they are regarded as equal to black women.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, black women have secondary position on the basis of sexual oppression as black men act in the framework of the same patriarchal values with white men, so racism cut the boundary between black men and white men but sexism brings them together.¹¹⁷

Another difference between black women and white women is that black women focused more on the necessities of daily life (food, clean environment, health) while white women try to protect status qua and think for the next generation.¹¹⁸ That results in a stronger gender division of labor force that oppresses not only black women but also "colored" women, refugee-immigrant women, as these women are seen to be naturally suitable for lower paid jobs such as cleaners and prostitutes.¹¹⁹ Black feminism indicated that black family is under the attack of racist individuals and the state.¹²⁰

According to black feminism, white men patriarchy has created its own social hierarchical order: center belongs to white men, while white women and sometimes

¹¹³ Hazel V. Carby, "white women listen: black feminism and the boundaries", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997), 45.

¹¹⁴ hooks, (1999), 1.

¹¹⁵ Id.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 130.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 95, 99.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 57.

¹¹⁹ Carby, 47, 49.

¹²⁰ Amos & Parmer, 60.

black men are located in the semi-periphery, and black women are at the bottom¹²¹ Therefore, the unequal position of blacks is not only based on agency but also institutional structure.¹²² This is the case for the black family which is under attack of western white ideology reflected with such practices as the policies on birth control and nuclear family being superior to the traditional family.¹²³ Also, black children's acquisition of gender identity is different from white children because they both learn about racism and class.¹²⁴ Hence black people have found themselves in a different social position, ethnicity, and class and ghettoized lifestyle and politics was shaped around individual experience.¹²⁵ Blacks are regarded as marginalized¹²⁶ but to underline the dynamics of this marginalization we can say that the patriarchal structure also has a racist character for black women. Black identity is not fixed but rather it is being shaped everyday at the intersection of culture, history and experience that is it is in the process of becoming.¹²⁷ For example, the term "black" is replaced with "Afro-American" in USA today; yet in Britain they are still regarded according to the color of their skin, their ex-colonial origin, and as not belonging to the community but having an alternative identity.¹²⁸ So whilst gender division is interpreted as a social construct and not biologically rooted, we should also say that race is constructed socially, too.¹²⁹ The point is that thinking of this process in terms of *becoming* is more meaningful than situating these subjects within the realm of *being*. Women in the periphery should construct a common ground to struggle with racist politics, which affect the lives of Muslim women, immigrant women and women with different ethnic identities.¹³⁰

Another criticism of black feminism revolves around the image of black women as super women (which relies on biology and asserts that black women have male power) who is independent, strong, fearless, single mother, who work both

¹²¹ hooks, (1999), 53.

¹²² Lygata, 174.

¹²³ Carby, 47.

¹²⁴ Ann Phoneix, "Theories of gender and black families", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997), 64-65.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

¹²⁶ Razia Aziz, "Feminism and the challenge of racism, deviance or difference", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997), 71.

¹²⁷ Naz Rassool, 189.

¹²⁸ Lygate, 171.

¹²⁹ Carby, 45.

¹³⁰ Aziz, 74.

inside the household and outside.¹³¹ They say that this image prevents people to see the economic, social and political problems of black women.¹³² The most excellent example of the super women image of black women is the matriarchal structure in the black family. The essence of matriarchal society is that women have control over family, state, and their body and there would be no discussion about the status of black women.¹³³ This superwoman image leads to the perception that black women already have power while the economic position of white women is just starting to develop.¹³⁴ However in reality, black men put black women in a subservient role and they are more suspicious of the work of black female outside as they fear that black women will take away the few jobs available.¹³⁵ Also another image within racism associates white women with goodness, with the value of being a mother- wife- lady whilst black women are still seen as evil, sinful, immoral, and sexually loose, which is used to justify rape to black women by white men.¹³⁶

Black feminism as a movement is constructed against white women, state policy and black men. It emphasizes sisterhood and struggles to prevent oppression which stems from ethnicity and class. Black women, who are located in the periphery, struggle against both the state and white men and women on the basis of ethnicity; they resist black men on the basis of womanhood. This duality is reflected in their discourse which combines ethnic identity and gender and it appeared as diversity within the feminist movement.

1.4. Post Feminism

Post feminism challenges defining certain types of ways to reach the aim of liberation. It can be connected to post modernism- which challenges modernism that proposes rigid criteria to gain success. According to post feminism, there are many ways for the emancipation of woman. Ethnocentric method of feminism is not

¹³¹ Tracey Reynolds, "(Mis)represent the black (super) woman", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997), 98.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 108.

¹³³ hook, (1999),c74.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 4,79.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 27, 31.

admitted in this world.¹³⁷ Grand narratives of feminism are considered as a trap for the appearance of different identities. Post feminism argued that it is wrong to draw boundaries between women; thereby it welcomed different voices and concerns, particularly feminist concerns.¹³⁸ Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray, and Helene Cixous, are among post feminists, and their work concentrated on deconstruction, difference and identity.¹³⁹ They deconstruct the essentialist discourse of gender and race and oppose the concept of *us*. It can be said that they are closer to individuality.¹⁴⁰

Post feminists suggest that feminism perceives identity politics as a threat that can result in the fragmentation of the movement. This is the tension between first wave/second wave feminism and post feminism. Post-feminism criticized the authoritative approach of mainstream feminist movement due to its exclusion of race, class and sexual choice. The essentialist view of feminism is under the attack of post feminism.¹⁴¹ This criticism of post feminism is represented by the discourse of third wave of feminism as well. Deconstruction of all the concepts, expansion of feminism to include men, the concern with popular culture are the tenets of post feminism which are severely criticized and which led to the slogan; “feminism is dead”.

In conclusion post feminism challenged the concepts of universalization, one authoritative way of emancipation and grand narratives. Instead, post feminism emphasizes respect to race, class and sexual choice. At this point, post feminism and third wave share the same believes yet post feminism went beyond and rejected all concepts of feminism, feminist theories, determined identities and gender.

Transformations in the history of feminism from the first wave to third wave feminism and post feminism have briefly touched upon above. I tried to elaborate more on third wave feminism and black feminism as a branch of it since Roza and Pazartesi will be discussed in this context. In the next chapter, I will focus on

¹³⁷ Whelehan, 195

¹³⁸ Amy Lind & Stephanie Bruzzy, “Post Feminism as the Next Stage of Feminism”, in *Battle Ground Women, Gender and Sexuality*, (The USA: Greenwood Publishing, 2008), 438.

¹³⁹ Sara Gamble, “Post Feminism”, in *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Post Feminism*, ed. Sara Gamble, (London: Routledge, 2006), 42.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁴¹ Stéphanie Genz, “Third Way: The Politics of Post Feminism”, *Feminist Theory* 7, no. 3, (1 December 2006): 333-353.

Pazartesi and examine how Pazartesi defines its feminist approach and identity politics.

CHAPTER II

THE FEMINIST APPROACH AND IDENTITY POLITICS IN PAZARTESI

Pazartesi is the first popular feminist magazine in Turkey.¹⁴² Its name come from Monday's meetings by feminists and the phrase "newspaper only for women" is derived from the name of a newspaper published in 1908.¹⁴³ In 1993, the founders of this magazine applied to the association of Fraunanstiftung (FAS) in order to receive financial support and their project was accepted in 1994.¹⁴⁴ Pazartesi, which can be considered as a product of the project of feminism¹⁴⁵ started its publishing life on 8 March 1995. It was published monthly but since 2006 it is published bimonthly. The women of Pazartesi were mainstream feminists from Turkey and they were a part of the 1980s' woman's movement. Writers of Pazartesi declared their aim as:

We do not have a boss and managers... we support everything if it is in the favor of women while we resist everything which is against women... we try to change laws, rules and customs which oppress women.... We challenge our private life and fate. To act together, to come together, we, as Pazartesi will do this.¹⁴⁶

Hence, Pazartesi underlined the function of integration with regard to a woman's consciousness. Pazartesi was built upon the need to publish women's news which cannot find representation in the media, or if it does, it is presented from the male perspective.¹⁴⁷ One of the main purposes is to analyze the third page of the

¹⁴² See also SatıAtakul, *A Popular Feminist Journal Experience: Women - Only Journal Pazartesi*, (M.A. diss., Ankara University, 2002).

¹⁴³ "Merhaba", *Pazartesi* 1, no. 1, (April, 1995).

¹⁴⁴ Filiz Koçali, "Kadınlara Mahsus Gazete: Pazartesi", *1990'larda Türkiye'de Feminizm*, eds. Aksu Bora & Asena Günel, (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2009), 75.

¹⁴⁵ 1990s are called 'project feminism' because feminist women prepared a project and applied to foreign associations in order to receive financial support.

¹⁴⁶ Koçali, (2009), 77.

¹⁴⁷ Id.

newspapers in the framework of woman's consciousness.¹⁴⁸ Also Pazartesi encouraged women to write in Pazartesi. Filiz Koçali underlined the success of Pazartesi, as articles of five hundred women were published in this journal until its 24th issue.¹⁴⁹

The direction of Pazartesi changed from a popular magazine to more theoretical grounds. But, transformation of theory into politics is underlined by Pazartesi at the same time. Peking conference, Women Marching in 2000, Peace Train, the Women's Conference in New York have all influenced the politics of Pazartesi to be more sensitive to the international issues. This approach establishes the flexible and open minded strategy of Pazartesi. Writers of Pazartesi draw a policy against discrimination based on race, nation and ethnicity but woman solidarity and woman cooperation has the precedence for them.

The founders of Pazartesi are Hülya Eralp, provided financial support from FAS and is the owner of Pazartesi, Ayşe Düzkan, Asuman Bayrak, Filiz Koçali, Gülnur Savran, Handan Koç, Nesrin Tura, Beril Eyüboğlu, Fadime Gök, Filiz Kerestecioğlu, Füsün Özlen, Meltem Ahıska, Nermin Coşkun, Nural Yasin and Yaprak Zihnioğlu. The first editor was Filiz Koçali. Then Ayşe Düzkan has worked as editor since 2000. And in 2006 the editor of Pazartesi was Beyhan Demir. During the process of the establishment of Pazartesi, it was planned that publishing council would be the powerful unit. However, editorial board came to be the more effective organ in practice.¹⁵⁰ Non-hierarchical structure and rotation were insisted on as the structural base of Pazartesi and it was decided that they would not organize women under Pazartesi, but rather contribute to women as they organize themselves.¹⁵¹ In this way, they could address a great number of women through populist publishing. After the separation of some women from Pazartesi, their target group was reidentified to encompass employed women, urban women, politicized activists

¹⁴⁸ "Merhaba", *Pazartesi* 19, (October 1996).

¹⁴⁹ Koçali, (2009), 84.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Filiz Koçali, "Pazartesi Dergisi (1995- 2000)", *Özgürlüğü Ararken*, ed. Devrim Çakır, (İstanbul: Amargi, 2005), 143.

women who meet emancipator ideologies and students.¹⁵² It can be said that they address women who have a feminist base.

Main themes of Pazartesi are rape, sexual abuse, war, marriage, family, body, love, globalization, domestic labor, employed women, sexuality, the impoverishment of women, violence to women, and presentation of women's organizations, journals, books, movies, exhibitions, conferences and demonstrations. Pazartesi has certain parts like the shame column, caricatures, “our relation”, man page, middle page, interviews, dabbler, women history, and current woman’s news in the world and from Turkey. Middle page can be identified as the consciousness raising process because five women shared their ideas and experiences according to selected topics such as fatness, virginity, divorced, motherhood, relations with partners...etc. Readers’ writings were also published in Pazartesi. Correspondingly, readers’ meetings were organized. Writers of Pazartesi and readers came together and discussed the published articles. According to Koçali, the readers constituted the third ring of Pazartesi. The second ring was the feminists, and the first ring was the authors.¹⁵³ Another part of Pazartesi is the ideas of great Turkish thinkers on women. In this part, the ways how women are humiliated are depicted. Also, a page of Pazartesi is devoted to the remembrance of famous women from Turkey and around the world. In the first issues of Pazartesi, there was a part called “what would you do, if you were”. Here the aim is to provide a connection between women on the basis of feminist consciousness. With the 63th issue, feminist encyclopedia was introduced to the readers. The reason for the Feminist Encyclopedia is explained as “we want a resource which will enlighten the truth in the favor of the oppressed sex”.¹⁵⁴ It is a response to remove sexist discourse in social, economic and political life.¹⁵⁵

Pazartesi was a tabloid. Since November 2003, it changed from a tabloid to a journal. Its language and headlines are provocative such as “Does State-Father punish or love”, “Housework does not end”, “Which penalty can quench our anger”, “Orgasm is not given but it is taken”. The cover page of Pazartesi includes wide range of woman portraits on the basis of current news and statements of women.

¹⁵² Yaprak Zihnioğlu, “Daha Politik Bir Pazartesi İçin”, *Pazartesi* 60, (March 2000): 29.

¹⁵³ Koçali, (2009), 80.

¹⁵⁴ *Pazartesi* 63, (June 2000).

Although for a period (from the beginning of 2002 to the end of 2003) Pazartesi stopped being published, it survived 11 years (1995-2007) which can be called as the longest period of feminist journalism.¹⁵⁶ Frauanstiftung fund was turned over to Henrich Böll foundation in 1997, Pazartesi's fund was cut off and it led to the break in publication. Pazartesi explains that the reason was the publication of the pictures from the operations in prisons and the life of Ulrike Meinhof.¹⁵⁷ Afterwards, Pazartesi started to obtain financial support from Global Fund for Woman.

In 2000, columnists Gülnur Savran, Nesrin Tura, Filiz Koçali, Filiz Kerestecioğlu and Fadime Gök, Nural Yasin and Şahika Yüksel from the publication committee left Pazartesi. They wrote the reasons of their departure under the title “Goodbye” in Pazartesi. Later, women who continued to work in Pazartesi answered this article by saying that the reasons were not political but personal.¹⁵⁸ In 2006, they started internet based news. Yet, since 2007 they have not revised their webpage which still displays their last topic religion. They ended their internet based news with the same last case as that of the journal.

In this chapter, I will firstly focus on the feminist approach of Pazartesi. The issues of body politics, motherhood, family and birth control will be examined under the feminist approach of Pazartesi. The following sections of this chapter can be framed under the identity politics of Pazartesi which has an impact over its stance on these subjects. In this context, the conflict between gender and political identity of Pazartesi, the approach of Pazartesi to Kurdish women and Islamic women will be discussed. Finally the stance of Pazartesi to the state and woman's organizations - portraits presented by Pazartesi will be evaluated.

¹⁵⁵ Ayşe Düzkan, “Feminizm Nereye”, *Pazartesi* 49, (April 1999): 23.

¹⁵⁶ Ömer Çaha, *Sivil Kadın*, (Ankara: Savaş Press, 2010), 276.

¹⁵⁷ “Merhaba”, *Pazartesi* 71 (February 2001).

¹⁵⁸ “Yeniden Merhaba”, *Pazartesi* 60, (March 2000): 29.

2.1. The Feminist Approach of Pazartesi

Pazartesi is the product of feminist movement in Turkey, which goes back to the 1980s. It is also a good example of the transformation of feminist movement into institutionalization and project feminism. In this part, firstly feminist movement of the 1980s in Turkey will be conveyed and then feminist approach of Pazartesi will be evaluated.

Feminist movement awakened from its sleep during the 1980s. The reasons for the emergence of feminist movement are the fact that military forbade rightist and leftist ideologies –which created a political scene more tolerant to woman’s movement, Turgut Özal’s liberal policies and the increasing level of urbanization and education.¹⁵⁹ Feminist movement at this period criticized other ideologies like Kemalism and socialism which attributed women an asexual identity in public space. Also Kemalist reforms which allow the appearance in public space could not bring freedom for women.

The feminist discourse of the 1980s can be examined within the second wave feminism but it was the liberal feminists (egalitarian feminist)¹⁶⁰ who were representative of the first wave feminism that continued their activities. The main slogan of the 1980s “personal is political” suggests the main orientation of women was directed towards the discussion of reasons of women’s oppression.¹⁶¹ And it is put forth that women could not obtain their liberation to be a part of the public space. The new argument inquires into the reasons of woman’s oppression with regard to personal life and body politics. Small feminist groups are organized such as Thursday groups, women started to write woman’s page in *Somut*, a symposium called *Women’s Problem*, was organized by Cooperative of Writers and Translators (*Yazarlar ve Çevirmenler Kooperatifi-YAZKO*) Feminist journals were published such as *Feminist*. Feminist writings were translated into Turkish. For example in 1984 *Women’ Circle (Kadın Çevresi)* translated feminist texts. After the second

¹⁵⁹Çaha, “Türkiye’de Kadın Hareketi ve Femenin Sivil Toplumun Gelişimi?”, 6.

¹⁶⁰ The journal of *Kadınca* which is started to be published in 1978, is categorized as egalitarian feminism by Ömer Çaha. (Çaha, 2010, 188)

period of 1980s, women started to organize demonstrations.¹⁶² ‘Our Body is Ours - no More Sexual Trouble’, ‘Purple Pin Campaign’, ‘Petitions for CEDAW’ and ‘Petition for celebration of Women’ Day on 8 March’, the struggle against the position of women in Civil Code and the Turkish Criminal Code were among the subjects of these demonstrations. In the 1980s, the main aim of women was to receive the attention of public and also prioritize women’s problems derived from womanhood.¹⁶³ Moreover, ‘Feminist Weekend’ and then Women’s Council were organized in Ankara.¹⁶⁴

Feminists of the 1980s did not accept that Kemalist reforms were omnipotent and holy, which was the challenge to Kemalist women. They also challenged socialism. On the other hand, feminist women of the 1980s approached the ‘homogenous women’s issue’.¹⁶⁵ Çaha expressed that in these years feminist movement revolved around egalitarian, socialist and radical feminists.¹⁶⁶

While in the 1980s women started to make demonstrations (1987-1989)¹⁶⁷ on the streets to end serving Kemalist reforms and to focus on woman’s issue, 1990s was the period of institutionalization of feminist movement. Also different feminist groups such as Kurdish and Islamic women emerged and continued to resist the official ideology. However, these groups were codified as “separatists” and “political reactionaries”, which led to serious discussion between women.¹⁶⁸ Therefore, we can say that 1990s was a period of third wave feminism which presented different kind of woman portraits.

In some respect, Pazartesi can be examined under the third wave for two reasons. Firstly, it welcomed Islamic, Kurdish, Armenian and Greek women and

¹⁶¹ Nilüfer Timisi & Meltem Ağduk Gevrek, “1980’ler Türkiyesi’nde Feminist Hareket: Ankara Çevresi”, in *90’larda Türkiye’de Feminizm*, eds. Aksu Bora & Asena Günel, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009), 14.

¹⁶² Çaha, *Türkiye’de Kadın Hareketi ve Femenin Sivil Toplumun Gelişimi?*, 8.

¹⁶³ Çaha, (2010), 250.

¹⁶⁴ Political identity was more important in Feminist Council when compared to Feminist Weekend.

¹⁶⁵ Çubukçu, 12.

¹⁶⁶ Ömer Çaha & et’al, “The Same Actors With Different Voices: Feminism With Diverse Interests in Turkey”, in *Women and politics: Class differences in feminism*, (Zagreb: Zenzka Infoteka, 2008).

¹⁶⁷ The Solidarity Against Beating Campaign in 1987 and 1989 Purple Pin Campaign.

¹⁶⁸ Aksu Bora- Asena Günel, “Preface”, in *90’larda Türkiye’de Feminizm*, eds. Aksu Bora- Asena Günel, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), 8.

resisted state policy to women and state led woman organizations like Multiple Purpose of Community Center (*Çok Amaçlı Toplumsal Duyarlılık Merkezi ÇATOM*), The Unity of Turkish Women (*Türk Kadınlar Birliği-TKB*), The Association in Support of Contemporary Living (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği- ÇYDD*). For example, about 8 March of 1999 Pazartesi stated that the state prohibited all opposition groups (such as feminists, opposition parties and working women) in the name of precaution against terrorism. On the other hand ÇYDD, constituted of Kemalist women, the Directorate General on Status of Women (*Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü- KSSGM*) from the state's institution, men of National Action Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi-MHP*) from the nationalist side, Turkish mother's association were allowed to celebrate 8 March accompanied by 10th year anthems and Turkish flags.¹⁶⁹ Here Pazartesi criticized this event as women were depicted as mothers, conveyers of the values of the Republic and modernization by the state.

They refused the role assigned to them and stood together with women who are positioned at the boundaries of otherness. Secondly, Pazartesi put forward the necessity of local feminism which refers to the creation of women's own local policies that includes differences but does not refuse the resources of feminists from the West.¹⁷⁰ This approach can be examined in terms of the motto "think globally, act locally". This motto signifies being open to the information coming from the world, while at the same regional conditions are also taken into consideration. Aynur İlyasoğlu mentioned that women in Turkey feel the effect of patriarchy differently from Western women, so it is vital that feminism places emphasis on locality, too.¹⁷¹ Within third wave feminism, locality is stressed as it is considered to help adapt effective feminist strategies.

A photo in Pazartesi shows two women, one is veiled and the other is unveiled, they participated in a woman demonstration, veiled woman carried a poster that said "end the separation between woman and girl".¹⁷² This picture points out

¹⁶⁹ Nesrin Tura, "8 Mart Ulusal Kadın", *Pazartesi* 49, (April 1999): 2.

¹⁷⁰ "Yerli Feminizmin İpuçları", *Pazartesi* 39, (September 1997).

¹⁷¹ Aynur İlyasoğlu, "Yerli Feminizmden Söz Etmekte Yarar Var, Çünkü...", *Pazartesi* 39, (September 1997): 4.

¹⁷²Id.

how local feminism works. They draw various portraits of woman who have different identities without categorizing of them to a side. It means that they do not construct categories of otherness based on ethnicity or religious beliefs.

With the same policy, they attacked nationalist symbols and discourses. For instance, they refused to sign a declaration against violence to women because it did not mention the ongoing war in Turkey.¹⁷³ Here they recognize the condition of Kurdish women.

Another example is related to a report, which is written by a women's organization in Ankara. In this report it is stated that there are women who left their villages because of terrorism. Ayşe Düzkan asked why they did not use the words 'Kurdish women' instead of 'some women'; so she used this title "I believe I am also not in the report which analyzes women in Turkey!"¹⁷⁴ This case shows that voicing the conditions of Kurdish women in the name of local feminism is a difficult task.

The third example is related to a poster from the Peking conference that includes the Turkish flag, which is attacked by Pazartesi. As they expressed "we, as nongovernmental women's organizations, do not have any relation to this poster, we preferred to use woman symbol instead of the flag in order not to lead to fragmentation of woman's movement."¹⁷⁵ Pazartesi was sensitive to any symbol that represents the state as the supra-identity; it was engaged with a policy which put distance with the state. Also this kind of a symbol that represents the unity of the state can be perceived to ignore woman who have different ethnicities. Here womanhood is the prior identity for them.

Besides local policy, Pazartesi also focused on global policy so there has been a tendency to utilize Western feminist resources and movements. Also they published articles from the first wave and second wave feminism such as Seneca Falls, Mary Wollstonecraft, Suffragist,¹⁷⁶ and Louise Michel in order to familiarize

¹⁷³ "Merhaba", *Pazartesi* 69, (December 2000).

¹⁷⁴ Ayşe Düzkan, "Pekin'den 5 Yıl Sonra: Bakalım Neler Olacak", *Pazartesi* 69, (December 2000): 6.

¹⁷⁵ "Merhaba", *Pazartesi* 7, (October 1995).

¹⁷⁶ Woman movement who demanded political rights in Great Britain faced huge reaction from the state and men. By Handan Koç, "Değiştiler, değiştirdiler", *Pazartesi* 50, (May 1999): 22-23.

the readers with these authors. The writers defended the approach of radical and socialist feminism and at the same time they also referred to Simon De Beauvoir who is a representative of existentialist feminism as her well-known slogan “one is not born a woman, but becomes one” indicates.¹⁷⁷ On the other hand, *Pazartesi* was a space of debates between authors due to their different approaches to feminisms. One such discussion took place between Gülnur Savran and Ayşe Düzkan about one single system or separate system within the context of socialist feminism. In this discussion, they concentrated on public-private space.¹⁷⁸ Gülnur Savran argued that capitalism and patriarchy constituted a single system, whereas Ayşe Düzkan considers them as separate systems. This discussion shows the existence of heterogeneity within feminist thought.

Although *Pazartesi* might be considered within third wave feminism, this journal generally follows the direction of second wave feminism which brings women together under feminism by common oppression. In line with the policy of second wave, writers of *Pazartesi* focused on civil law which regulates private life. A large number of articles in *Pazartesi* were devoted to this issue. This is also an area of confrontation between state and *Pazartesi*.

Another subject of discussion within the magazine was the statement of second wave feminism that “personal is political”. Stella Ovidia, a writer in *Pazartesi* strongly attacked Zuhâl Atasoy¹⁷⁹ who gave a pose with a kitchen apron and a pot, saying that she served to reinforce the given relation between women and housework.¹⁸⁰ Meltem Ahıska had the same approach with Stella Ovidia and she reproached the support of *Pazartesi* to Zuhâl Atasoy.¹⁸¹ This brought about the debate around division of labor on the basis of gender and the subject of “personal is political” into question. According to *Pazartesi*, it is wrong to judge Atasoy by referring to her personality.¹⁸² Here, there was an objection to judging certain persons, and instead they choose to debate without reference to personalities. So an

¹⁷⁷ Ayşe Düzkan, “Kadın Doğulmaz, Kadın Olunur”, *Pazartesi* 49, (April 1999):10.

¹⁷⁸ Gülnur Savran, “İtiraza İtiraz”, *Pazartesi* 56, (November 1999): 12.

¹⁷⁹ Zuhâl Atasoy and her husband made a journey around the world by boat.

¹⁸⁰ Stella Ovidia, “Benim Derdim Yaratılan İmajla”, *Pazartesi* 30, (September 1997): 11

¹⁸¹ Meltem Ahıska, “Uzaklarda Değil, Çok Yakınlarda”, *Pazartesi* 30, (September 1997): 13.

¹⁸² Nesrin, Ayşe&Filiz, “Özel Olanın Politik Olması Yargılamaya Hakkını Veriyor mu?”, *Pazartesi* 30, (September 1997): 12.

authoritative method was found wrong to spread feminist consciousness. Pazartesi rejects any form of feminism which criticizes the individual lives of women based on rigid criteria.

Christine Deply, who is a materialist feminist, is an important personality within second wave feminism and she is frequently referred to in Pazartesi¹⁸³ Pazartesi posed remarkable questions to Christine Deply in an interview: “what you think of a feminism based on differences, what kind of differences are there between western feminists and third world feminists, how do you think emancipation is possible?”¹⁸⁴ Then “even the smallest common points we have are great enough to create a revolution” is entitled as the headline. The aim of this interview can be considered as an answer to the foregrounding of other identities within feminism. Different identities are not discriminated against but rather they are respected. Post-feminism, which drives forward other identities such as class and ethnicity, a fragmented woman’s movement¹⁸⁵ which rejects first and second wave feminism is criticized by Pazartesi. We can infer from this that feminist identity is perceived as the more important position for Pazartesi.

In conclusion, it is not possible to categorize Pazartesi into a certain wave of feminism. Because while local feminism is a part of third wave feminism, prioritizing common oppression is a feature of the second wave, which might result in the rejection of other identities as they are regarded as a cause of fragmentation within the feminist movement. Therefore, in some ways Pazartesi is a representative of third wave, in other ways it can be located in second wave feminism.

In this part, the approach of Pazartesi to body politics, motherhood, family and birth control will be discussed. I will try to clarify the stance of Pazartesi on these issues in the context of its feminist approach.

¹⁸³ Ayşe Düzkan, “Christine Deply ‘yle Konuştuk: Kadın lığı Yüceltmek mi, Yok etmek mi?”, *Pazartesi* 48, (March 2000): 5-7; “Ayşe Düzkan, “Kalıtsal Aktarım”, *Pazartesi* 56, (October 1999):28.

¹⁸⁴ Ayşe Düzkan, “Christine Delphy: Asgari Müştereklerimiz Bir Devrime Yol Açabilecek Kadar Büyük”, *Pazartesi* 57, (December 1999): 10-11.

¹⁸⁵ Düzkan, “Feminizm Nereye”, 23

2.1.1. The Body Politics in Pazartesi

The slogan of “our body is ours” refers to the core point of Pazartesi. Beauty contests, the shape of the body, rape, and sexual abuse and honor killings are issues discussed under the subject of body politics in Pazartesi. It is indicated that woman’s body is controlled outside of her will, and that female body is constructed as an essential target of oppression.¹⁸⁶ At the same time, alienation to one’s own body is questioned.

Elite Model Look is one of the examples in this context, which woman from Pazartesi protests. The reason, they explain, is that this kind of beauty contests are framed according to the desires of men, fashion and advertisement, hence they serve consumption industry.¹⁸⁷ Correspondingly, women are oriented towards make up and esthetics concerns, which is perceived as the policy of capitalism and patriarchy.¹⁸⁸ In the same respect, Pazartesi indicated that outcomes of the beauty industry are concerns about body shape and fatness and illnesses such as anorexia.¹⁸⁹ Pazartesi challenges the notion that women do not control their choices and identities but instead regard them as given, which results in obsessions over their body and their face. It even comes to the point when women consider themselves as devalued if they do not meet the beauty standards.

Rape, sexual abuse- and honor killings are discussed in relation to sexuality. “Purple needle” campaign and campaign against 438¹⁹⁰ were mentioned in Pazartesi in order to engage the attention of the readers with regard to male domination over women’s body.¹⁹¹ Pazartesi objected the notion that women deserve rape or sexual abuse if they go out at night, drink or smoke, and if they do not cover their body

¹⁸⁶“Önsöz”, *Pazartesi* 111, (October-December, 2006): 5.

¹⁸⁷ Özgün, “Elite Model Look: Bizde Katıldık”, *Pazartesi* 77, (August 2001):2

¹⁸⁸ Ayşe Düzkan, “Güzel, daha güzel, daha da güzel!”, *Pazartesi* 111, (October- November, 2006):11-15; Ayşe Düzkan, “Asla o Kadar Güzel Değilsiniz”, *Pazartesi* 111, (October-December, 2006): 126-132.

¹⁸⁹ Ayşe Düzkan, “Şişman”, *Pazartesi* 55, (October 1999) ; Lale Aykent, “Nerde Benim Eski Anne”, *Pazartesi* 84, (November 2003) ; Lale Aykent , “Ah bir zayıf olsam”, *Pazartesi* 85, (December 2003); Melek Güneş, “Yemek Bana Eziyet”, *Pazartesi* 77, (August-2001).

¹⁹⁰ The article 438 of Penalty law indicates penalty reduction in the case of the rape to a prostitute.

¹⁹¹ Beyhan Demir, “Bedenimiz Bizimdir”, *Pazartesi* 111, (October- November- 2006): 16-22.

properly.¹⁹² Here the criticism is that women are represented as lame ducks. Pazartesi also criticizes media due to the presentation of news about rape, sexual abuse- and prostitution. For example, the story of a woman who committed suicide because she was shown as a prostitute was narrated with the title “media as the instrument of murderers”.¹⁹³ They struggled against the fact that the pressure of the society on the women is stronger than on men. This is the reason why third pages of newspapers are attacked by Pazartesi since in these pages all forms of violence to women are normalized and this triggers the reaction of society towards these women whose image is constructed as sexually loose.¹⁹⁴

In contrast to the third page of newspapers, Pazartesi under the headline “Which penalty will calm our anger?” published on the back page stories of women who were murdered. For instance, the story of a mother and her sister who were killed by the sons¹⁹⁵ and the story of Aynur Arslan who was killed by her uncle and brother by the decision of the family were written.¹⁹⁶ What Pazartesi aimed to show with this page is that woman as representative of honor is subjected to violence and that the state allows the continuity of this violence with the legal system. In other words, women are valued if they live in conformity with the predetermined norms, within predetermined boundaries, otherwise they are considered outside of the control, which legitimates the penalty towards woman.¹⁹⁷

Virginity, which is regarded as a sign of honor, is one of the issues related to this subject discussed by Pazartesi under the subject of body politics. They try to show how woman who lost their virginity are killed, commit suicide or forced to commit suicide due to their body.¹⁹⁸ Pazartesi, in this context says that woman’s body is victimized; they are penalized if they do not act within the boundaries of social rules. Likewise, they object the belief that virginity represents purity, while not

¹⁹² Hümayun, “Eryaman’da Tecavüz”, *Pazartesi* 58, (January 2000): 11; Nev in Cerav “Her Yerde, Günün Her Yerinde Her Saatinde Dayak var!”, *Pazartesi* 69, (December 2000): 5

¹⁹³ Nev in Cerav, “Cinayet Aleti Olarak Habercilik”, *Pazartesi* 66, (September 2000): 5.

¹⁹⁴ Ayşe Sargın, “Pomografi, Erkek Egemenliği ve Feministler”, *Pazartesi* 109, (July-June, 2006): 37.

¹⁹⁵ Hangi Ceza Öfkemizi Yatıştırarak, *Pazartesi* 56, (November 1999).

¹⁹⁶ Hangi Ceza Öfkemizi Yatıştırarak, *Pazartesi* 48, (March- 1999).

¹⁹⁷ Ayşe Saktanber, “Türkiye’de Medyada Kadın: Serbest Müsait Kadın Veya İyi Eş, Fedakâr Anne”, in *1980’ler Türkiye’nde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*, ed. Şirin Tekeli, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), 203.

being a virgin connotes being spoiled.¹⁹⁹ Pazartesi emphasizes the fact that women are identified, devalued or valued on the basis of virginity. Parallel to this point, it is described as; “to be judged on the basis of sexual relation, categorize according to sexy appearance, seen as a field to plow, entrusted to God or transferred from one hand to another hand with red snood.”²⁰⁰ Pazartesi rejects the situation in which women do not have the right over their body but social rules, religions, men- and society have. In the same respect, it is exposed that “while some women are humiliated and described as cheap women because of their sexual charm, some women are sanctified around motherhood”.²⁰¹ According to Pazartesi, an image of women is constructed as good woman or a bad woman according to the values and norms of patriarchy, which leads to the fragmentation of woman’s experience and her alienation from her own body.

To conclude this section, we can infer that Pazartesi follows the radical-Marxist feminist discourse on the subject of beauty and body shape, while honor killings, sexual harassment and rape are evaluated as directly attacking woman’s body in order to control them in case of nonconformity to patriarchal rule.

2.1.2. Motherhood and Birth Control in Pazartesi

Motherhood is examined in the framework of radical feminism and socialist feminism with the theories of Anrienna Richie, Shulamith Firestone, Christine Delpy. An issue of Pazartesi was dedicated to this subject. Some of the questions asked in this issue were:

How do we manage to live the natural experience of motherhood in an extraordinary way in this society?How does it serve the basic institution of patriarchy, is motherhood an obstacle for women who resist patriarchal sovereignty, the sovereign glorifies motherhood how about us... Do we need to be heterosexual to

¹⁹⁸ “Bakire Olmak, Olmamak: Akıllara Zorar”, *Pazartesi* 111, (November- December, 2006): 9

¹⁹⁹Id.

²⁰⁰ “Önsöz”, *Pazartesi* 109, (July-June, 2006): 6.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

be a mother, do we have to be a mother, and Are our mothers bored when they put blankets on us?²⁰²

These questions indicate that motherhood is considered as an institution to help the continuity of patriarchy and as an obstacle in front of women. The experience of mothers was published and some of the titles are as follows:

“To be a mother” by Unzile, “Islamism and Motherhood” by Handan Koç, “my child! Your mother is a feminist” by feminist mother’s group, “I breastfeed everywhere” by Ebru, “Motherhood in Retirement” by Gülnur Savran, “After Giving Birth Women Are Depressed, Tired, Bored, and Dejected” by Şahika Yüksel, “Helpless, Faithful, Devoted Mother” by Öykü Potuoğlu, “After Baby Return to Work: I lost my confidence” “To give a birth or not Towards age 40”, “ if women who already have a child, remarry, their burdens are doubled ” by women who write in the middle pages, “a victim of privilege: giving birth” by Nuriye Ortaylı.

The main argument of these articles is that childcare is undertaken only by women and motherhood is seen as an obstacle for women, which locks them to the boundaries of the house. Identification of womanhood with motherhood is objected. One example would be a discussion titled “Motherhood restricts freedom of women, what does it give to women and what does it hinder?”²⁰³ This article mentions that although women seems to be pleased to have a child, they expressed they are not free after motherhood due to the extensive labor of child care. Two solutions were presented by Pazartesi in order to prevent negative effects of motherhood over women in the framework of socialist and radical feminist discourse. The first is the socialization of childcare which is possible by twenty four hours open kindergartens and second solution is giving mothering role to fathers too.

Demonstrations and activities of Saturday mothers²⁰⁴ and peace mothers²⁰⁵ were also subjects of Pazartesi. It supports these groups and the acts of state against

²⁰²“Önsöz”, *Pazartesi* 110, (August-September 2006).

²⁰³ “Kadınların Özgürlüğünü Kısıtlıyor, Annelik Neleri Kazandı, Neleri Engelledi”, *Pazartesi* 2 (May 1995): 14.

²⁰⁴ Saturday Mothers protest the disappearance of Kurdish detainees.

Saturdays and peace mothers are criticized.²⁰⁶ However, Pazartesi also questions the groups themselves and asks why this demonstration is constructed within motherhood.²⁰⁷ Pazartesi also refers to another mother group called Friday mothers.²⁰⁸ According to Pazartesi, they are used by the militaristic system and their feelings, tears and sadness are exploited.²⁰⁹ The crucial point is that motherhood is framed as an instrument of politics, which Pazartesi tried to denounce.

Moreover, Pazartesi defended women's freedom of decision over giving birth or birth control and rejected any imposition of birth policy by the state.²¹⁰ The birth control policy of ÇYDD for Kurdish women and ban over birth control pill in Japan while allowing Viagra, abortion ban in Latin America are heavily criticized.²¹¹ Besides the methods of birth control by women, it introduced birth control's methods for men, too.²¹² What is pointed out here is that birth control methods are not just the responsibility of women but also men.

In conclusion, Pazartesi considers motherhood as an institution which is created by patriarchy and which prevents the appearance of women in public space and refuses positioning motherhood to serve the interests of any ideology. Their approach to birth policy related to the issue of motherhood is the rejection of any attempts from outside over the reproduction ability of women. So, it is the women's decision whether to use birth control or giving a birth in terms of control of one's own body.

²⁰⁵ Peace Mothers lost their children or their relatives are either in prisons or in the mountain as guerillas and come together to end the war between Kurds and Turks .

²⁰⁶ "Cumartesi Anneleri bayram kutlamadı, kut layamadı!", *Pazartesi* 47, (February 1999):8; "Ben İstemiyorum Panzerlerin Rengini Göreyim, Uçak Sesi Duyayım...", *Pazartesi* 68, (November 2000): 14.

²⁰⁷ Ayşe Düzkan& Filiz Koçali, "Yeni Politik Malzeme Annelik", *Pazartesi* 18, (September 1998): 2-3.

²⁰⁸ Friday Mothers are the mothers of martyrs and they criticize terrorism which they see as the reason of their loss .

²⁰⁹ Düzkan& Koçali, "Yeni Politik Malzeme Annelik", 2-3.

²¹⁰ Füsün Özlen, "Doğurma Özgürlüğü ve Doğum Kontrol Yöntemleri", *Pazartesi* 18, (October 1999): 24.

²¹¹ Itoi Kay, "Viagra, hemen şimdi !", *Newsweek*, 8 February 1999, trans. Gamze Deniz, *Pazartesi* 50, (May 1999): 24; Evrim Alataş & Nev'in Cerav, "Rica Ediyorum Doğurmayım", *Pazartesi* 76, (July 2001): 6.

²¹² Filiz Koçali, "Erkekler için Doğum Kontrolü; Vazektomi", *Pazartesi* 6, (September 1995): 19.

2.1.3. The Family Politics in Pazartesi

Pazartesi follows the discourse of radical and socialist feminism about the institution of family as in the case of motherhood. Family is presented as another institution constructed according to the needs of the system, which precludes the liberation of women. Even if the structure of the family is secular, that does not guarantee equality between men and women. In fact, nuclear family is perceived as a new appearance of patriarchy.²¹³ Marriage, either religious or official contributes to the oppression of women, yet it is admitted that religious marriage provides less rights than official marriage.²¹⁴ The differentiation between official and unofficial marriage or modern/nuclear and extended family is regarded as illusions as it is claimed that there are not many differences between them, both are created by the patriarchal system. So, for Pazartesi both served the oppression of women.

Moreover domestic violence and marital rape are concerns of Pazartesi and they are regarded as mechanisms that control women. Pazartesi brought these subjects to the agenda to direct the attention to the public on these issues and to increase women's consciousness. Pazartesi criticized the seclusion of the family which prevents us from seeing the oppression of women. So the motto of personal is political opens the way for Pazartesi to focus on the family in the framework of public space. According to Pazartesi, women are imprisoned in the family. They feel powerless and cannot resist men. Psychologically they are pushed to loneliness. In addition to these, domestic labor of women is devalued within the family. Parallel to this, Pazartesi pointed out that women seek or work the kind of job that would allow them to have time to take care of their husband, children and the house. Here the emphasis of Pazartesi is that women give up their career and work in areas that cannot open possibilities to develop a future career. As it is mentioned above, Pazartesi indicates how family oppressed the body, labor and psychology of women.

²¹³Nesrin Tura& Gülnur Savran, "Çağdaşlaşma Söylemine Teslim Olamayız", *Pazartesi* 18, (September 1996):10-11.

²¹⁴ Ayşe Düzkan, "Eğitim, Türban, Nikâh", *Pazartesi* 113, (July-August-September, 2007): 240.

Pazartesi also presented the divorce campaign from the recent history of feminism in Turkey²¹⁵ the aim of which was resistance against state's policy towards strengthening the institution of family. Inspired by this demonstration, Pazartesi organized a competition for the best divorce story. It is stated that "sometimes divorce is Heroism, sometimes it is to be free, to be alone, and to be poor but as time progresses you try to stand on your feet".²¹⁶ The aim of this competition for the best divorce story is to show how women struggle in the family that is the success story of a struggle in order to reach freedom. In the same respect, one of the articles in the middle pages is devoted to "women who start to life again".²¹⁷ Hence, all the examples above indicate that divorce is seen as a way of liberation of woman from the institution of family.

As a result, family is regarded as a political area by Pazartesi. And differentiation between nuclear and extended family or religious or official marriage is not made by Pazartesi because all are seen as illusions created by patriarchy and capitalism. Pazartesi argues that family is not a space of protection from the violence of the state as the liberal feminists suggested, instead it is seen as an area of the sovereignty of men and as an institution that reinforces the oppression of women. In line with this, divorce is seen as a milestone on the road to the emancipation of women to challenge the system. With the slogan "personal is political", Pazartesi focused on and deconstructed the institution of family and perceived it as a construct of capitalism and patriarchy. In this respect family and marriage are framed the reason of women's oppression.

2.2. The Conflict Between Gender and Political Identity of Pazartesi

Women working in Pazartesi mostly came from Marxist- socialist background although they labeled themselves as a heterogeneous group. They identified themselves as opposition in terms of relations with the state.²¹⁸ Before Pazartesi, some of them wrote in *Somut*, *Feminist*, and *Feminist Kaktüs* which were

²¹⁵ "Boşanma Eyleminin Erkekleri: Aile Kurumu Kadınları Eziyor", *Pazartesi* 7, (October 1995): 23;

"Boşanma Eylemi ve Cemil Çiçek'e Düdük", *Pazartesi* 7, (October-1995): 22-23.

²¹⁶ "Sizin Hikâyenizi İstiyoruz", *Pazartesi* 71, (February 2001): 31.

²¹⁷ "Hayata Yeniden Başlayanlar", *Pazartesi* 15, (June 1996): 17.

²¹⁸ Ayşe Düzkan, "Hareket Nereye", *Pazartesi* 49, (April 1999): 22

Marxist- socialist feminist journals. The reason why some feminists moved away from the socialist movement to embrace feminism is explained by Pazartesi on the grounds that they came to recognize that socialist movement was gender blind.²¹⁹ To exemplify the condition mentioned above, Pazartesi presented stories of women who participated actively in revolutions and who were disregarded after the success of the movement. One example is the revolution of 8 October. Women who took an active part in the struggle for the revolution were excluded from the public life afterwards.²²⁰ Another example is from the French revolution, during which women fought together with men for an egalitarian and libertarian society. Yet, Olympe De Gouge²²¹ who was one of the defenders of the revolution was sent to the guillotine as a writer of women's rights.²²² We can deduce from the examples above that Pazartesi proposes that women can obtain their emancipation by creating their own revolution without being a part of any ideological movement that use women in order to reach success. Contradictory to this proposition, women from Pazartesi participate in the demonstrations of 1 May. Yet, as their Marxist-socialist and feminist approach necessitates, they also produce their own feminist vocabulary “women are here, we do not want a head of the family”, “No unwaged or waged slavery”, “there is a strike in this house”.²²³ In these meetings, domestic labor is considered to establish a common ground between the women and the worker.

Asides from these discussions, women writing in the journal Pazartesi were also politically active. Women from the core group of Pazartesi such as Ayşe Düzkan, Gülnur Acar Savran, Filiz Koçali, and Nesrin Tura were active in Freedom and Solidarity Party (*Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi-ÖDP*). Koçali stated that *ÖDP* and Pazartesi have an organic relation.²²⁴ Yet, on the level of practice, Koçali admitted that *ÖDP* fragmented all their energy and they could not completely focus on Pazartesi.²²⁵ In the later issues of Pazartesi, there were disputes with *ÖDP*. For

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Necla Akgöçe, “Kadınların Devrimi Bir Başka Ekim’e”, *Pazartesi* 68, (November 2000): 25.

²²¹ Olympe De Gouge wrote declaration of women right which is adapted from declaration of human rights.

²²² Nesrin Tura, “1789 Fransız Devrimi: Giyotinin Gölgesinde Kadın Hakları”, *Pazartesi* 48, (March 1999): 24-25

²²³ Ayşegül Ulus, “1 Mayıs’ta Kadınlar Vardı”, *Pazartesi* 3, (June 1995): 5; “1 Mayıs!”, *Pazartesi* 15, (June 1995): 10.

²²⁴ Koçali, (2005), 147.

²²⁵ Id.

example, under the title of “then, on which side of the road women stand” by Necla Akçagöçe presents the opinions of women in *ÖDP*. It is stated that patriarchal mentality of *ÖDP* continued and feminists were used by *ÖDP* for popular politics and power.²²⁶ Özgül Saki clarified the reasons behind the separation between feminists and *ÖDP*. Two meetings were milestones for this separation. First meeting was the “Woman Marching in 2000”, in which women from *ÖDP* were against speaking Kurdish at the platform. The second meeting was against veiled women in Ankara, in which *ÖDP* signed the declaration of the demonstration.²²⁷ With the notion of sisterhood and solidarity, Pazartesi criticized the stance taken by *ÖDP* in these two meetings as the implication of their stance meant that other identities based on ethnicity and religion were ignored. Fatma Özmen attacked Ufuk Uras, one of the main figures of *ÖDP*, for his statement; “separation of feminists and environmental movements from *ÖDP* does not prevent the rise of *ÖDP*”.²²⁸ She responded to that statement by saying that “there will be feminists as long as there are women; but this is not valid for *ÖDP*”.²²⁹ We can infer from this debate that feminists are considered to be the more powerful elements within *ÖDP*. The threat was that if feminists cuts ties with *ÖDP*, it would lose its strength as a party.

Ayşe Düzkan wrote in Pazartesi about a sexual harassment case that took place in Diyarbakir which included the provincial head of *ÖDP* under the title “Is Şükrü Abay who is the provincial head of *ÖDP* in molester?”²³⁰ By court decision, Şükrü Abay has his refutation published and he rejected the claim of Düzkan. In his refutation, he narrated his work in the socialist movement and mentioned about his contributions to the movement as his defense.²³¹ Ayşe Düzkan responded that she wrote this news not with her identity as a member of *ÖDP* but rather with her feminist identity and she also remarked that authorities of *ÖDP* avoided any explanation for this case.²³² Pazartesi wrote about another sexual harassment case titled “here is another motivation from the socialists”²³³ related to the theater director

²²⁶ Necla Akçagöçe, “ÖDP’ de saflar Belirlendi: Kadınlar Yolun Neresinde?”, *Pazartesi* 81, (January 2002): 18-19.

²²⁷ Özgül Saki, “Yeniden Başlayacağız”, *Pazartesi* 81, (January 2002): 19.

²²⁸ Fatma Özmen, “ÖDP geçicidir, Feminizm Bakı”, *Pazartesi* 73, (April 2001): 24.

²²⁹ Id.

²³⁰ Ayşe Düzkan, “ÖDP İl Başkanı Tacizci Mi?”, *Pazartesi* 72, (March 2001): 9.

²³¹ Şükrü Abay, “Tekziptir”, *Pazartesi* 74, (May 2001): 30.

²³² Ayşe Düzkan, “Cevap”, *Pazartesi* 74, (May 2001): 30.

²³³ Cover Page, *Pazartesi* 68, (December 2000).

Mehmet Esatoğlu's sexual abuse of actresses. In this article, a subtitle captioned "he resisted 12 September but not his desire".²³⁴ Cengiz Gündoğdu told the story of Mehmet Esatoğlu as a good comrade resisting 12 September. But however, Beyhan Demir maintained that "we are not arguing about his resistance to fascism. Men who resist fascism can abuse women, for example many socialist men beat their wives". Both examples which are introduced by Ayşe Düzkan and Beyhan Demir show that the part men play in the socialist movement or any other movement are not the crucial point when it comes to the threats to a woman's life and identity. On the other hand, socialists accused feminists from Turkey for using resources from the west. Ayşe Düzkan responded by saying "Marxism did not come from the Konya Plain as well".²³⁵ This response admits the western roots of feminism, which it shares with Marxism. What this discussion brings into light is the double standard applied to feminist movements. Düzkan continued her response as; "We learned feminism from our sisters. But it does not mean that we do not criticize the dynamics of westernization and modernization."²³⁶

It is clear that Pazartesi puts a distance from leftist, women, trade union, and parties when womanhood is the main discussion. Especially 8 Marches are noteworthy events for demonstrating and positioning the political identity of Pazartesi. For instance, they claimed that 8 March in 2001 was a kind of combination of Newroz, the 1st of May and the 14th February.²³⁷ Pazartesi, indignantly, depicted that 8 March was used as meeting place and as an area to voice the demands of leftist and Kurds on the grounds of politics of ethnicity. Yet, what 8 March 2001 missed was the women. The second example related to this issue is about a women meeting in Ankara on 8th October, organized by women mostly from socialist parties and groups. This meeting was criticized by Pazartesi since it was turned into a conflict and arena of discussion between socialist women.²³⁸ These indicate that although Pazartesi stands close to socialist and Marxist grounds, it does not avoid criticizing leftist movements when the subject is feminism.

²³⁴ Beyhan Demir, "12 Eylül'e Direndi; Nefsine Direnemedi", *Pazartesi* 68, (December 2000): 2.

²³⁵ Ayşe Düzkan, "Yerli Bir Feminizm", *Pazartesi* 39, (September 1997): 2.

²³⁶ Id.

²³⁷ "8 Mart", *Pazartesi* 73, (April 2003): 9.

²³⁸ Handan Koç, "Yorgan Gitti Kavga Bitti", *Pazartesi* 68, (November 2000): 4.

28 February²³⁹ can be considered as a clash between the Islamists and the military. Pazartesi recognized both parties as acting within the borders of patriarchy.²⁴⁰ It is emphasized that both Islamists and Kemalists define women according to a certain type of dress code and conduct in line with their beliefs.²⁴¹ This is regarded as an intervention to woman's body. From the perspective of Pazartesi, women should not be an instrument for any ideology; they need to follow their own policy. Ayşe Düzkan, in a similar way, asserted that the emancipation of women is not possible through an ideological struggle as exemplified by history. Kemalists thought that all rights were already granted to women, while socialists believed that women would obtain their freedom within the socialist movement. Thereby, the suggestion is that feminism has to create its own vehicles and its own organizations.²⁴²

Pazartesi's outlook can be defined as leftist, which influences its approach towards political, social, and economic life. In line with this political background, it adapted feminist theories that adhere to the Marxist- socialist view. But they refuse any type asexual identity which is identical with the socialist movement as womanhood is the main core element of Pazartesi.

2.3. The Approach of Pazartesi to Kurdish Women and Islamic Women

The 1990s is a period that saw the emergence of Kurdish women and Islamic women. Kurdish women struggled to survive with their ethnic identity while Islamic women sought to exist in public space with respect to their religious identity. These identities that are confined to otherness by the Republic of Turkey,²⁴³ transformed to be political agents in public space. In line with official ideology, Kemalist women ignore these identities and instead they prefer to see women in the context of

²³⁹ 28 February is the day of a military coup in Turkey. With the decisions of National Security Council, the coalition government led by the Welfare Party was overthrown. Pazartesi's evaluation of 28 February is significant to understand its political stance and it shows how Pazartesi defines itself within the clash of political Islam and Kemalism.

²⁴⁰ Aynur İlyasoğlu, "Askeri Patriyarka mı, İslamcı Patriyarka mı?", *Pazartesi* 71, (February 2001): 2-3.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁴² Ayşe Düzkan, "Yeniden Kadın, kurtuluş Hareketinin Bağımsızlığı Üzerine", *Pazartesi* 19, (October 1996): 21-22.

²⁴³ Nation state building process is created in opposition to Ottoman Empire which was based on varied ethnicities and religions.

Kemalist reforms. On the other hand, the reawakening of feminist movement in the 1980s and the appearance of Kurdish and Islamic women in the 1990s challenge the official ideology. The position of *Pazartesi*, which was a product of the 1990s' feminism and an example of the feminist history of Turkey, is significant in terms of the various identities of women in Turkey under third wave feminism and in terms of its stance to official ideology. In this section the approach of *Pazartesi* to Kurdish and Islamic women will be illustrated on the basis of news which was presented by *Pazartesi*.

2.3.1. The Approach of *Pazartesi* to Kurdish Women

Pazartesi often brought the Kurdish question and the problems of Kurdish women into their agenda. It even published one page in Kurdish since 2003. This indicates that they advocated the use of mother tongue, Kurdish. In this section, the way Kurdish women are presented in *Pazartesi* is going to be analyzed through the topics of *ÇATOMs*, the suicide of women in Batman, visits to Diyarbakır, Tomris Özden and the book *Mehmedim*.

Their approach to the Kurdish question can be specified in the framework of ongoing war. For example, they declared that Turkish army should withdraw from Northern Iraq and they refused to solve this problem by violence.²⁴⁴ *Pazartesi* also published the story of Tomris Özden, whose husband is a martyred who suggests that the solution should not be revenge but rather peaceful methods. A picture showed Özden and a sister of a guerrilla together.²⁴⁵ *Pazartesi* pointed out that Özden was attacked by the conformist media due to her action which is regarded unusual by the system but as opposed to this she was endorsed by *Pazartesi*. Also the same support is provided to Nadire Mater, the author of *Mehmedim*, who narrated the experiences of ex-soldiers, and whose book was banned by court.²⁴⁶ Mater brought the story of the soldier and the effect of militarism to the agenda. Both women are selected to in order to indicate how both Kurdish and Turkish side is affected by ongoing militarism. And if someone Turkish destructs the status quo, s/he is announced as

²⁴⁴ “Reddediyoruz”, *Pazartesi* 2, (May 1995): 11.

²⁴⁵ Filiz Koçali, “Tomris Özden.... Yanındayız...”, *Pazartesi* 7, (October 1999): 11.

²⁴⁶ “Nadire Mater Yargılandı”, *Pazartesi* 66, (September 2000): 6.

the other and the enemy. Ayşe Düzkan claims that women like Tomris Özden and Semra Somersan who look at the ongoing war from the aspect of Kurdish women, are excluded by the official ideology.²⁴⁷

Pazartesi's view of *ÇATOMs* and *ÇYDD* can be categorized by how Pazartesi considers their activities in the regions where mostly Kurdish people live. *ÇATOMs* are considered as institutions that attempt to assimilate Kurdish women because of their connections to the state and their offices in numerous numbers located in Kurdish regions. *ÇATOM's* courses to teach Turkish are another disputable issue within Pazartesi in the framework of mother tongue.²⁴⁸

Besides *ÇATOMs*, the policy of The Association for Support of Contemporary Living (*Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği-ÇYDD*) is widely criticized in an article titled "please do not give a birth". Evrim Alataş and Nevin Cerav exposed that Kurdish girls can receive a loan from *ÇYDD* on the condition that, their mother signs a paper to use birth control.²⁴⁹ Cerav and Alataş asked why *ÇYDD* uses this condition only in the East and they connected the policy of *ÇYDD* with the report of national Security Council, which included the control of Kurdish population.²⁵⁰ Although both organizations were founded skeptical by Pazartesi about their connections to assimilation policies, they could not arrive at a common conclusion for *ÇATOMs* which is also the main battle area between Roza and Pazartesi in the case of mother tongue.

Pazartesi also focused on the suicides of women in Batman and presented both the approach of the state and Kurdish side to the issue. State branches grounded the reasons on the basis of family pressure, social chaos because of Kurdistan Worker Party (PKK), Hezbollah, while Kurdish organizations referred to the fact that Kurdish women are subjected to oppression due to their ethnic identity and woman's identity. Pazartesi asked why when women committed suicide in Batman, it was called family pressure, while women were subjected to violence in every region of

²⁴⁷ Ayşe Düzkan, "Bekle Bizi Diyarbakır", *Pazartesi* 73, (April 2001): 14.

²⁴⁸ Ayşe Düzkan, "Kürt Kadınına Hizmet!: Devletin Eli Uzanyor mu, Kalkıyor Mu?", *Pazartesi* 37, (April 1998): 2-3.

²⁴⁹ Alataş & Cerav, "Rica Ediyorum Doğurmayım", *Pazartesi* 76, (July 2001): 6.

²⁵⁰ Id.

Turkey.²⁵¹ They claim that the reason behind that inference is the racist policy of the state. So family pressure as a reason of suicide is not found realistic in one way. However, According to Yaprak Zihnioğlu, although women in Batman are more active in respect to politics, if the topic comes to suicide they speak about the political pressure or the structure of feudalism.²⁵² She claimed that women in Batman avoided inquiring into the position of men and instead they refer to the impact of feudalism which prevents the visualization of feminism. Here women According to Zihnioğlu are oppressed both by their fathers and by the state and there are consequences when Kurdish women just blamed state or feudalism.²⁵³ Her analysis is that Kurdish women are closer to a part of political movement, but not feminism. She hopes for Kurdish woman to find the true way which goes in the direction of feminism.

Another significant event is the visit of a group of women consisting of Duygu Asena, Yaşar Seyman, Ayşe Düzkan, Perihan Mağden and Pınar Selek to Diyarbakır and their observations of Kurdish women. A photo of Perihan Mağden with Remziye Dinç, who was raped by the village guard, was published in *Pazartesi*. This can be interpreted as the solidarity of Kurdish and Turkish feminists against the state policy. The titles of the articles about the visit to Diyarbakır are: “Wait for us Diyarbakır” by Ayşe Düzkan, “We were in Diyarbakır” by Yaşar Seyman, “The Name of Woman: Mother by Duygu Asena”. During the visit, they were shocked when Kurdish women asked “where have you been so far”. It shows that they were not expecting such a large number of active politicized Kurdish women who were waiting them. For Pınar Selek, this visit was extraordinary due to the “disruptions of the map”.²⁵⁴ Here the significance of going to the region and learning the requests of Kurdish women is underlined.

Their common observation was that Kurdish women live in bad conditions due to war, their first priority is peace and they do not speak Turkish though not for ideological reasons, they are more active in political issues, on the other hand they

²⁵¹ Ayla Önder, “Batman’da İntiharları Kolay Açıklanmıyor”, *Pazartesi* 68, (December 2000): 10-11.

²⁵² Yaprak Zihnioğlu, “Acı, İsyân ve Direniş Kenti Batman”, *Pazartesi* 76, (2001 July): 9.

²⁵³ Id.

²⁵⁴ Pınar Selek, “Kadınlar Barış İçin”, *Pazartesi* 73, (April 2001):10.

have more children, they are uneducated and unhealthy.²⁵⁵ Although women from Pazartesi saw themselves as giving voice to Kurdish women and tried to share Kurdish women's ideas, they could not escape from analyzing the conditions of Kurdish women with a perspective from above. Women who wrote about their experiences in Diyarbakir in Pazartesi identified themselves as Western, while Kurdish women were implied to be Eastern.

On the other hand, Necla Akçagöçe, who wrote both in Roza and Pazartesi, strongly criticized the orientalist attitude of the women's group who visited Diyarbakır. She says that they tried to teach Kurdish women about patriarchy as they were considered to be devoid of feminist consciousness, while the image of Turkish feminists was drawn as white, modern, and clever. And they are regarded as missionaries who carry the voice of tongueless Kurdish women to west by Akçagöçe, who claims that womanhood can be in a secondary position under the condition of cultural and national oppression.²⁵⁶ She reached the conclusion that clothes and language are not the main differences between Kurds and Turks but racism is which has a material and political base. Thereby, she does not believe that the proper method to defend feminism is the Kemalist way of civil code. Therefore, Akçagöçe challenged the subject-object /learner-teacher method of feminism without understanding the conditions of Kurdish women. For her, every woman should reach feminism on the basis of their experience, not following one way of feminism. She is closer to post feminism in this respect, which refer to *feminists* and not a single category of being a feminist.

In conclusion, Pazartesi is more sensitive to Kurdish issues; they put a distance to state policies which is derived from their socialist background. And Pazartesi does not ignore the ethnic identity of Kurdish women. On the other hand, there is not a shared approach on the subjects of the *ÇATOMs*, woman's suicide in Batman and Diyarbakır's visit. So this shows heterogeneity among women of Pazartesi if Kurdish women are in question.

²⁵⁵ Ayşe Düzkan, "Bekle Bizi Diyarbakır", 12; Yaşar Seymen, "Diyarbakır'daydık", *Pazartesi* 73, (April 2001): 13; Duygu Asena, "Kadınım adı: Ana", *Pazartesi* 73, (April 2001): 11.

2.3.2. The Approach of Pazartesi to Islamic Women

The approach of Pazartesi to Islamic women is shaped by its stance to the ideology of political Islam and Kemalism. This part will also shed light upon the standpoint of Pazartesi to Kemalism and political Islam. Here I do not pose the issue of 28 February²⁵⁷ since I leaned on it above within the political identity of Pazartesi. Firstly, Pazartesi observed the Islamic party under the political Islam. For example Pazartesi showed how Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi- RP*) influences the position of women due to its rising vote at local and general elections.²⁵⁸ They reached the conclusion that other parties could not bring any positive impact over women, but WP has a more rigid policy towards women.²⁵⁹ So, here political Islam is considered to be more threatening in the case of status of women. On the other hand, they raise the question whether the large number of women who worked for the election could change the perspective of Welfare Party to women or not. The interview with Sibel Eraslan, titled "I am a faithful feminist", stated that she and her group were dismissed after the success of the election.²⁶⁰ The interview articulated that she had political experience and she faced many difficulties due to female identity in her political life. Oppression of women due to their gender within the political arena is shown. Indistinguishably, Nesrin Tura indicated that women from different classes, nationalities, ethnic groups, political-ideological movements have a common point which is their womanhood. Their other identities also reveal different feminist aspects. Tura expressed how they formed the questions for the interview of Eraslan "we avoid discussing Islam.... Sexuality, family, in short, subjects which are related to private life.....".²⁶¹ This shows that they respect her sensitivities on the issue and avoided to judge her thoughts but rather tried to understand her as woman. After the interview with Sibel Eraslan, Kemalist feminists²⁶² attacked Pazartesi, because they argued that Pazartesi cooperated with theocracy and they regarded Ayşe Doğu,

²⁵⁶Necla Akçagöçe, "Önce Diyarbakır Sonra Batman Ama Esasında Biz Hep Buradayız", *Pazartesi* 76, (July 2001): 20

²⁵⁷ The date that military manipulated in the resign of the coalition government composed of welfare Party and True Path Party

²⁵⁸ The ideas of Aksu Bora, Yeşim Arat, Şirin Tekeli, Türkan Saylan, Aynur İlyasoğlu and Ayşe Doğu were placed in Pazartesi

²⁵⁹ "Ne panik, Ne de kış uykusu!", *Pazartesi* 17 (August 1996): 7.

²⁶⁰ Semra, Filiz, Asuman & Nesrin, "Ben İmanlı Bir Feministim", *Pazartesi* 6, (September 1995): 2.

²⁶¹ Nesrin Tura, "Kadınlık Durumuna Rağmen", *Pazartesi* 6, (September 1995): 3.

whose opinions on Welfare Party were published in *Pazartesi*, as ‘a militant of Sharia. Then, the response of Ayşe Doğu to Kemalist feminist women was published in *Pazartesi*. She blamed them to “take official ideology and seem to struggle, for freedom but in reality they served the system voluntarily” and she underlined “headscarf is a conscious choice.... It should be respected... we should create an environment in which women can act freely”.²⁶³

Doğu attacked Kemalist women on the basis of identity in her articles in *Pazartesi*, and she tried to show that veiled women also have woman’s consciousness and mind so they reject the notion of modernization which positions them as *others*. *Pazartesi* provided a space for women like Ayşe Doğu and Sibel Erarslan who defend Islam but at the same time criticize Welfare Party, because it helps to know the tension between political Islam and Islamic women on the subject of emancipation of women.²⁶⁴ *Pazartesi* responded to these criticisms with an analysis of modernization. It is admitted that modern society has provided some vehicles for the emancipation of women, but using them against Sharia in the line of woman struggle results in going back to a position prior to feminist consciousness.²⁶⁵ They refuse Kemalist type of feminism which is grounded on exclusion of different identities. For *Pazartesi*, Feminism is based on the criticism of modernization which implies sexism, because Kemalist proclaimed that educated and employed women who are in the public space obtain their freedom and this kind of thought prevents analyzing private life.²⁶⁶ But on the other hand they do not welcome Islam, either. The stance of *Pazartesi* on this subject is to “to reject a position between Kemalists and followers of Sharia”. While political Islam uses women in order to spread Islam, thereby allowing the appearance of women in public space to some extent, Kemalism also uses women to serve its ideology.²⁶⁷ So, acting on the basis of common oppression is more valuable for *Pazartesi*, it insists on women solidarity. They strongly reject to undervalue women due to their differences; hence they are against

²⁶² I use Kemalist feminist because they support Kemalists principle, modernization, and westernization for emancipation of women.

²⁶³ Ayşe Doğu, “Özgürlük Mücadelesi varoluş demektir!”, *Pazartesi* 113, (July- August, 2007): 118-117.

²⁶⁴ Gülnur Savran & Nesrin Tura, “ ‘Çağdaşlaşma’ söylemine teslim olamayız”, *Pazartesi* 18, (September 1996):11.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ “Ne panik, Ne de kış uykusu!”, *Pazartesi* 17, (August 1996): 7.

the belief that “in the name of feminism some women are supposed to have an identity while the identities of other women are ignored. Pazartesi emphasizes If they do not want Sharia, they should express how it oppresses women but not in the same way with the Kemalists.²⁶⁸ A policy to bring all women together under the umbrella of the movement for emancipation of woman is drawn. For example, in this aspect, ban over headscarf at universities was discussed in Pazartesi and they objected the ban at universities.

According to Ayşe Düzkan, veiled women are subjected to double oppression because of their clothes and female identity.²⁶⁹ It is criticized that Islamic women could not go to universities whereas Islamic men could, so the ban of headscarf leads to the return of women to the house.²⁷⁰ Writers of Pazartesi claimed that they are against all policies which exclude women from the public space, and that women should come together and resist this policy.²⁷¹ Also, under the cover page titled “No to the ban over headscarf”, Pazartesi puts forward views of women from different ideologies. In this case, orientation of Pazartesi is pro movement of veiled women, because while they challenge political Islam which sends confines women to the house, they refuse the discourse of seculars which prevents the appearance of veiled women in public institutions.²⁷² Wearing a headscarf is regarded as a right in the framework of freedom of decision over one’s own body, so ban over the headscarf, which is regarded as a political symbol, was not acceptable for Pazartesi.²⁷³ On the other hand, they opposed the beliefs that women are responsible for the desire of men, so they have to cover; or women and men are different due to creation; or the belief that there should be a division of labor on the basis of sex.²⁷⁴ Although Pazartesi is opposed to political Islam, they defend veiled women in terms of body politics. For Nesrin Tura, Felicity Party used headscarf for its own political interests, as women who worked for the local elections were sent to their home when they won the local election.²⁷⁵ Correspondingly, Pazartesi pointed out that Islamic press which

²⁶⁸ Id.

²⁶⁹ Ayşe Düzkan, “Türban Tartışması Mecliste: Yasaklanan örtü mü, kadınlar mı?”, *Pazartesi* 113 (August- September, 2007): 124.

²⁷⁰ Id.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 125.

²⁷² Nesrin Tura, “Türban Yasağına Hayır”, *Pazartesi* 113, (July-August, 2007): 157.

²⁷³ Id.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 159.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 158.

is against the ban over headscarf at universities, do not employ veiled women or give them lower positions.²⁷⁶ Here it is indicated that veiled woman is used by political Islam but also they are excluded even within Islamic working place which defends the headscarf right of women.

Moreover, besides the demonstrations for headscarf, Pazartesi started to observe new Islamic women, who questions the position of Islamic men and highlight women's rights in Islam in the framework of feminism. Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal, founder of Capital Platform, is considered to be closer to the feminist line because of her critical aspect to motherhood- womanhood. Pazartesi maintained that this new movement represented by people like Mualla Gülnaz, Elif Toros, Sibel Eraslan, Cihan Aktaş and Hidayet Tuksal might come up with a challenge to the sovereignty of Islamist men.²⁷⁷ Gonca Kuriş was regarded as a new kind of Islamic woman, who resisted patriarchal structure of Islam on the basis of feminism. According to Pazartesi, she was killed because she did not conform to the current system.

Pazartesi also introduced Women Rights Association against Discrimination (Ak-der). The starting point of this foundation is headscarf ban at the university. It presents itself as “an association which is open to both men and uncovered women!”²⁷⁸ Here they intended to demonstrate transformation of Islamic woman on the basis of institutionalization process.

As a result, Pazartesi looked to the movement of Islamic women in reference to socialist and feminist identities. The ban over headscarf is strongly attacked by Pazartesi, so wearing a headscarf is considered as a right of women over their own body. Also they did not hesitate to publish the opinions of Islamic women which led to the discussion between Pazartesi and Kemalists. The standpoint of Pazartesi is that women who are oppressed due to their sex should be defended regardless of their ideology or identity. Hence, sisterhood and common oppression are keywords to welcome Islamic women, too.

²⁷⁶ Nevin Cerav, “ Örtülü basım” da Örtülü Yok!”, *Pazartesi* 48 (March 1999): 10.

²⁷⁷ Yaprak Zihnioğlu, “İslam’ın Feminizasyonu Mümkün mü?”, *Pazartesi* 75, (June 2001): 5.

2.4. The Stance of Pazartesi to the State

Pazartesi located itself in opposition to the state and this stance is based on the struggle to preserve the independency of feminist movements and also in their socialist background. At the same time, this is an opposition to Kemalism as well. Therefore, implications and applications of state policies were a part of the agenda of Pazartesi. In this respect, civil law, penalty law, the court's decision on cases of rape and sexual harassment in detention, and prison, oppression to prisoners and hunger striking are the main subjects to challenge state policy.

Pazartesi engaged with the necessity to reform the current civil code that regulates private life on the grounds that it strengthens the continuity of the patriarchal sovereignty in private space. The controversial debate mostly concentrated on husband as the head of the family, certificate of residence is in the name of the husband, using the husband's surname, separation of property, and work by permission of the husband.

Separation of property is criticized with regard to domestic labor of women, which include cleaning the house, taking care of the children, cooking, and shopping. It is pointed out these services can be bought in the market, but when these responsibilities are undertaken by women, women is not paid, so this service creates surplus value to men for augmentation of his possession. Pazartesi assumes the same discourse with Marxist- Socialist feminist on the subject of domestic labor. This leads to trivialization of the unwaged domestic labor of women. It is stated that during marriage while men gain property, women are becoming poor, which shows its impact after divorce as women are victimized due to lack of possession although they have worked for years at the house.²⁷⁹ To prevent the disadvantaged status of woman in case of divorce, Pazartesi defends the unity of property, which is seen as a natural right of women.

²⁷⁸ Nevin Cerav, "Ak-Der: Erkeklerle de, Başlı Açık Kadınlara da Açık Demek!", *Pazartesi* 50, (May 1999): 9.

²⁷⁹ Nesrin Tura, "Mal Bölüşümü Lütuf Değil Hak", *Pazartesi* 34, (January 1998): 2-3; Filiz Kerestecioğlu, "Hak Ediyoruz", *Pazartesi* 47, (February 1999): 12- 13.

On the other hand, Pazartesi claimed that National People Party, Felicity Party and defenders of secularism come together to protect male dominance over women when civil code was in the process of reformulation.²⁸⁰ What is emphasized here is that conservatives, nationalists and secularists have similar policies to ignore the demands of women. So, on the subject of feminism, Pazartesi regards them to be in the same category. After the reformulation of the civil code, Pazartesi pointed out that it was a success of the woman movement. Interestingly, the impact of the accession to the European Union was not mentioned in Pazartesi.

In addition to the civil code, “The Protection of Family Law” is one of the issues to resist state policy. Although the essence of law includes the protection of the women’s bodies against violence, Pazartesi asks why it is framed under the category of family. Here, it is shown that state prefers to support family which is regarded as one of the causes of oppression of women, instead of the woman.

Another challenge in regard to a legal order is the penalty law which does not provide protection in cases of violence against women and which penalizes adultery. Pazartesi pointed out that women face rape and sexual harassment in their families, at their work, in prison, under detention but criminals are not penalized by the state. Pazartesi denounces the acts of state especially for the cases of rape and sexual abuse in detention. The court processes of Şükran Aydın, Remziye Dinç, Fatma Ülkü and Asiye who claimed to being raped by state officials were often published in Pazartesi. Writers accused the state for obstruction of evidence of rape as forensic medicine departments give reports only about whether sperm is around vagina or not. The writers tried to put pressure on state and create public opinion in order to make the necessary arrangements in favor of women.

Another criticism of Pazartesi is to the Directorate General on Status of Women (*Kadının Statüsü ve Sorunları Genel Müdürlüğü- KSSGM*) and Turkish State Minister for Women and Family Affairs (*Kadından ve Aileden Sorumlu Devlet Bakanlığı*) for their inability to produce effective policies for women. In the West, the Ministry of Women is autonomous or semi autonomous but in Turkey it is bound

²⁸⁰“Karılarımıza malımızı yedirmeyiz”, *Pazartesi* 74, (May 2001): 5, Filiz Kerestecioğlu, “Artık

to the prime ministry.²⁸¹ It is indicated that these institutions are bounded to other state institutions that make them more decorative than effective policy makers. Similarly, Pazartesi expressed that:

In the past, it was said that Turkish women were emancipated by Atatürk. Today, at least nobody says we as woman are emancipated. That means quiet a progress is made. It is now said that “if women need to be emancipated, we do it.”²⁸²

The indication of Pazartesi is that women have now consciousness outside of official ideology and they do not believe that Kemalism brought freedom for women. The independent woman’s movement can obtain emancipation but not through the state’s movement. Pazartesi depicts how the state interferes with the woman’s movement that defines itself independent from the official ideology. For example under the title of “8 March 1999 nationalist women,”²⁸³ Nesrin Tura argued that ‘mothers of the Republic’ were rewarded while women who reject this role were not allowed to participate in the celebration of 8 March in 1999.

Moreover Pazartesi criticized the state’s operations in prisons where prisoners demonstrated against transformation to f type prison. Against this action of the state, Pazartesi wrote ‘they saved people but by killing’ and added a photo which shows a burned woman after the operation.²⁸⁴ Here Pazartesi defined itself in opposition to the state due to its feminist and socialist identity.

Therefore, on the one hand Pazartesi struggled with the state in respect of legal arrangements and the court’s decisions, but also against the policies of the state for prisoners who demonstrated against f-type prisons. On the other hand, they are skeptical about the woman branches of the state which are not independent but rather located within the structure of prime ministry.

In the next part, women’s organizations and portraits will be discussed as a subsection of the approach of Pazartesi to the state. The reason I categorize this topic

Yeter! Tasarımlar değil, gerçek Dönüşümler istiyoruz!”, *Pazartesi* 56, (November 1999): 2.

²⁸¹ Gülnur Savran, “İyi Niyet Yetmez”, *Pazartesi* 4, (July 1995): 12.

²⁸²“Merhaba”, *Pazartesi* 49, (April 1999).

²⁸³Tura, “8 Mart Ulusal Kadın”, 2, 4.

under the approach of Pazartesi to the state is that Pazartesi tended to present women's organizations and figures outside of official ideology and the patriarchal perspective. And they are concrete examples of independency from state and its ideology.

2.4.1. Woman's organizations and Portraits²⁸⁵ of Women in Pazartesi

Pazartesi introduced women figures and women's organizations both from Turkey and Ottoman Empire. The purpose of the presentation of women's organizations and portraits is to construct women's history in the framework of feminist consciousness. That is, it aims to show women's history outside the official ideology.

For example, Halide Edip, Nezihe Muhiddin and Sabiha Sertel are presented as leading personalities who challenge the status quo and being forgotten by the system. It is stated that Nezihe Muhiddin worked for the right to vote and was the founder of the first woman party and then The Unity Turkish Women.²⁸⁶ Halide Edip, who defended liberal feminism, is labeled as a contrary figure to Kemalism,²⁸⁷ while Sabiha Sertel is considered socialist women who disobey the Kemalist regime.²⁸⁸ It is pointed out that what these three women have in common is that they were all penalized by Kemalist power because they disobeyed the rules of Kemalism and went outside Kemalist boundaries. Another important woman figure is Behice Boran, who was the head of a socialist party. Pazartesi depicted Boran not through her socialist identity but rather through her identity as women, a spouse and a bride.²⁸⁹ Pazartesi tried to publicize her not by her socialist identity but rather with her female identity. Mina Urgan is another personality presented by Pazartesi who prioritized Kemalist identity. Pazartesi conducted an interview with Urgan to comprehend the place feminist consciousness had in her life.²⁹⁰ Mina Urgan expressed during this

²⁸⁴ Beyhan, "Öldürerek Kurtardılar", *Pazartesi* 70, (January 2001): 2-3

²⁸⁵ Portrait is used for woman's figure.

²⁸⁶ Feryal Saygılıgil, "Nezihe Muhiddin Ne Alemde", *Pazartesi* 70, (January 2001): 24.

²⁸⁷ Yaprak Zihnioğlu, "Bu Yüzyılın Üç "En füsü" Şahsiyeti: Halide Edip, Nezihe Muhiddin, Sabiha Sertel", *Pazartesi* 58, (January 2000): 6.

²⁸⁸ Ibid. 7.

²⁸⁹ Neşe Erdilek, "Öteki Behice Boran", *Pazartesi* 31, (October 1997): 2.

²⁹⁰ Nesrin Tura, "Mina Urgan: 'Ben bir Dinozorum' ", *Pazartesi* 37, (April 1998): 26, 27, 28.

interview that Kemalist reforms had already provided women with the liberty they were seeking. Pazartesi concludes from this interview that Kemalism and feminism have a painful relationship with each other. Pazartesi examined that Mina Urgan as a Kemalist and Behice Boran as a socialist identified themselves as equal with man due to Kemalist reforms, which is considered the main feature of this generation regardless of their ideology. Also Pazartesi introduced women who were leaders in their respective areas, such as the first colonel, first female doctor, and articles focused on their private lives. For example, one of these women is Pakize Tarzi who was the first woman gynecologist and was a Soroptimist.²⁹¹ By presenting successful figures in the socioeconomic and political life, the writers try to show women that they can be successful even within the patriarchal system.

Moreover, women's organizations are considered to be an important step in the framework of institutionalization process of feminist movement towards emancipation of women. At the same time, they are perceived as independent areas for women to challenge patriarchy and the official ideology which shape women according to the needs of the system. In this respect, legal bureau for women, health centers, women association and shelters such as Purple Roof (*Mor Çatı*), Women's Center in Diyarbakır, (*Diyarbakır Kadın Merkezi - KAMER*), Mersin Woman's Shelter (*Mersin Kadın Sığınma Evi*), Flying Broom (*Uçan Süpürge*) are publicized in Pazartesi. They were regarded as positive contributions for the development of the woman's movement. However, under woman's organizations only two examples; Women' World (*Kadınlar Dünyası*) and the Policy of Association for Support and Training of Women Candidates (*Kadın Adayları Destekleme Ve Eğitim Derneği - Ka-Der*) which are problematized by Pazartesi will be discussed on the basis of the discourse of the journal.

The first initiative is the journal of Women' World, introduced by Firdevs Gümüšoğlu in an interview in Pazartesi as the follow-up of the previous Women World which was published between 1913 and 1921. This interview mainly focused on the political approach of the journal which is identified as Kemalist and secularist. Below is an excerpt from this interview:

²⁹¹ Nesrin Tura, "Pakize Tarzi: Tıbbiye'de bir 'Mücahit' ", *Pazartesi* 49, (August 1998): 28-29.

Ayşe Düzkan: What do you think of Kurdish women? Are they raped due to war?

W.W: Kurdish women might be facing certain problems specific to their region. I believe that they will produce their own policies and solutions.

AD: I am talking their appearance in the public space during the process of nationalization?

W.W: But, they are already present in the public space as much as the Turkish women... I don't approve of creating a forced definition which is "the condition of the Kurdish women". Women from Thrace have their problems as well.

AD: Is there a relation of oppression between Turkey and Thrace?

W.W: I don't think so.

AD: Do you have any particular policies for Kurdish women?

W.W: No, we have policies for women of Turkey, whether they are Kurdish or Laz. I strongly believe that there is an attempt to divide women in Turkey.

292

This interview represents how Pazartesi struggled with state and Kemalist oriented women's organizations and embraced other identities of women although Pazartesi introduced this journal to its readers to present other women's initiatives (organizations, journal... etc.). In the framework of feminist consciousness, it does not support the views of the journal Women's World, which is not regarded as an independent woman's organization, but rather as a representation of the system.

The second initiative is the policy of the Association for Support and Training of Women Candidates (*Ka-Der*) which is introduced under the subject of the political participation of women by Pazartesi. According to Pazartesi, supra party policy of *Ka-Der* is not found to be sincere because an application of a veiled woman was not admitted by *Ka-Der* due to the headscarf.²⁹³ Pazartesi criticized *Ka-Der* for not opening its doors to women with different identities. One criticism to its supra party policy is that *Ka-Der* focused on candidates from central parties while ignoring the candidates from marginal parties with a strategy for increasing the number of women in political life. Yet, the question about the canalization of votes remains since *Ka-Der* asserts that it does not take sides in parties.²⁹⁴ This supra party policy, according to Pazartesi, also connotes essentialism in the sense that the support given to women candidates is solely based on womanhood and the belief in the positive features of

²⁹² Ayşe Düzkan, "Kadınlar Dünyası '99", *Pazartesi* 55 (October 1999): 12-13.

²⁹³ Nesrin Tura, "Bulanık Suda Kadın", *Pazartesi* 48, (March 1999): 3-4.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

women such as peace-making.²⁹⁵ Women should enter the assembly by having certain politics, not just due to their sex. Also, Ayşe Düzkan explained her ideas in a similar direction by saying “the representation of women in politics does not mean necessarily mean political representation”.²⁹⁶ It is stressed that without any social program or certain politics, this approach does not bring any positive results for woman. In the elections of 1999, twenty two women were elected to the Assembly and the number of woman at the assembly reached its highest level since 1935. Yet as Düzkan argued, this was necessarily positive development for women as these women embraced the ideas of nationalism and conservatism that serve patriarchy as well. An article in Pazartesi titled “the winner of the election is nationalism”, “nationalism- conservatism- misogyny won” accompanied with a photo in which a group of men posed with flags and guns depicted this dire condition.²⁹⁷ Therefore, Pazartesi stresses quality instead of quantity. Contradictory to this, another article in Pazartesi advocated quota for women members of the assembly as strategic instrument to resist patriarchy.²⁹⁸ Pazartesi’s presentation of *Ka-Der* gives us a clue about the views of Pazartesi on quota and political participation of women at the assembly.

In conclusion, Pazartesi brought to the surface woman’s organizations and portraits from Turkey by defining their own feminism which adheres to local feminism and outside of official ideology. And woman’s organizations which follow official ideology, locate itself near the state’s policy and exclude other identities of women were criticized by Pazartesi. On the other hand, in their introduction of woman’s portraits from Turkey, Armenian, Greek and Kurdish women did not find their due representation. That can be seen paradoxical considering the stance of Pazartesi which welcomes women from varied ethnicities and religions under sisterhood. However it should be noted that the standpoint of Pazartesi is not judgmental towards women who prioritize other identities such as religion and ethnicity.

²⁹⁵ Id.

²⁹⁶ Düzkan, “Hareket Nereye”, 23.

²⁹⁷ “Merhaba”, *Pazartesi* 50,(May 1999); Ayşe Düzkan, “Susmayalım”, *Pazartesi* 50, (May 1999): 2-3.

²⁹⁸ “Kadınlar Siyasette Temsili Eşitliğin Yollarını Zorluyor”, *Pazartesi* 3, (June 1995): 6.

Unlike Kemalist women who do not enjoy plurality in the framework of identity and defend the principles of Kemalism,²⁹⁹ Pazartesi was inclusive of Kurdish and Islamic women.

²⁹⁹ Ideology of Kemalism consists of six principles, which are republicanism, statism, populism, laicism, nationalism and reformism. Kemalist women mostly defend the principles of laicism and nationalism.

CHAPTER III

FEMINIST APPROACH AND KURDISH IDENTITY in ROZA

Roza is the first Kurdish feminist journal of the northern Kurdish women.³⁰⁰ Its aim is not just to resist Turkish feminists but also to criticize the Kurdish struggle and Kurdish woman's organizations.³⁰¹ The meaning of the name *Roza* shows the aim of the journal more clearly. Firstly, Roza means "sunrise" in Kurdish, which might refer to Kurdish women coming to be in the public space with their feminist and ethnic identity. Secondly, there is the similarity in the name between Roza and Roza Luxemburg³⁰² who was a fighter against discrimination based on ethnicity and gender.³⁰³ The main sections of Roza are as follows: Woman's news from the world and Turkey, caricature's page, postbox, letters from the readers, women from the eye of men, men from the eye of women, Prison no. 5 in Diyarbakır, what caught the attention of Hoppala Hanım, and rebel to the history.

The first issue of Roza demonstrates the foundation process of this journal. On March 11 of 1989, writers of Roza participated in a demonstration which was organized by feminists from Turkey. It is pointed out that their presentations were monitored more strongly than other papers, which brought about the awareness about how the identity of woman and ethnic identity are intertwined and how difficult it is to work with women from the dominant nation. On the other hand, they also had problems with Kurdish organizations because of patriarchy. These developments contributed to the foundation of Roza in 1996, a time which is declared to be the "renaissance of Kurdish women" because of the foundation of Kurdish woman associations, organizations and Kurdish woman platforms. As mentioned before, institutionalization was one of the main features of feminism of 1990s in Turkey.

³⁰⁰ "Giriş", *Roza* 1, no.1, (March, 1996): 3-5

³⁰¹ "Giriş", *Roza* 13, no.3, (March, 1998): 1.

³⁰² Ömer Çaha, (2010), 382.

³⁰³ Hatice Yaşar, *Roza* 1, no. 1, (March, 1996): 8.

Roza published 17 issues between 1996 and 2000. It was planned to be published bimonthly but that did not take place regularly due to economic and political reasons. Roza did not obtain any funds from any organization; it was financed by the writers themselves. According to them, this provided them with autonomy to work without being bounded to any party or organization.³⁰⁴ The writers of Roza are Hande, Fatma Kayhan, Hatice Yaşar, Dilşah, Ayşegül, Canan, Hatice Yaşar, Dilşah, Ayşegül, Canan, Hacer Yıldırım, Dicle, Hazal Çelik, Selma, Yelda, H. Şevin, Bercan, Cevahir, Fate, Roşa, Sibel, Gülçin, Şilan, Dılvin, Zeynep Dara, Hediye Yılmaz, and Saniye.³⁰⁵ Roza also opened its doors to Armenians, Greeks and lesbian female writers under the section for identity politics. Roza aimed to work on the basis of collectivity, non hierarchical structure and rotation.³⁰⁶ The core cadre of the journal, except Fatma Kayhan, did not have any writing experience and did not participate in a feminist movement before.³⁰⁷ They came from a socialist movement and the Kurdish struggle. After the fifth issue of Roza, five writers left to found another Kurdish feminist journal namely Jujin.

The early issues of Roza could not bring about a radically feminist identity. Also they indicated that their ideas, views were heterogeneous ranging from socialist, nationalist, socialist feminist and nationalist feminist.³⁰⁸ Thus they put forward different approaches to the emancipation of women.³⁰⁹ However, they laid a stress on the Marxist – socialist feminist line. For instance, it was written in the journal that devaluation of domestic labor feeds capitalism and the housewife internalizes housework even if she does not recognize it as work.³¹⁰ After the arrest of Abdullah Öcalan, Roza put its emphasis more on ethnic identity rather than gender identity. Fatma Kayhan said about the situation this change in direction brought about that they were excluded even from the socialist and feminist environment and left alone.

³⁰⁴Canan, “Feminist Kürt Kadın Oluşumları (Roza ve Jujin Dergiler)”, in *Özgürlüğü Ararken*, ed. Devrim Çakır, (İstanbul: A marg i Press, 2005), 226.

³⁰⁵ Generally the writers of Roza used only their names without surnames. This might be pointed to be afraid of being exposed. When we looked at their discourse of Roza which is pressure of the state over them, if the their ethnic identity is in the question.

³⁰⁶ Fatma Kayhan, “Roza Jujin Ayrılığını Yazmak İki Yıl Sonra”, *Roza* 14, no. 3, (November-December, 1998): 43.

³⁰⁷ Canan, (2005), 226.

³⁰⁸ “Merhaba”, *Roza* 1, no.1, (March, 1996): 4.

³⁰⁹ Id.

³¹⁰ Dilşah, “Bağımsız Kadın Örgütlenmesi”, *Roza* 3, no: 1, (July-August, 1996) : 22; Canan, “Sırtı Kamburlular”, *Roza* 3, no: 1, (July-August, 1996): 4.

Yet they came to be supported by “Kurdish men who do not buy a feminist Kurdish journal under normal conditions”.³¹¹ Here the implication of Roza is that loneliness policy pushed them to leave the cooperation with Turkish side. And under these circumstances Kurdish people who have different stance with them, helped them due to ethnic attachment. Ethnic bound easified to rapprochement of Roza with Kurdish struggle whilst Roza moved away from Turkish side. The articles, hence, came to revolve around the issue of discrimination based on ethnicity.

This chapter consists of two sections which center on feminist identity and ethnic identity taken into consideration through an analysis of the discourse of Roza. Within the section on feminist identity, issues of body politics, motherhood, family, birth control will be discussed. In the second section of this chapter, after a discussion on Kurdish identity, issues of mother tongue in daily life - education in mother tongue, Kurdish woman’s organizations and portraits will be presented.

3.1. The Feminist Identity in Roza

During the 1980s in Turkey, feminism was identified with the common oppression women regardless of the various identities of women, which is the main feature of second wave feminism. However, during 1990s, the discourse of common oppression –sisterhood- is changed by the presentation of new identities which is in parallel to the discourse of third wave feminism. One of the new woman groups coming into the scene is Kurdish women who started to establish their own organizations.³¹² Roza is a product of these developments and a representative of Kurdish women within feminist movements. Feminist approach of Roza can be considered similar to the approach of black feminism especially on the subject of *dual oppression*, a term, as introduced by bell hooks that is used to explain the oppression faced by black women both from white women and black men. It can be suggested that Kurdish women’s struggle which is directed both at Turkish women and Kurdish men has similar roots with black feminism in terms of dual oppression. Along those lines, Roza, with the aim of acceptance of differences, tried to support

³¹¹ Fatma Kayhan, “İrkçılık Yanı başımızda, İçimizde Her yerde”, *Roza* 16, no.4, (August-September):12.

³¹²“Kürt Feminizmi”, *Roza* 15, no. 4, (February-March, 1999):3.

various identities of women such as religious and ethnic identities. It is also important to note that, to some extent Roza criticizes Kurdish women organizations which exclude other women identities (sexual, religious, ethnic) or which include norms of patriarchal Kurdish organizations.

Firstly, Roza deals with the subject of how to raise consciousness of Kurdish woman with respect to their position in the society. For one group of Kurdish women, the first steps they put forward to be included in the public space are working in mixed institutions³¹³ and obtaining a university degree. Secondly, they address traditional Kurdish women who know only Kurdish and wear traditional clothes, and who were politicized as they visited their relatives in prison and police stations. Another group of women is constituted of prisoners who question womanhood. Lastly, they address immigrant Kurdish women in foreign countries who met different cultures, lifestyles and languages and who have the opportunity to conceptualize a world outside feudalism. In this perspective, we can say that the socialization of Kurdish women followed varied directions depending on the socio-economic position of the women. It should be indicated that women, here, are not just the objects of the system but also act as subjects³¹⁴ because Kurdish women challenged the orientation of Kurdish struggle and started to establish their own organizations according to feminist approach since 1990s.

Publishers of Roza, as representatives of an independent Kurdish woman journal, identified the main perspective of Kurdish feminism as centered both on a woman's identity and Kurdish identity. So, both identities are considered inalienable for Kurdish women. In line with this, Roza addressed both sexism and racism on its cover and in the articles. Therefore my analysis of Kurdish feminism will be presented both in terms of womanhood and Kurdish ethnic identity. The first target of Roza is Turkish feminists.³¹⁵ Roza asserts that Kurdish feminist does not mean 'Turkish feminist'.³¹⁶ However, the question here is, "who are Turks?" They accept

³¹³ Mixed institution means men and women work together.

³¹⁴ Lale Yalçın, - Heckmann & Poulaine Ven Gelder, "90'larda Türkiye'de Siyasal Söylemin Dönüşümü Çerçevesinde Kürt Kadınların İmajı: Bazı Eleştirel Değerlendirmeler", in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004): 344.

³¹⁵ Özlem A Ipşen, "Daha Nicelerine", *Roza* 4, no. 1, (September-October, 1996): 33.

³¹⁶ This expression is used by Roza. And I will use it in the same way in order to show how they identify feminists from Turkey

Turks as a homogeneous group, and they create “otherness” due to a reactionary act on the basis of their ethnicity similar to how black women use the word *white* referring to a homogeneous group due to the racism of white women.

Roza addresses Turkish feminists by saying: “only women who have their own experience of oppression are able to express it”.³¹⁷ The implication of this expression is that Kurdish women have different experiences as women. Their problems with Turkish feminist movement stems from their ethnic identity and their refusal of the universal perspective of Turkish feminists that ignore other experiences of womanhood and other perspectives.³¹⁸ Roza underlined that as woman they share the same identity which is universal, yet ethnic and class identity influence their experience of womanhood as different from Turkish feminists. Therefore, their strategy and policy are not the same with them.³¹⁹ From the Marxist perspective, class identity means Kurdish women are workers while Turks are the bourgeois. According to Roza, oppression of woman cannot merely be presented from one perspective by Turkish feminists in the framework of melting pot policy, thereby; women can be oppressed due to race, class, and religion. Roza indicated that the discourse of the 1980s of common oppression which was presented by Turkish feminists is a handicap for feminism.³²⁰ Feminism does not mean only sexual freedom but also a reaction against racism and explosive relations.³²¹ Correspondingly, many articles of Roza are attributed to black feminism (dual oppression due to their ethnicity and womanhood) under the third wave feminism.

In the first issue of Roza, there were criticisms to Turkish feminists. They object to the words “We are women” used by feminists because “we” here means women who act, dress, speak and think like us.³²² For them, this kind of thought contradicts with the policy of self experience and leads to the generalization of some certain women’s experiences to be presented as each woman’s problem.³²³

³¹⁷ “Merhaba”, *Roza* 1, no.1, (March, 1996):3.

³¹⁸ Id.

³¹⁹ “Kürt Feminizmi”, *Roza* 15, no. 4, (February-March, 1999) : 4.

³²⁰ Fatma Kayhan, “8 Mart’ın Düşündürdükleri: Türk Feminist Hareketin Çıkması”, *Roza* 13, no.3, (September-October, 1998) : 9.

³²¹ Cevahir, “Kadınca Bir Politik Kültüre Doğru”, *Roza* 4, no. 1, (September-October, 1996) : 28.

³²² Necla Akçagöçe, “Feminizminin Ötekileri: Siyah Feministler”, *Roza* 10, no. 2 (September-October, 1997): 13.

³²³ Ibid., 13- 14.

As I have mentioned before, Roza's approach resembles certain aspects of black feminism, which resisted white feminism due to its ethno-centralism, racism, and heterosexuality. The fifth issue of Roza starts with references to the movement of black feminism and women from outside the west. The reason to mention African, Asian and Middle Eastern women is that the experience of Kurdish women is close to the oppression they face based on race and class. In these pages, the orientation of Turkish feminists towards west-white feminist resources is also exposed.³²⁴

So, for Roza, feminism does not only belong to Turkish women but it is also for Kurdish women who defended a feminism based on differences and anti-racism.³²⁵ We should keep in mind that Kurdish women could not present their demands within the organization, journals and demonstrations of Turkish feminists. One reason for this, according to Roza, is that one of Kurdish women's demands is security for their lives in the middle of an ongoing war. Their first struggle is for survival and then to fight against sexual abuse. Under third wave feminism, the same argument takes place between white women from the first world and black women from the third world whose priority is to live and then fight for feminism due to poverty.

Another point which is evaluated by Roza is that differences should be neither upraised nor devalued; others should be admitted with their identity.³²⁶ From the viewpoint of Roza, Turkish feminists are blind and deaf to the demands of Kurdish women. It is put forward that:

The history of Kurdish women's movement is young, it is new. It is not easy to abandon the knowledge of the oppressor and to reach our own knowledge. We obtained firstly theoretical – practical seeds from Turkish resources and European white feminists. The dress does not fit, but we don't look for ways to fit the dress but rather we search for a new one..... Turkish feminists receive their resources from western feminist women that is rooted in common oppression and they close their eyes to differences. Kurdish women do not feel close to the policy of Turkish feminists Therefore they were not interested in feminism.... At the end of 1980s, black feminism brought serious criticisms to white feminism. We should evaluate this experience.... Also the feminist experience of women who live in the area of the Middle

³²⁴ "Giriş", *Roza* 7, no. 2, (March- April, 1997):1.

³²⁵ Kayhan, "8 Mart'ın Düşündürdükleri: Türk Feminist Hareketin Çıkması", 9.

³²⁶ Alpşen, "Daha Nicelerine",34.

East. It is possible to create feminism by recognizing these experiences and without rejection of locality.³²⁷

All these show that Roza searches for a feminism which reflects their experience, locality more and they found the experiences of blacks and women from the third world close to themselves. Yet, they do not deny that they firstly utilize Turkish feminism which is connected to white-west feminism. Kurdish feminism has established common points with the Middle East on the basis of geography, and with the black women and women from third world on the basis of experience, demands and ethnicity; while Turkish feminists are seen as white, western, first world. As a response to the consequences of white and Turkish feminism, Fatma Kayhan put forward that constructing one single policy based on one's own experience bears within itself the risk to ignore differences in, for instance, class, ethnicity, religion, education and marital status.³²⁸ Here, what is emphasized is the need to find a feminism which is based on our experience but does not also ignore the diversity of Kurdish women. So Kurdish women are not recognized as a homogeneous unit and they have different sub-identities under Kurdish identity while Turkish feminists are presented as a homogenous group. From this point, Roza emphasized immigrant identity of Kurdish women to indicate how they vary from Turkish women. Roza analyzed the relation between Kurdish women as immigrants and Turkish women as natives and drew parallels to the relation between immigrant women in Europe and European women.³²⁹ For example, one of the articles in Roza mentioned the platform of Dutch immigrant women who stated that what they had in common was not womanhood but rather the fact they were all subjected to discrimination.³³⁰ Here Kurdish women who emigrated from Eastern Anatolia share the same experience with immigrant women in Europe. In this case, womanhood is located in a secondary position whilst discrimination obtains a more powerful role in their life as their ethnic and community identity is in question.

On the other hand, it is pointed out that the identity of Kurdish woman as immigrants leads to being subjected to double oppression compared to Turkish

³²⁷ Fatma Kayhan, "Kadın Kurtuluş Hareketinin Stratejileri", *Roza* 10, no. 2, (September- October, 1997): 34.

³²⁸ Id.

³²⁹ Cevahir, "İrkçilik- Ayırımcılığın Şekilleri", *Roza* 3, no. 1, (March, 1996): 18.

women. Immigrant Kurdish women might feel insecure and afraid of discrimination on the basis of their language and clothes which cause isolation of Kurdish women from outside and directs their time on childcare and housework.³³¹ Language may lock these women at the house but it is also a vital part of their identity which should be protected.

For feminist movements, the events of 8 March are both a point of juncture between Turkish and Kurdish women but also an area for polemic.³³² One of the debatable 8 March protests took place in 1998. Its title was “No to War and Violence against Women” which led to the separation between Turkish feminists, socialists and Kurdish women. First discussion was about Kurdish slogans. Roza cited the reaction of Turkish women, such as “lottery hit us” when Kurdish women were willing to write their slogans in Kurdish.³³³ Roza also reproached Jiyan Cultural House for their acceptance of Turkish slogans, and asked the question “why do Turkish women draw the rules and Kurdish women are supposed to confirm and obey them?”³³⁴ Roza rejects all forms of intervention on the subject of mother tongue. Hence, women from Roza participated in the meeting of People’s Democracy Party (*Halkın Demokrasi Partisi- HADEP*) in Taksim; the reason was the insistence of Turkish side on common oppression discourse and rejection of Kurdish slogans. Language is the main sensitive point of Roza as they regard it as the symbol of Kurdish identity. So, they chose to stay with women of HADEP whom they found to be more close to Roza in regard of ethnicity and language. The second reason for this choice is related to two meetings that took place in one day. Freedom and Democracy Party (*Özgürlük Ve Dayanışma Partisi- ÖDP*) and Confederation of Revolutionary Worker's Trade Unions (*Devrimçi İşçi Sendikası Konfederasyonu- DİSK*) organized their meeting in Şişli, which was called “No to War and Violence against Women”, while Kurdish side decided to go to Taksim. Roza accused Turkish groups for the police violence that occurred that day as a result of conducting two separate meetings. Also, the press release of Şişli meeting was criticized due to the

³³⁰ Fatma Kayhan, “Hollanda’ da Göçmen Kadın Olmak”, *Roza* 8, no. 2, (May-June, 1997): 26.

³³¹ Füsun Tatlıgil, “Göç Yaraları Sarıyıyor, Büyütüyor”, *Roza* 9, no. 2, (July-August, 1997):24.

³³² Zeynep Kutluata, *The Politics Of Difference Within The Feminist Movement in Turkey as Manifested in the Case of Kurdish Woman/Feminist Journals*, (M. A. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2003), 50-51.

³³³ Kayhan, 8 Mart ’ın Düşündükleri: Türk Feminist Hareketinin Çıkmazı, 11.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

lack of statements about the oppressor and the oppressed nation. Hence all of these events were identified as actions to exclude Kurdish women by Roza.³³⁵

Another disputable meeting took place in 8th March 1999. Roza pointed out that only woman's groups which have friendly relations with the state's ideology were permitted to participate in this meeting whereas all opposition groups were forbidden. Nesrin Tura from Pazartesi described the meeting as 'National Sovereignty and Woman Holiday' in a humorous way, which was shared by Roza, too.³³⁶ According to Fatma Kayhan, ban over 8 March was due to the participation of Kurdish women in the celebration of 8 March.³³⁷ Roza also mentioned that Istanbul Women Platform was penalized and banned from attending the meeting of 8 March in 1999 although it refused Kurdish slogans, which resulted in the separation of Kurdish women and their participation in "Organized from Now On" in 1998. Therefore, it can be concluded that Roza was against Turkish side³³⁸ and that collaboration with state did not bring any positive results as those women groups were penalized by state, too.

Moreover, besides Turkish feminists, Roza directed its criticism to other Kurdish women and their organizations. For example, some Kurdish women claim that Kurdish society has already a feminist approach which is rooted in the life of the Kurdish village. This comment is found unrealistic by Roza.³³⁹ Roza maintains that this idea is supported by Kurdish nationalists who suggest that Kurdish women have already reached their freedom due to the matriarchal structure of the Kurdish family. Roza perceives this as a game of Kurdish nationalists to prevent any Kurdish woman movement in terms of feminism which is feared to divide the Kurdish struggle. Another criticism is for Jujin, a Kurdish journal, addressing their remark; "lesbians and men should take their hands off women's bodies" during the Kurdish woman platform. Roza accused Jujin of looking at lesbianism with disdain and from a

³³⁵ Ibid. 10.

³³⁶ Fatma Kayhan, "8 Mart 99: Milli ve Resmî", *Roza* 16, no.4, (August-September, 1999): 25; Funda, "Gecikmiş 8 Mart Değerlendirmesi", *Roza* 16, no.4, (August-September, 1999): 26.

³³⁷ Kayhan, "8 Mart 99: Milli ve Resmî", 25.

³³⁸ Turkish side is used by Roza's narratives so I preferred to use same words in order to be loyal to texts of Roza.

³³⁹ Fatma Kayhan, "Bir Kürt Kadın Konferansı Daha Geçti", *Roza* 14, no.3, (November-December, 1998): 3.

heterosexual point of view.³⁴⁰ Also, there was a discussion between Roza and Jujin over the hierarchy amongst women.³⁴¹ Roza blamed Jujin for being Kemalist Kurds who are considered to be educated and elite women, who believe that if women are educated or if they work they can reach their emancipation.³⁴² The resistance of Roza to Jujin can be thought in respect of different identities and different ways for emancipation of women under the third wave feminism.

The second response of Roza is directed to Kurdish men who ignore the identity of their womanhood because Kurdish organizations, where patriarchy is dominant, regard feminism as a luxury and argue that it is not a suitable time to defend feminism due to Kurdish struggle which is regarded to be more significant than woman's movement. Woman as a landmark of community, conveyer of collective ethnic identity and also a citizen of a nation state leads to increase their burdens because they are perceived as a resistance area against the state.³⁴³ However, Roza insisted that women as a group are oppressed differently by men, so they argued that emancipation of women could not be reached without an examination of male superiority³⁴⁴ because men do not allow women in decision making processes even about women related issues. Yet, when Kurdish women want to be active in decision making processes or start to mention about the rights of women, they are declared as betrayers of the Kurdish struggle by Kurdish men.³⁴⁵ This shows the oppression by Kurdish men. Roza continues to point out that; "when women are needed within the struggle, men do not hesitate to call them for help, for the success of the struggle. However, afterwards women are sent back to their traditional roles".³⁴⁶ The example of Algeria was given to show how women were used in the national movement and how Algerian women did not obtain their freedom after the independency of Algeria. Therefore, Roza criticized Kurdish men for not giving up their feudal mentality although they call themselves intellectuals and democrats.³⁴⁷ It can be inferred that Roza criticized Kurdish political class as well those who promise

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 4.

³⁴¹ Id.

³⁴² Kayhan, "Roza Jujin Ayrılığını Yazmak İki Yıl Sonra", 44.

³⁴³ Kandiyoti, 182.

³⁴⁴ Fatma Kayhan, "Kadın Kurtuluş Hareketi Bir Ayrıcalıktır!", *Roza* 9, no. 2, (July-August, 1997): 9.

³⁴⁵ Hatice Yaşar, "Kadın ve Siyaset Ve de Roza", *Roza* 1, no.1, (March, 1996): 9.

³⁴⁶ Id.

³⁴⁷ Aliye Uğur, "Feodal Kafalı Sosyalistler", *Roza* 13, no.3, (September-October, 1998) : 40.

to demolish patriarchal values after emancipation because when they come to power, they forget their promise and declare that these customs and traditions are considered as a part of Kurdish values. Intellectual Kurdish men could not be relied upon for Kurdish woman's movement. Also, the writers of *Roza* attacked Kurdish male socialists who present feminism as a movement of women from the bourgeoisie. For *Roza*, feminism does not prevent either class struggle or social struggle since feminism refers to woman movement to reach emancipation.³⁴⁸ *Roza* voices its criticism in these words: "Men are slaves of the Turkish state but sisters are slaves of the slaves and we are women who struggle for a so-called asexual utopia".³⁴⁹ The important message at the core of this expression is that center belongs to the state; semi periphery is inhabited by Kurdish men, while periphery belongs to Kurdish women who are subjected to a double oppression by the state and Kurdish men. *Roza* suggests that the discourse of the crisis between socialist and Kurdish movement has similarities to the tension between the Kurdish movement and Kurdish feminists. "According to the socialists if the oppressed group is allowed to be alone, it might fall into the trap of either capitalism or feudalism."³⁵⁰ The same logic is used for feminism and Kurdish struggle as well. "If women are allowed to stay alone, they might be assimilated or they might participate in the feminist movement."³⁵¹ To challenge the notion of leadership, it is suggested that Kurds should speak on their own behalves to voice their own demands and needs and not under the leadership of Turkish socialists. In the same regard, Kurdish women should also speak for themselves to demand their emancipation and not under the leadership of Kurdish men or Turkish women.³⁵² Here Yaşar insisted that Kurdish woman should use female language (as put forth by the eco-feminists and cultural feminists) which can be considered to develop self consciousness, obtain the authority over their body and self determination ability. Independency is used as a keyword for the success of woman's movement to challenge patriarchal ideology.³⁵³ *Roza* mentions that Kurdish men who have heterogeneous ideologies paradoxically can come to a common point

³⁴⁸ Fatma Kayhan, "Köle Köylü Annelerimiz, Özgür Kentli Kadınlar", *Roza* 3, no.1, (July-August, 1998): 11.

³⁴⁹ Sibel Doğan, "Evet Erkekler Türk Devletinin Köleleri Ama Biz Bacılar Kölelerinin Köleliyiz", *Roza* 2, no.1, (May-June, 1996): 6.

³⁵⁰ Hatice Yaşar, "Erkeklerle Mübah, Kadınlara Günah Feminizm", *Roza* 3, no.1, (June-August, 1996):8

³⁵¹ Id.

³⁵² Id.

³⁵³ Sema, "Kürt Kadın Kimlikleri", *Roza* 2, no.1, (May-June, 1996): 18.

easily if the issue is women: “religions left the emancipation of women to the other world, to paradise; socialists to after socialism and nationalists say it will come after the emancipation of the nation”.³⁵⁴ It is claimed that “one freedom could not be bound to or be delayed for other freedoms”.³⁵⁵ At this point, Roza evaluated all ideologies as obstacles in front of women and hence underlined the necessity of an independent woman’s movement. In line with this, they refused to be part of the Kurdish struggle and to cooperate with Kurdish intellectual men. Roza addresses Kurdish women in order to take their attention on the fact that; “our voice is ignored, our identity as women is delayed. Day by day the conditions of Kurdish women worsen. Although half of Kurdish population consists of women, Kurdish women are ignored.”³⁵⁶ Therefore, the emancipation of Kurdish women depends firstly on the examination of Kurdish patriarchal system which ignores the condition of Kurdish women and in which all significant positions belong to Kurdish men.

Another criticism of Roza is directed at Kurdish men who claimed that Kurdish women, who come from an urban environment and have educational background, are not oppressed when compared with Kurdish women from the village. This approach is criticized on the grounds that it ignored the oppression of women who live in metropolises and are educated. It is indicated that educated women or women from metropolises are also subjected to violence. There are cases of rape and sexual abuse in big cities as well.³⁵⁷ On the other hand, Roza tries to reveal how women from metropolises are attacked by Turkish women and Kurdish men alike. While educated Kurdish women are regarded as “assimilated”, Turkish women ask why you demand different identity, you look like us. This shows how they are squeezed between the accusation of assimilation and ethnic ignorance. Hence, we can say that while Turkish women have the tendency to propose that Kurdish women should forget their ethnic identity, Kurdish men defend that they forget their identity as women.³⁵⁸ Roza resists against Kurdish men and Turkish feminists who take away their identity and body respectively. This sheds a light on

³⁵⁴ Yaşar, “Kadınlık ve Siyaset Ve de Roza”, 11.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 9.

³⁵⁶ Uğur, “Feodal Kafalı Sosyalistler”, 40.

³⁵⁷ Kayhan, “Köle Köylü Annelerimiz, Özgür Kentli Kadınlar”, 11.

³⁵⁸ Yaşar, “Erkeklere Mübah, Kadınlara Günah Feminizm”, 9.

the slogans of Roza which suggest, as mentioned before, that Kurdish women should continue their struggle by preservation of both identity: Kurdish and women.

To conclude, Roza establishes a feminism which is similar in its roots to black feminism. It challenges not only Kurdish men but also Turkish feminists with respect to gender and ethnic identity. In this section, I attempted to elaborate how Roza framed its feminist approach on the basis of narratives of Roza. I will also try to show their responses to sides, Kurdish men and Turkish feminists, through an analysis of the subjects of body politics, motherhood, family and birth control under the headline of feminist identity.

3.1.1. The Body Politics of Roza: Rape Culture and Honor Killing

One of the main topics of the articles in Roza is related to rape and honor killings, which are considered as violence towards woman's body. These two subjects take place under the same title because it is thought that there is a cause and effect relation between them.

Rape is seen, by Roza, as a culture, which can be considered in connection with militarism to occupy woman's body. It is categorized as a kind of war technique and a sort of power relation to prove the possession of power of the state and men.³⁵⁹ Roza stated that when compared to Turkish women, Kurdish women feel the effects of rape double, as coming from the state and Kurdish men due to the ongoing war.³⁶⁰ Roza tried to catch the attention of the public on this subject by presenting court processes of rape victims, especially who claimed to be were raped by state officials. They became the voice of rape victims such as Remziye Dinç and Şükran Aydın in Eastern and Southeastern part of Turkey and gave them support during the court processes.³⁶¹ They indicated that Kurdish women were badly affected by sexual abuse and rape committed not only by soldier or guard of the village but also from the strict honor code and backwardness of customs and traditions.³⁶² They also

³⁵⁹ Fatma Kayhan, "Aydın Kürt Erkeği Kendini Sorgulayacak mı? Ya da Ne Zaman?", *Roza* 2, no.1, (May-June, 1996):16.

³⁶⁰ Id.

³⁶¹ Fatma Kayhan, "Remziye' ler Yalnız Değil", *Roza* 4, no.1, (September-October, 1996): 2-3.

³⁶² Gülçin, "Cinsel Şiddet", *Roza* 4, no.1, (September-October, 1996): 35.

published stories of women such as from Bosnia or Albania who were raped during the wars and the consequences of war for women were revealed. Roza intended to demonstrate that during the war women are subjected to double oppression which can come from their own society and from the other side. In view of these, Roza proposes a woman's movement which is believed to prevent a rising militarism because it defends that the nature of women is peaceful and such a movement has the chance to overcome militarism, war and rape culture.³⁶³ This analogy between women and nature is brought forward by cultural feminists. Roza attacks some concepts like heroism and courage which are considered to contribute to the continuity of violence and militarism. According to Roza, women should stand against war but not by individual initiative but rather through organizations and cooperation of Kurdish and Turkish women.³⁶⁴ War was especially emphasized by Roza due to the increasing militarism in the region and they expected support from all the women on the basis of organization.

The second subject is honor killings, which is a penalty for women who have relations or lose their virginity outside marriage.³⁶⁵ Roza indicated that honor killings are a part of rape culture which is supported by law, social values and customs, and which reinforces the higher status of men.³⁶⁶ This is the reason why nobody goes after the murderer when he is on the run. Roza comments on this subject from the viewpoint of both Turkish and Kurdish side. As Kandiyoti says women who violate the rules of the community are penalized.³⁶⁷ Because women are seen as representatives of the community in terms of honor. However, Roza pointed out that if Kurdish men kill Kurdish women, Turkish newspapers present the case as based on Kurdish customs, backward values, and savagery of Kurds. Roza argues that this presentation is racist because honor killings are not specific to Kurds; Turks commit this crime as well. According to Roza, what is important is the reality that women are killed by men in the name of honor, the perpetrator being Turkish or Kurdish is not the crucial point.³⁶⁸ Another conceptualization Roza argues against is the line drawn

³⁶³ "Barış Kadınlar İçin Ne Anlam Taşıyor", *Roza* 4, no.1, (September-October, 1996): 4; Hatice Yaşar, "Barış Güvercini Dışidir", *Roza* 4, no.1, (September-October, 1996): 6.

³⁶⁴ "Barışa Dair Kadın Sözü", *Roza* 10, no.2 (September-October, 1997): 5.

³⁶⁵ "Öldürmenin Erkek Yüzü", *Roza* 3, no.1, (July-August, 1996): 10.

³⁶⁶ Sema, "Bir İn faz Daha", *Roza* 4, no. 1, (September-October, 1996): 22

³⁶⁷ Kandiyoti, 171.

³⁶⁸ Hacer Yıldırım, "Oradaki ve Buradaki Cinayeti Gördük", *Roza* 2, no. 1, (May- June, 1996):7.

between the Muslim world and the West on this subject. Thereby, honor killing is attributed to backwards people, a term which refers to the Muslim world, while west, as the representative of civilization, perceives these killings as a social issue if it is not committed by them.³⁶⁹ This case can be stated within the boundaries of cultural relativism which maintains that values and truths are specific to a culture, that there is no universal measure to evaluate them, an approach which prevents the visibility of violence towards woman.³⁷⁰

Also, Kurdish struggle, which is claimed to lead to the emancipation of Kurdish nation, was criticized by Roza because it did not concentrate on the status of women and did not condemn honor killings.³⁷¹ Roza indicated that women should struggle against the colonizing power and Kurdish men.³⁷² Kurdish men and state are perceived as obstacles in front of women. State oppresses women due to their ethnicity while Kurdish men oppress them on the grounds of womanhood. Roza claimed that Kurdish men have to give up using honor over the blood of Kurdish women and Kurdish women can advocate their identity and their body.³⁷³ Here, Roza underlined how Kurdish women are more alert to a foreign enemy and that they should have the same perceptiveness for the patriarchal system in Kurdish society.³⁷⁴ Turkish side is considered as the foreign enemy while Kurdish men are seen as the domestic enemy. Roza makes inquires about why violation towards Kurdish women is stressed when the perpetrator is the foreign enemy whereas sexual discrimination conducted by Kurdish men is ignored.³⁷⁵ It tries to pay attention to the violence of Kurdish side which is ignored.

Hence, body politics is mainly framed in the culture of rape and honor killings which is connected to militarism, violence and patriarchal rules. Roza

³⁶⁹ Nicole Pope, "Honor Killings: Instrument of Patriarchal Control", in *Violence in the Name of Honor: Theoretical and Political Challenges*, eds. Shahrzad Mojab & Nahla Abdo, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University, 2004), p. 101.

³⁷⁰ Shahrzad Mojab, "The Particularity of 'Honour' and the Universality of 'Killing': From Early Warning Signs to Feminist Pedagogy", in *Violence in the Name of Honor: Theoretical and Political Challenges*, eds. Shahrzad Mojab & Nahla Abdo, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University, 2004):25.

³⁷¹ Hatice Yaşar, "Özgür Memleketimizde Sevdalar İnfaz Edilecek Mi?", *Roza* 2, no.1, (May-June, 1996): 9.

³⁷² Id.

³⁷³ Ibid., 11.

³⁷⁴ Kayhan, "Aydın Kürt Erkeği Kendini Sorgulayacak mı? Ya da Ne Zaman?", 16.

³⁷⁵ Sema, "Kürt Kadın Kimlikleri", 18.

indicated that Kurdish women are subjected to violence more than Turkish women due to the effect of the ongoing war in their region and on the basis of their ethnic identity as they have to struggle against both their own society and Turkish side. On the other hand, under the discussion of body politics, the issue of honor killings is evaluated on the basis of ethnicity besides womanhood because it is claimed that Turkish side shows honor killing is particular to Kurdish side, however in reality it exists both in Kurdish and Turkish society. This dual struggle is also reflected in the discourse of Roza which is parallel to black feminism in the framework of ethnicity and gender.

3.1.2. Motherhood, Family and Birth Control in Roza

Family, motherhood and birth control are disputable issues and they are intertwined with each other in the case of women's oppression. Yet, these also present areas to protect oneself against assimilation policy and represent one's own ethnic identity. Roza inquired about these concepts on the basis of oppression which they took into consideration from the perspective of the special condition of Kurdish womanhood.

The general approach of Roza to family can be regarded to be parallel to the discourse of radical, socialist, Marxist feminists from Turkey, in the sense that all these groups see family as one of the causes of oppression. Yet, family is also considered to be a place of resistance against assimilation policy. For instance black feminism refers to the family as a protective unit against racism. Roza also addressed the existence of matriarchal family structure in Kurdish family. They refer to the strong position of Kurdish women which changed after Islam as patriarchal family structure emerged in Kurdish family.³⁷⁶ Kandiyoti expressed this in terms of nostalgia of golden ages.³⁷⁷ Before Islam, the essence of Kurdish family is based on the values of woman; it reminds them how women were free in the past. After patriarchy, women are confined to motherhood which is used in the interest of patriarchy and it is praised in order to exploit the labor of women such as childcare

³⁷⁶Dilşah, "Annelerimizin Sızlayan Kemikleri", *Roza* 1, no.1, (March, 1996): 28.

³⁷⁷ Kandiyoti, 167.

and housework. Motherhood is regarded as the product of culture and society.³⁷⁸ Here we see that the essence of motherhood can be changed, thereby we can infer that it is constructed on the basis of needs of the system. ‘Saturday’s mothers’³⁷⁹ whose husband, children or relatives disappeared under detention can be given as an example in this context. Kurdish motherhood here includes political meaning because of their children who are under detention or in prison.³⁸⁰ These women are considered to be much politicized in Roza. Instead of “Saturday’s mothers”, Roza used the phrase ‘Saturday’s people’.³⁸¹ The reason can be grounded on the fact that they do not want to put women in a certain category, which is motherhood in this case. This is stated in Roza as: “we do not want to praise motherhood of Kurdish women... we do not constrain Kurdish women to motherhood”.³⁸² Although writers of Roza did not admit woman’s identity to be only constructed around motherhood, their demonstrations often consisted of giving voice to the special condition of Kurdish mother. This shows how perception of motherhood is varied according to institutionalization of motherhood.³⁸³ On the other hand, Roza reacted against any attempt from outside related to Kurdish family or motherhood. For example, Roza addressed the activity of Multi Purpose Community Center (*Çok Amaçlı Toplum Mekezi - ÇATOM*) in these words: “We are Kurdish women. Do we need to learn how to raise our children that we gave birth and to determine our social relations from the ideological ÇATOMs which come from Ankara and Istanbul?”³⁸⁴ ÇATOMs are presented as the missionary branch of the state to implement assimilation policies.³⁸⁵ Here, ÇATOMs are perceived like an enemy which comes to occupy their cultural territory.

With this in mind, Roza turned its direction to the structure of Kurdish family and motherhood that revolved around personal stories of women which brought light to the institution of family. One salient story belongs to Birgül, a writer of Roza, who expressed her family in the framework of “personal is political” as:

³⁷⁸ Bawer, “Çatom’ların Öteki Yüzü”, *Roza* 13, no.3, (September- October, 1998): 38.

³⁷⁹ They meet each Saturday in front of Galatasaray High School to find their husbands, children and relatives.

³⁸⁰ Zeynep Dora, “Siyasallaşan Anneler”, *Roza* 13, no.3, (September- October, 1998): 28.

³⁸¹ “Kayıplar Olmasın”, *Roza* 8, no. 2 (May-June, 1997): 24-25.

³⁸² Id.

³⁸³ Kandiyoti, 91.

³⁸⁴ Bawer, “ÇATOM ‘ların Öteki Yüzü”, 39.

³⁸⁵ Id.

Why do I have four mothers?... They said because of Sheria.... I inquiry into Islam.... My father sees their wives as goods. My mother who is a Turk sees other wives of my father as servants... After my father died, my oldest step brother had all the inheritance. Women do not have any rights... I found out that men are responsible for everything. When I mentioned my thoughts, I was humiliated, and sometimes beaten.³⁸⁶

This story embraces many points feminist theory indicated, i.e. the hierarchy between women, the position of women, racism, sovereignty of men, the relation between age and power, penalty in the case of inquiry into the patriarchal system. Also, one of the important issues which are illustrated by the writers of *Roza* is birth control, which is connected to the issue of motherhood, womanhood and family. Approach of *Roza* to birth-control is similar to black feminism which can be considered under the discrimination policy. Publishers of *Roza* claim that birth control arises from state policy in order to reduce the population of Kurds.³⁸⁷ National Security Council report which includes reduction of Kurdish population is given as an example of state's racist policies. CHP's report which focused on the impacts of giving birth on the lives of Kurdish women is regarded as an extension of this policy.³⁸⁸ *Roza* indicated that birth policy has been applied since 1980 with the support of woman organizations such as *Papatya*.³⁸⁹ According to *Roza*, state and woman organizations do not have the right to interfere with the womb of Kurdish women and this is interpreted as a kind of genocide.³⁹⁰ Fatma Kayhan expressed that Turkish feminists should focus more on the effects of the traditional role assigned to women than 'womb genocide'. They look at us from the outside, from up as missionaries.³⁹¹ *Roza* did not support pro- birth campaigns because they believed that Kurdish women were married at an early age by their families and they are used as birth machines.³⁹² From this point, *Roza* departs from Kurdish nationalists who defend giving birth. Here, there is a stance against state policy and Kurdish society

³⁸⁶ Birgül, "Küçük Harem: Kuma", *Roza* 13, no. 3, (September-October, 1998): 47.

³⁸⁷ "Merhaba", *Roza* 6, no.2, (January-February, 1997): 1.

³⁸⁸ "CHP kollarından Kürt Kadınma İlişkin Raporu Üzerine Önemli Birkaç Söz", *Roza* 15, (February-March, 1999):16.

³⁸⁹ Fatma Kayhan, "Kürt Kadınlarına Batırılan Dikenler", *Roza* 13, no. 3, (September- October, 1998):4.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Hacer Yıldırım, "Kadınların Namusu Erkeklerden sorulur", *Roza* 5, no.1,(November-December,1996): 26.

and it is noted that the decision of birth control or giving birth should belong to women.

The institution of motherhood, family and birth control are considered with regard to the condition of Kurdish women. Roza's writers criticized the institutions of motherhood and family for the oppression of women. However, they also resisted any intervention on these institutions from outside that is from the state or from women's organizations which is believed to implement assimilation policy. It is pointed out that Kurdish women stay between Kurdish society and state's assimilation policy. Roza underlined the independency of Kurdish women from both Kurdish men and Turkish women in respect to family, motherhood and birth control.

3.2. Roza and Ethnicity: The Struggle for Kurdish Identity

Roza mainly addresses Kurdish women and the central issue of this journal is mainly ethnic identity, which is regarded as a vital issue stemming from biology. An interview made with Hatice Güdenler - an ex-prisoner- depicted how identity is vital. On the subject of death fasts, she said; "a person who does not live her/his identity is already dead".³⁹³ Identity is seen as the source of life and it is impossible to give up ethnic identity. Writers of Roza defended that both woman's identity and ethnic identity were rights that could not be given up.³⁹⁴ So it can be said that both identities are considered to be very important, they do not accept that ethnic identity is more valuable than femininity or vice versa. That is one of the notions of third wave feminism which underlines other identities such as class and ethnicity besides womanhood.

On the other hand, the appearance of women from different nations, ethnic or religious identities is perceived as a threat by the system³⁹⁵ in a unitary nation state since these identities are thought to have the tendency to deconstruct established hegemonic values. In the same respect, Roza announced that when their journals were collected by the state with the decision of court, they pleaded this situation is due to their ethnic identity and that it was racism. They tried to show how difficult it

³⁹³ Hediye Yılmaz & Füsün Özmen, "Ölmek Pek Aklıma Gelmedi", *Roza* 9, no.2, (July-August, 1997): 3-4.

³⁹⁴ Yaşar, "Özgür Memleketimizde Sevdalar İnfaz Edilecek Mi?", 11.

is to work with an ethnic identity while they are forced to acknowledge another identity.³⁹⁶ Roza asserted that there have been efforts for Turkification and Islamization³⁹⁷ and the state define Kurds as Turks, and non-Muslims are considered enemies.³⁹⁸ Here, the effect of religion on the definition of being Turkish is demonstrated. Roza asks; “Why do we embrace sameness but exclude differences?”³⁹⁹ From that point, one of the authors of Roza, Yelda in reference to the relation between citizenship and identity asks whether identity cards determine the identity of a person. Yelda thinks that identity cards exist just for bureaucratic reasons and the identity of a person comes from his/her acts and behavior.⁴⁰⁰ From her point of view, if you declare your identity, you have to live according to your identity.⁴⁰¹ Here, identity is defined according to the declaration and acts of that person and ID cards do not have any meaning for one’s identity. In the framework of ethnic identity, Roza underlined the situation of Kurdish women who live in four different countries: Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. They do not have the same experience as the system of these four countries oppresses Kurdish women differently. Yet, their common point is to be oppressed, separated and that they face assimilation policy depending on the structure of the state such as the case of practice of Islam in Iran.⁴⁰² The identities of these women are presented as fragmented. Although Kurdish women face different kinds of assimilation policies and oppression on the basis of the state’s structure in their countries, their common point is being a woman and being Kurdish.⁴⁰³

In addition to the oppression based on gender, Roza pointed out Kurdish women are oppressed also due to their ethnic identity.⁴⁰⁴ In this respect, the similarity between Kurds and Blacks with regard to the racist policy is pointed out, although “their languages, color, and religions are not the same and their location are kilometers away from each other.”⁴⁰⁵ Here, it is obvious that they are inspired by black feminism and that they share the same oppression with regard to assimilation

³⁹⁵ Kandiyoti, 172.

³⁹⁶ Berivan, “İrkçılığı Fark etmek” *Roza* 16, no. 4, (August-September, 1999):10.

³⁹⁷ “Giriş”, *Roza* 10, no.2, (September-October,1997): 1.

³⁹⁸ Yelda, “Kendinden Başlamak”, 7.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

⁴⁰⁰ Yelda, “Kürt Kadın Kimliği”, *Roza* 1, no.1, (March, 1996): 6.

⁴⁰¹ *Id.*

⁴⁰² Hazal Çelik, “Politika Minderi, Kadın Ayakları”, *Roza* 1, no.1, (March, 1996): 12.

⁴⁰³ Birgül, “Sıcak Yürekli Kadınlar”, *Roza* 14, no. 3, (November- December, 1998): 12.

⁴⁰⁴ Cevahir, “Mücadelede Kürt Kadını”, *Roza* 5, no.1, (November-December, 1996): 6.

and ethnicity. Within the subject of identity politics, *ÇATOM* is another institution which is strongly attacked by Roza. It is indicated that *ÇATOMs* receive support from the ministry of education and ministry of agriculture and rural affairs.⁴⁰⁶ Thus, they are not accepted as nongovernmental organizations but seen as the branch of the state which penetrated Kurdish identity in order to capture their culture and language. Roza declared its objection to the activities of *ÇATOMs*, which are considered very useful for Kurdish women by certain groups, and they voice their objection in these words “they forget that we can decide what is good for us”.⁴⁰⁷ They refused any leading role and elitist approach from outside, and they said; “Our perception of state is different, one of them is from top, and the other is from the bottom. You are a citizen but we are potential separatists so we are not the same”.⁴⁰⁸ Rigid otherness is drawn here within a painful triangle relation between ethnicity, assimilation and discrimination. Parallel to this response, Ece Temel Kuran who mentioned *ÇATOMs* as the second address of Kurdish women was also criticized because for Roza Kurdish women were more active and politicized. However, after detention, abuse and torture, thousands of people were forced to migrate and now only village guards and conformist families remain in the region.⁴⁰⁹ Roza connected Turkish feminists with the official ideology and said to them; “It is hurtful to put you into the category of white feminists, but it is true politically.”⁴¹⁰ The support of certain feminist groups to *ÇATOMs* caused disappointment as they were believed to convey state’ ideology. Contrary to the fact that they present themselves as opposition groups, Roza regarded them as conveyors of state ideology. *ÇATOMs* became the separation between Roza and Turkish feminists. Besides *ÇATOMs*, the report of Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi- CHP*)’s women branch program which is called “to be women in the East” is examined by Roza. It is indicated that the same traditional official approach is still alive as reflected in their analysis that sheikh, landlords and tribes are the main reasons of the backwardness of Kurdish people and the solution is transformation to modern western values which are presented by *CHP*.⁴¹¹ The response of Roza is that *CHP* does not know the

⁴⁰⁵Berivan, “İrkçılığ ı Fark etmek”, 11.

⁴⁰⁶Kayhan, “Kürt Kadınlarına Batırılan Dikenler”, 7.

⁴⁰⁷Ibid., 3.

⁴⁰⁸Ibid., 7.

⁴⁰⁹Id.

⁴¹⁰Kayhan, “8 Mart’ın Düşündürdükleri: Türk Feminist Hareketinin Çıkması”, 8.

⁴¹¹“CHP kollarından Kürt Kadınına İlişkin Raporu Üzerine Önemli Birkaç Söz”,16.

consciousness of Kurdish women and they continue the assimilation policy in the framework of modernization.

Hence, identity is the starting point and the irrevocable basis of Roza and it is also the source of conflict with the state and state-led woman organizations due to their assimilation policies.⁴¹² These women branches of parties and organizations in the region are perceived as elitist, sovereign and centralistic which make use of the discourse of modernization⁴¹³ which has the tendency to define a certain type of identity while other identities like ethnic and religious identities are devalued as oppositions to the secular, modern and national identity.⁴¹⁴

I tried briefly to analyze how Roza approaches the issue of Kurdish identity and state. In the case of ethnicity Roza seems to be more aggressive and it rejects any intervention on this issue. In the next section, Kurdish woman's organizations, portraits, and mother tongue in daily life-mother tongue in education will be presented in reference to Kurdish identity with an emphasis on Kurdish feminism.

3.2.1. Roza and Kurdish Woman's Organizations

Roza introduced former and contemporary Kurdish woman organizations. The aim of the presentation of Kurdish woman's organization is regarded as an uprising against Turkish women's history and to show Turkish women that Kurdish women can solve their problems related to their existence by their own organizations, not via Turkish woman's organizations.⁴¹⁵ The writers said to Turkish feminists that "Kurdish women have started to voice their own problems".⁴¹⁶ This response can be understood as a challenge to Turkish feminists because it is believed that they do not represent the demands of Kurdish women.

⁴¹² See also Çaha, "The Same Actors With Different Voices: Feminisms With Diverse Interest In Turkey".

⁴¹³ Yakın Ertürk, "Doğu Anadolu'da modernleşme ve kırsal Kadın", in *1980'ler Türkiye'si'nde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*, ed. Şirin Tekeli, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), 185.

⁴¹⁴ Kandiyoti, 172.

⁴¹⁵ Bawer, "ÇATOM'ların Öteki Yüzü", 39.

⁴¹⁶ Yelda, "Kadın Örgütlenmesinden Önce Kadın Dayanışması", *Roza* 2, no.1, (May-June, 1996): 30.

On the other hand, according to Roza, independent woman's organizations can overcome patriarchal mentality.⁴¹⁷ Roza stresses that women and men who are on the same side in class struggle take opposite sides when it comes to women's struggle.⁴¹⁸ Because women's movement is perceived as a threat that may cause fragmentation within the nationalist-socialist movement.⁴¹⁹ Therefore, the necessity of Kurdish woman organizations to resist the patriarchal structure of Kurdish movement is underlined.

Roza pointed out that Kurdish woman organizations have reached their independent status since 1989s.⁴²⁰ Before that, there were Kurdish woman's organizations which did not aim at woman's liberation but which nonetheless helped today's Kurdish woman organizations to emerge. Society for the Elevation of Kurdish Women (*Kürt Kadın Teali Cemiyeti*) is one of the Kurdish woman's organizations. The foundation date of Society for the Elevation of Kurdish Women goes back to 1919. Roza indicated that this organization depended on Society for the Elevation of Kurdistan (*Kurdistan Teali Cemiyeti*) and its aim was to help widows and orphans and to defend the rights of Kurdish people.⁴²¹ Although it is presented as a kind charity organization, consciousness raising and family reform were activities considered in Society for the Elevation of Kurdish Women.⁴²²

Another Kurdish woman's organization is Revolutionary Democrat Women's Association (*Devrimci Demokrat Kadınlar Derneği, DDKAD*). The activities and aims of *DDKAD* are described through interviews with the ex-members of the organization. The aims of the activities of *DDKAD* are listed as: "to drive social consciousness or give sewing, literacy courses". Also it is indicated that Kurdish women entered public space and became more active in politics, participated in demonstrations and spoke about politics after becoming a member of *DDKAD*.⁴²³ Roza admitted that *DDKAD* was not independent from the patriarchal structure and

⁴¹⁷ Dilşah, "Neden Ayrı Örgütlenme II", *Roza* 4, no.1, (September-October, 1996): 25.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴¹⁹ Kandiyoti, 178.

⁴²⁰ "8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günü", *Roza* 7, no.2, (March-April, 1997) :13.

⁴²¹ Dijle, "Kürt Kadınları Teali Cemiyeti", *Roza* 6, no.2, (January- March, 1997): 32.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 32-33.

⁴²³ Hande, "1970-1980 Arası Kadın Grupları (DDKAD 3)", *Roza* 4, no.1, (September-October, 1996): 16.

called itself a political organization, yet it is considered to be an important step to establish independent Kurdish woman's organizations.

Founded in 1997, Jiyan Cultural House (*Jiyan Kültür Evi*) is stated to be one of the contemporary Kurdish woman's organizations which are products of the independent institutionalization process. The aim of Jiyan Cultural House is to defend ethnic rights and to struggle against patriarchy, hierarchy and racism. It gives support for foundation of woman's own organizations,⁴²⁴ which is parallel to the aims of Roza.

The Association of Kurdish Women's Solidarity (*Kürt Kadınları Dayanışma Vakfı, KADAV*) is another Kurdish woman organization which is founded after 1990s is also introduced by Roza. The purpose of *KADAV* is to help Kurdish women who were forced to immigrate, who go through war syndrome or who are subjected to domestic violence⁴²⁵ and it is pointed out that *KADAV* coordinated with other Kurdish woman organizations against war and rape.⁴²⁶ Roza, like *KADAV*, addresses the experience of Kurdish women in connection with ethnicity and womanhood. Roza puts a special emphasis on the coordination between Kurdish woman organizations in order to challenge both the Turkish side and the Kurdish side. Roza underlined that since 1989 the status of Kurdish woman's organizations has transformed towards a more independent position from the patriarchal Kurdish organization. In line with this transformation, Roza insisted that institutionalization is a vital issue for Kurdish woman's movement against patriarchal ideology and authority.⁴²⁷ The writers suggested that the male branch of the movement continues to contribute to the secondary position of women.⁴²⁸ Roza also pointed out that woman's movement under the leadership of men could only serve the patriarchal system which excludes women.⁴²⁹ Roza set forth that the idea of an independent woman organization is attacked by men. Roza claims that Kurdish men do not believe in the success of Kurdish woman's organizations.⁴³⁰ Roza announced that

⁴²⁴ Gülçin Boran, "Jiyan Kültür Evi", *Roza* 7, no. 2 (March-April, 1997): 18.

⁴²⁵ Gülçin, "Kürt Kadınları Dayanışma Vakfı", *Roza* 8, no. 2, (May-June, 1997): 14.

⁴²⁶ Id.

⁴²⁷ Gülan, Kendimizi İfade Etme İhtiyacı, *Roza* 14, no. 3, (November-December, 1998): 8.

⁴²⁸ Dilşah, "Neden ayrı Örgütlenme", *Roza* 4, no.1, (September-October, 1996): 24.

⁴²⁹ Id.

⁴³⁰ "Merhaba", *Roza* 7, no. 2, (March-April, 1997): 1.

“we do not want to stay at home anymore and we demand more organized movement, we demand to be everywhere”.⁴³¹ These words indicated a strong challenge to Kurdish men on the basis of gender identity, while on ethnic grounds they resist Turkish woman’s organizations and Turkish feminist history.

According to Roza, the structure of woman’s organizations should be non-hierarchical, it should give minimum power to the leader, and it should have a collective working style. All these ideas refer to the feminist style of organizational structure. Solidarity is considered as a keyword within the organization, which can come into being in and through the transference of women’s experience.⁴³² Woman’s organizations can maintain unspoken topics to be mentioned by consciousness raising program, collective working can overcome hierarchy and rotation can prevent monopolization of information.⁴³³ The notion that personal is political was not a part of the struggle of Kurdish women who were silent about their family issues during the process of institutionalization.

In conclusion, with its presentation of Kurdish woman’s organizations, Roza tried to challenge not only Turkish woman’s organizations but also the patriarchal structure of Kurdish organizations. Roza also insisted on how Kurdish woman’s organizations should be in line with the feminist type of organization and suggested that independent woman’s organizations can contribute to the development of Kurdish woman’s movement. This discourse is one of the core features of 1990s’ feminism in Turkey as an extension of the process of institutionalization.

3.2.2. The Kurdish Woman Portraits Presented by Roza

Roza presented important Kurdish figures from the past to the contemporary period such as Kurdish women’s organizations to its readers. It is stated that due to the lack of Kurdish written literature, important Kurdish women figures have been ignored.⁴³⁴ At this point, there is a struggle with Turkish feminists and Kurdish men in order to show the importance of Kurdish women and their history that contribute

⁴³¹ Id.

⁴³² Fatma Kayhan, “Kadın Politikası”, *Roza* 6, no. 2, (January- February, 1997): 30.

⁴³³ Kayhan, “Kadın Kurtuluş Hareketi Ayrılıkçısıdır!”, 10.

to the development of women's consciousness.⁴³⁵ Roza firstly challenges mainstream Turkish feminist discourse which constitutes a single image of Turkish women and narrates the needs and histories of these women. Secondly, they resist the narration of Kurdish men which depict that they have the leading role in social, political and economic life. To oppose the silencing of the history of Kurdish women, Roza created a page in which women portraits were presented. Some of the women whose stories were told in this page were: Leyla Bedirhan, a Kurdish ballerina⁴³⁶; Nilüfer Akbal, a Kurdish singer who connected women movement and Kurdish identity with each other⁴³⁷; Leyla Zana, a significant political personality – Kurdish MPs; Leyla Qasım, a Kurdish warrior who is presented as a symbol of woman who represents the power of women within the Kurdish struggle;⁴³⁸ Suzam Samancı, an author, who received Orhan Kemal Reward and whose novels include stories of Kurdish women;⁴³⁹ Nevin Güngör, a Kurdish painter, and she asked Kurdish women “to have self-esteem and work on the area of their choice”;⁴⁴⁰ “Refika Mother”, who is a 65 years old and very politicized woman says “we learn how to struggle now, we have to be everywhere”;⁴⁴¹ Yayla Bucak, a political figure who worked in a Kurdish association as chairman, thinks that Kurdish women are more powerful due to their education and public space experience;⁴⁴² Bejan Matur, a famous Kurdish poet;⁴⁴³ Perwin Cemil, who worked in a Kurdish organization shared her experience as:

It is a problem to work as a chairman of a Kurdish organization, they think that I should stay at home. Women should establish their own organizations. But on the other hand they should continue to work with men. They should not isolate themselves. They should participate in politics.⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁴ Dilşah, “Kürt Kadın Portleri”, *Roza* 2, no.1, (July -August, 1996): 20 .

⁴³⁵ Cevahir, “Kadınca Politik, Kültüre Doğru”, *Roza* 4, no. 1, (September-November, 1996): 28.

⁴³⁶ Dilşah, “Kürt Kadın Portleri III.”, *Roza* 4, no.1, (September-November, 1996): 24.

⁴³⁷ Zeynep, “Nilüfer Akbal: Kendi Dilimde Söylemeyi Seviyorum”, *Roza* 5, no.1, (November-December, 1996): 24.

⁴³⁸ “Leyla Aramızda Yaşıyor”, *Roza* 8, no. 2, (May-June, 1997): 47.

⁴³⁹ Fatma Kayhan, “Suzan Samancı: Diyarbakır’da Güçlü Bir Kadın”, *Roza* 10, no. 2, (September-October, 1997): 39-40

⁴⁴⁰ Zeynep Dara, “Kürt Kadın Ressam”, *Roza* 13, no. 3, (September-October, 1998):44.

⁴⁴¹ Berivan, “Zamana Direnen Kadın: Refika Ana”, *Roza* 15, no. 4 ,(February-March- 1999): 23-24.

⁴⁴² Fatma Kayhan, “Yayla Bucak : Umudum Kadınlarda”, *Roza* 15, no. 4,(February-March- 1999): 35, 37.

⁴⁴³ Sara Zengin, “Bejan Matur”, *Roza* 16, no.4, (August- September, 1999): 21.

⁴⁴⁴ Fatma Kayhan, “Perwin Cemil: Kadınlar Örgütlerini Kurmalı”, *Roza* 12, no.3, (January-February, 1998): 26.

Kurdish women figures mentioned above who have different positions depict how women combine their ethnic identity and gender. These figures also present examples of Kurdish women who have the confidence to challenge the patriarchal structure of Kurdish society and Turkish feminism. Another aim of this presentation of Kurdish women portraits is to form a database of Kurdish woman necessitated by the absence of women's history due to the lack of written literature. *Roza*, as the first Kurdish feminist journal, undertook the responsibility to introduce Kurdish woman's portraits in addition to Kurdish woman's organizations to open the way for new generations of Kurdish feminists.

3.2.3. The Struggle of Roza for Mother tongue in Daily Life and in Education

A large number of articles in *Roza* centered on the issue of mother tongue, which is seen as an important vehicle to preserve culture and ethnic identity. The ban on mother tongue is regarded as the dissolution of a nation or an ethnicity.⁴⁴⁵ In this respect, since the fifth issue of *Roza*, introductions were published both in Kurdish and Turkish and also articles in Kurdish were published in line with the notion that language is the core element of ethnicity. In the 4th issue, publishers of *Roza* asked Kurdish women for their support to defend the use of their native language. They asked for more articles in Kurdish to publish and asked how they could be effective while they continue to use the language of the oppressor.⁴⁴⁶ Similar to the request of feminists to use female language, writers of *Roza* demanded to define themselves via their mother tongue on the ground of ethnicity as an extension of identity politics. The issue of mother tongue in *Roza* is stated in a wide range of contexts: education system, immigrant Kurdish women, *ÇATOMs*, 8 March, woman as representative of mother tongue.

Firstly, *Roza* discusses the education system in which Turkish is the language of instruction. The effect of learning in a foreign language on child's psychology, social capacity and school's life is depicted. It is claimed that if a child cannot use her/his mother tongue, that creates negative outcomes such as inability to make

⁴⁴⁵ Canan, "Kadın ve Anadil", *Roza* 1, no. 1 (March, 1996): 24.

healthy decisions, pessimistic psychology and orientation towards suicide.⁴⁴⁷ Another claim is that if a child does not know the official language, although s/he is successful in his-her mother tongue, s/he would not be able to succeed in this education system.⁴⁴⁸ The learning experience of Turkish of Kurdish women at schools are published in order to demonstrate how they are discriminated because of their mother tongue.⁴⁴⁹ Here, they tried to show the negative effect of obligatory teaching in Turkish on Kurdish children as they considered education to be a vehicle of assimilation.

Besides the education system, Roza underlined the language problem of Kurdish women who immigrated from East to West. They said that these women face difficulties in public space because they could not communicate with people, who in turn cause Kurdish women to lose their self confidence and confines them to the house.⁴⁵⁰ The analysis of Roza is that they were pushed to private space due to mother tongue. On the other hand it is pointed out that they are treated as deaf-tongue less because their mother tongue is not recognized as a language.⁴⁵¹ They object to and find it discriminatory that Turkish is the only language that provides access to public space. Another perspective from which the issue of mother tongue is taken into consideration is the relation between language and women as the protector of the ‘mother tongue’. Here, women are regarded as the representative of language and culture.⁴⁵² Writers of Roza explained the reason lying behind this notion in relation to the education of children in the family. Taking care of the children and teaching them Kurdish culture and language is allocated as the responsibility of the women, whereas men are positioned as the breadwinners. In a sense, there is an acceptance of the traditional role of women as mothers at this point. It is also pointed that Kurdish women are not subjected to the assimilation policies as much as men since they do not usually come across the features of Turkish society and

⁴⁴⁶ “Merhaba”, *Roza* 4, no. 1, (September- October, 1996):1.

⁴⁴⁷ Canan, Kadın ve Anadil, 24.

⁴⁴⁸ Id.

⁴⁴⁹ Roşe& Fate, “Bir Dağ Çiçeği”, *Roza* 1, no.1, (March, 1996): 26; “Gözlerdeki Umudun Öfkesi”, *Roza* 2, no. 1, (May-June,1996) : 28; Seve, “Okula başlarken”, *Roza* 6, no.2,(January-February, 1997):15; Hatice Akdoğan, “Berivan’ın dilindeki Kelepçe”, *Roza* 7, no.2, (March-April, 1997): 2; Seve, “Okul Çağı Gelince-3”, *Roza* 8, no. 2, (May-June,1997): 23.

⁴⁵⁰ Canan, “Köylerden Varoşlara”, *Roza* 2, no. 1, (May-June, 1996): 24.

⁴⁵¹ Şehriban Özdemir, “Kaç Defa Uyuyup, Uyandıktan Sonra?”, *Roza* 15, no. 4, (February- March, 1999): 38.

Turkish language either in the house or in their environment. As opposed to Kurdish women, Kurdish men work outside and they have to do military service during which they learn Turkish.⁴⁵³ What Roza indicates is that the appearance of men in public space leads the way to assimilation while women are to an extent protected from assimilation policies.⁴⁵⁴ Although, identification of women as the representative of mother tongue is affirmed by Roza and Turkish education system is regarded as racist and sexist, it paradoxically positions learning Turkish and going to school as a necessity, as they believe that education helps women ask “Why” questions and not to confirm status qua.⁴⁵⁵ This reflects the dilemma of Roza. Learning Turkish is considered to be a strategic instrument to challenge Turkish feminists and the patriarchal structure of the Kurdish society.

One of the concerns of Roza is the meetings of March 8 which are evaluated with respect to the mother tongue. What they sought to underline with 8 March is “the equality policy” and the approach of being “together with our differences”⁴⁵⁶ that refer to the acceptance of Kurdish women with their mother tongue. On the other hand, Roza expressed that it was not possible to work with Turkish feminists because of their rejection of posters in Kurdish in the demonstrations of 8 March. The reason, as presented by Roza, is that feminists like socialists reacted against them because Kurdish side, who insisted on using Kurdish, was thought to divide the feminist demonstration. Regarding the issue of mother tongue, the response of Roza to 8 March was;

If we and they changed seats and they had our identity, they would understand our demands..... outside is full of Kurdish women with their colorful dresses but the appearance on the stage is different. Spoken language was Turkish, yet meeting space is filled up with Kurdish women. This meeting taught us once more how difficult it is to work with Turkish women.⁴⁵⁷

Here language constituted a border between Kurdish and Turkish women. Whilst the organic relation between identity and mother tongue is framed, Kurdish

⁴⁵² Kandiyoti, 173.

⁴⁵³ Canan, “Köylerden Varoşlara” , 24.

⁴⁵⁴ Kandiyoti, 176.

⁴⁵⁵ Kayhan, “Hollanda’da Göçmen Kadın Olmak”, 26.

⁴⁵⁶ Gülay Tatlıgil, “Bir 8 Mart Daha Geçti”, *Roza* 8, no. 2, (May-June, 1997): 9.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

identity does not reconcile with the Turkish side which is thought as racist due to disallowance of Kurdish.

Moreover, with regard to language, *ÇATOMs* are perceived like a boarding school due to the education policy and threat of assimilation. Also, for Roza, Turkish Women's Foundation (*Türk Kadınlar Vakfı - TKV*), and The Unity of Turkish Women (*Türk Kadınlar Birliği- TKB*) serve the same aim as *ÇATOMs*. The existence of these organizations make Roza commit to Kurdish culture and tradition in a defensive way. Roza advocated that these women's organizations intended to assimilate Kurdish woman and through them their children.⁴⁵⁸ This method was considered to be more dangerous, because they thought that if Kurdish women were assimilated, Kurdish culture and language would be demolished. It is pointed out that the heads of local branches of *ÇATOMs* are selected from the natives of the region who associate with the village guards (who are perceived as the domestic enemy in cooperation with the state). Therefore, these women's organizations are perceived as a new tactic of the state which hides its real intention. For example, Roza mentioned that 8 March speeches of women from these organizations were translated into Kurdish, however if a Kurdish person spoke in Kurdish, he/she was arrested. Any activity which was organized by the local people was perceived as a threat, yet representatives from a branch of the state were allowed to use forbidden language. Roza called this double standard. And their response was; "Kurdish women do not need to learn Turkish in these regions, however the state needs to learn Kurdish."⁴⁵⁹ The implication here is that state used Kurdish as a non-violent tool to assimilate the local population. Another struggle over mother tongue was between Kurdish women from the north and the south. Roza wrote that Kurdish women from the south blamed Kurdish from the north on the basis of language.⁴⁶⁰ Similarly, there was a discussion at the Kurdish women's conference in Koln about who was more Kurdish. And being Kurdish was measured according to the use of mother tongue.⁴⁶¹ These examples show that language is considered both as the core element of ethnic identity and the measure of assimilation, which might result in exclusion of those who does not know or speak a little Kurdish.

⁴⁵⁸ Bawer, "ÇATOM'ların Öteki Yüzü, 39.

⁴⁵⁹ Kayhan, "Kürt Kadınlarına Batırılan Dikenler", 4.

⁴⁶⁰ Cevahir, "Kadınca Politik Kültüre Doğru", 28

As a result, all the above indicates that the main dispute between Kurds and Turks and among Kurds is about language. Roza views Turkish feminists and Turkish woman organizations within the same category as the state which do not recognize other cultures, other classes, nationalities and ethnicities. The exploitive power of these institutions becomes visible in their assimilation policies over other identities.⁴⁶² In this respect, all policies of learning Turkish are perceived to be connected to assimilation. Especially, the opposition of Roza is stronger if Kurdish women are subjected to teaching Turkish because Kurdish women resemble shah in chess as representatives of Kurdish identity.

⁴⁶¹Kayhan, “Bir Kürt Kadın Konferansı Daha Geçti”, 3.

⁴⁶² Canan, “Kadın ve Anadil”, 24.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPARISON OF PAZARTESI AND ROZA IN RESPECT TO THE FEMINIST APPROACH AND IDENTITY POLITICS

In order to understand more clearly the similarities or diversities of the journals Pazartesi and Roza it seems useful to have a comparative analysis of the journals over the basis of issues analyzed in the previous chapters. This chapter concerns two prominent factors, that is feminist approach and identity politics which pave the way to comprehend the diversifications of feminist discourses in the context of the journals. In this chapter, I will use the same subsections of feminist approach: motherhood, family, birth control and body politics. Within the section of identity politics, I will elaborate the approach of Pazartesi and Roza to Islamic women, the state and Kurdish language as a mother tongue in daily life and education.

4.1. Diverse Feminisms in Pazartesi and Roza

Journals of Pazartesi and Roza are the main representatives of feminism of 1990s Turkey. Although both Pazartesi and Roza have their roots in Marxist, socialist and radical feminist traditions, Pazartesi makes these roots visible whereas in Roza these origins can be deduced in-between lines. Pazartesi emerged as part of the institutionalization process and project feminism in the context of the transformation of feminist history in Turkey. The history of transformation bares the threads of first wave feminism, second wave feminism and third wave feminism, which provided the context for Pazartesi to emerge. On the other hand, Roza as a Kurdish feminist journal which came into being during the 90s is also the product of institutionalization process like Pazartesi. However, it differentiates itself from the feminist history in Turkey and tried to create its own feminist resources.

Pazartesi embodies certain features from first and second wave feminism, while rejecting the propositions of post-feminism that deny the strategies of previous movements in an attempt to emphasize the plurality of identities, which is regarded as a threat to the feminist movement. They draw their approach in line with the third wave by embracing local feminism. Local feminism focuses on particular local conditions of Turkey and refuses an authoritative way which is considered to be inadequate to spread feminist consciousness. Accordingly, it does not exclude Islamic, Kurdish, Armenian and Greek women but attacks state led woman organizations like *ÇATOMs* and *ÇYDD*. These women's organizations are believed to serve state's policy and not the women. Pazartesi regards state the granted rights to women as part of civilization and westernization project, while the traditional role of women is preserved on the basis of motherhood. Similarly, Pazartesi criticizes nationalist symbols and discourses which suppress different identities of women.

From a general perspective, with an aim to be visible within the world history of feminist movements, Pazartesi introduced woman organizations and portraits from Turkey. Yet, what can be inferred from this representation is that it also resulted in othering of women with different identities as the main emphasis was put on the dominant groups. Roza criticized Turkish feminists for their lack of equal representation. We should also note that though Pazartesi embraces local feminism, they also defend the notion of sisterhood and they do not refuse contributions of Western feminists. Instead, they utilized their discourses and theories. Here, womanhood emerges as the prior identity for them under the strategy of sisterhood. On the other hand, Roza tends to use only the resources of third wave feminism, it does not make any references to the sisterhood, and instead it puts forward and delights in different identities and diversities. It would not be wrong to suggest that Roza is a better representative of third wave feminism when compared to Pazartesi. As the result of Roza's approach to identity politics, it stands out as a journal containing plurality of voices such as Islamic women and non Muslim women. This stance challenges mainstream feminists in Turkey. Like Pazartesi, Roza presented Kurdish women portraits and organizations, but with an aim at proving their existence to Turkish feminists and Kurdish men alike.

Although it is within third wave feminism, Pazartesi might be regarded as an extension of the new woman's movement which comes from the non-western world and which emphasizes locality, as it highlights particularity, and is essential to understand the structure of a region. The discourses of the second wave feminism such as sisterhood and common oppression are more dominant in Pazartesi. However Roza can be completely regarded within third wave feminism and it has a double struggle against Western feminism and Turkish feminism. Roza searches for a feminism which reflects their experience and locality. As in the case of the relation between Pazartesi with western feminists, Roza does not deny utilization of Turkish feminist resources which is connected to the white-western feminism. Yet later they discovered that they were closer in their approach to black feminism and the experiences of third world woman. One side of the struggle of Roza was directed at mainstream feminism in Turkey which tends to ignore other identities, and the other side was directed against Kurdish men who were considered to be gender blind as agents of the patriarchal system. The double oppression Kurdish women face due to their gender and ethnic identity is parallel to the discourse of black feminism. Roza underlined that they shared the universal identity of womanhood with Turkish women, yet their experience of ethnic and class identity influence their womanhood different from Turkish feminists. Therefore, their strategy and policy cannot be the same with Turkish woman.⁴⁶³ Roza maintains that Kurdish women are in a more vulnerable position than Kurdish men when faced with the violence of the state. Feminist consciousness enabled Roza to ask questions about patriarchy within Kurdish society, traditions, customs, positions of Kurdish men, Kurdish struggle and challenges the status quo of Kurdish movement.

In conclusion, although Pazartesi positioned itself as a movement of local feminists who base their policies on the recognition of different identities of women, it continued to make use of discourses of the second wave feminism. This journal is a noticeable example of the transition in the feminist history of Turkey from first wave feminism to third wave feminism. Contrary to Pazartesi, Roza does not situate itself in this history, as it refuses to follow the path of Turkish feminists and proceeds to construct a movement it named as Kurdish feminism. Roza strongly criticized

⁴⁶³“Kürt Feminizmi”, *Roza* 15, no. 4, (February-March, 1999): 4.

Turkish feminist movement on the basis of racism, thereby putting Turkish feminism and western feminism in the same category; which is white and bourgeois. Roza stands closer to third wave feminism, especially to black feminism with that discourse. Pazartesi has a contradictory relation with third wave feminism as it prioritizes sisterhood and common oppression that are the core discourse of second wave feminism.

4.1.1. The Body Politics in Pazartesi and Roza

Both journals dwell on body politics, yet their approach to the subject prioritizes different issues. Beauty contests, the shape of body, rape, sexual abuse, honor killing, love and sexuality are brought to the agenda by Pazartesi, while Roza focused on rape culture and honor killings mostly. So Roza, unlike Pazartesi, does not just refer to sexual freedom but also questions the correlations between racism and exploitation of the woman's body.⁴⁶⁴

Pazartesi asserts that the contemporary concept of beauty is a construct of capitalism and patriarchy.⁴⁶⁵ This indicates that the choices and identity of women are determined outside of woman's will, which leads them to be alienated from their body. So they become obsessive about living up the expectations created by this construct about their size, shape and clothes. Unlike Pazartesi, Roza does not touch the subjects of beauty, cosmetics and body shape. Another point of differentiation between these two journals is that while Pazartesi bravely discusses sexuality and sexual relation, which is perceived as a taboo for women, Roza almost never elaborates on this subject. The reasons for this can be counted as the newness of the slogan 'personal is political' and the fact that they did not have a long history in the realm of feminist politics like Pazartesi. Also, the ongoing violence prevents Roza from focusing on these subjects.

Violence against women is a subject examined by both journals. Pazartesi puts forward that in the eyes of the society, rape or sexual abuse is justified if the

⁴⁶⁴Cevahir, "Kadınca Bir Politik Kültüre Doğru", 28.

⁴⁶⁵Düzkan, "Güzel, Daha Güzel, Daha da Güzel!", 11-15; Düzkan, "Asla O kadar Güzel Değilsiniz", 126-132.

women do not act in the proper way as defined by the patriarchal system.⁴⁶⁶ In the same respect, the discourse that defines virginity as something to be preserved by women as the symbol of honor is challenged by Pazartesi. At the same time, newspapers are attacked by Pazartesi because violence towards women is presented as standard rituals by the patriarchal system.⁴⁶⁷ This news can sometimes result in the deaths of women either in the form of suicide or murder.⁴⁶⁸ Pazartesi reacted against the control of the woman's body by social rules, religions, men and society. Roza deals with the same topics like Pazartesi. For instance, honor killing targets women who have relation by her own will or not, which is called illegal since it defies the sanctity of the family in the eyes of the society.⁴⁶⁹ Roza argues that these murders are not made public, because honor is perceived as an untouchable social value attributed to the women's body.⁴⁷⁰ Roza indicated the honor killing is a common fact for both Turks and Kurds. What Roza argues against is the presentation of honor killing as rooted from Kurdish customs, backward values and savagery, which it regards as a racist presentation. In addition to the accusation of Turks by Roza, it also directs its criticism against Kurdish struggle which ignores and keeps its silence about honor killings.⁴⁷¹ Kurdish women can defend their identity as women and their body which can be perceived as a resistance to Kurdish struggle.⁴⁷² Roza suggests that in case of violence to their body exercised either by Kurdish or Turkish men, Kurdish women should strive against both sides.⁴⁷³ Here, as distinct from Pazartesi, honor killing is also regarded from the perspective of ethnicity as well as gender.

Rape is another issue which is brought up by Roza and Pazartesi. Pazartesi sees it as a control mechanism of patriarchy, but for Roza rape is a culture and an instrument of racism, which joins the boundary of militarism to capture a woman's body. It is pointed out by Roza that when compared with Turkish women, Kurdish women face a double threat of rape rooting from the state and Kurdish men due to

⁴⁶⁶ Hümayun, "Eryaman'da Tecavüz", 11; "Her yerde, Günün Her Yerinde Her Saatinde Dayak Var!", 5.

⁴⁶⁷ Ayşe Sargın, "Pornografi, Erkek Egemenliği ve Feministler", 37.

⁴⁶⁸ "Bakire olmak, olmamak: akıllara Zarar", 9

⁴⁶⁹ "Öldürmenin Erkek Yüzü", 10.

⁴⁷⁰ Kandiyoti, 171.

⁴⁷¹ Yaşar, "Özgür Memleketimizde Sevdalar İnfaz Edilecek Mi?", 9.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 11.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 9.

the ongoing war.⁴⁷⁴ Violation of a woman's body, her lack of possession of control over her own body connotes lack of dominance over territory in this context. Dissimilar to Pazartesi, for which body means the continuity of biological existence, for Roza it also indicates the survival of the ethnic identity.⁴⁷⁵ Rape is categorized as a kind of war technique towards Kurdish women for the interest of state and also it is perceived as a sort of power relation to prove the possession of power.⁴⁷⁶ Particularly war and demand of peace are brought into question by Roza on the basis of militarism and violence against women. This is the main issue of Kurdish feminists, which is underlined by Roza, because it shows how ethnic identity and gender identity are intertwined with each other, which makes sexual violence over Kurdish women more rigid than Turkish women.

After the comparison of feminist approach of Pazartesi and Roza, motherhood, birth control, family and body politics in the framework of their feminist approach will be discussed. These parts will make clear their stance to these concepts and depict how they arrive at common points and how they are diversified from each other.

4.1.2. Motherhood, Birth Control and Family in Pazartesi and Roza

Motherhood, birth control and family are issues discussed by Pazartesi and Roza. They have both differences and common points on these subjects. Roza examined motherhood and family through personal stories of women, while Pazartesi touched upon these subjects both through the experience of women and theories.

Pazartesi exposed that motherhood and family are institutions that serve patriarchy and capitalism. Similar to Pazartesi, the general approach of Roza to family and motherhood can be examined as derived from radical, socialist and Marxist traditions analysis of family as one of the causes of woman's oppression. But on the other hand, family and motherhood are considered as spaces of protection

⁴⁷⁴ Id.

⁴⁷⁵ See also Necla Aık, "Ulusal Mcadelede, Kadın Mitosu ve Kadınların Harekete Geirilmesi: Trkiye'deki aėdař Krt Kadın Dergilerin Bir Analizi, in *90'larda Trkiye'de Feminizm*, eds. Aksu Bora & Asena Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009), 292.

⁴⁷⁶ DİLřah "Tecavz Bedenin Zorla Zaptı", *Roza* 1, no.1, (March 1996):16.

against assimilation policy by Roza. Pazartesi argued that both the impact of modern, secular nuclear family and extended family contributes to the oppression of woman.⁴⁷⁷ And divorce is presented as a positive development for the liberation of woman. Pazartesi sees motherhood as a barrier for women, which confines them to the house. It rejects the identification of womanhood with motherhood. Hence, contrary to Roza, Pazartesi does not view the family as an area of protection against the state; instead it defines it as an area of sovereignty of men. Pazartesi resisted the traditional role of woman as mother- wife constructed around family, which is the main discourse of nationalists.

Dilşah, one of the writers of Roza reminds the reader of the matriarchal family structure in the Kurdish family, which was transformed to the patriarchal family after Islam.⁴⁷⁸ Here Roza shared same discourse of some Kurdish authors.⁴⁷⁹ The negative status of women today is connected to patriarchy as it defines woman as mothers responsible for childcare and housework.⁴⁸⁰ In comparison, Roza's criticism of family is not as strong as Pazartesi, since for Roza the meaning of family also includes protection of Kurdish ethnicity.

Both journals dedicate space for Saturday mothers and peace mothers. Pazartesi can be examined as supportive to the demonstration of these mothers and it denounces state acts against them.⁴⁸¹ Pazartesi expressed that Friday mothers are created by the state against Saturday mothers and peace mothers. According to Pazartesi, women are used by the militaristic system.⁴⁸² Pazartesi challenges the project of nationalization which defines women as mothers of nation and mother's of soldiers on the basis of reproduction ability of women.

⁴⁷⁷ Savran& Tura, " 'Çağdaşlaşma' söylemine teslim olamayız", 10-11.

⁴⁷⁸ Dilşah, "Anneannelerimizin Sızlayan Kemikleri", 28, 29.

⁴⁷⁹ Mehmet Bayrak, *Geçmişten Günümüze Kürt Kadını*, (Ankara: Özge, 2002); S. Çiftiyürek, "Mezopotamya'da Kadının Dünü, Bugünkü, Geleceği", in *Kürt Solu: Kadın Dosyası*, eds. Savaş Keskin & Özlem Kaşıkçırmaz, (İstanbul: Gün Press, 2003), 58-105.

⁴⁸⁰ Bawer, "ÇATOM'ların Öteki Yüzü", 39.

⁴⁸¹ "Cumartesi Anneleri bayram kutlamadı, kutlayamadı!", 8; "Ben İstemiyorum Panzerlerin Rengini Göreyim, Uçak Sesi Duyayım...", 14.

⁴⁸² Id.

On the other hand, for Roza motherhood conveys a different meaning from Pazartesi. Mothers are also representatives of ethnic identity against assimilation.⁴⁸³ So, Kurdish motherhood is regarded in the framework of politicization and nationalist discourse. Demonstrations of Saturdays and peace mothers are often narrated in Roza in order to give voice to the special condition of Kurdish mother whose children are under detention or in prison.⁴⁸⁴ This shows how the perception of motherhood is varied according to the institutionalization of motherhood with regard to the needs of the system.⁴⁸⁵

In addition to motherhood, birth control is another issue of dispute between Pazartesi and Roza. Pazartesi regards birth control in relation to body politics, and ascertains that women should have the decision of giving birth or birth control. Therefore, they refuse any birth policy of the state.⁴⁸⁶ The activities of ÇYDD are found similar to state policies of birth control over Kurdish women.

On the other side, Roza's approach to birth control can be evaluated with reference to similar black feminism, which associates birth control with ethnicity and racism. So birth control policies are as racism which aims to decrease Kurdish population.⁴⁸⁷ The report of National Security council is viewed by Roza as a proof of this aim. In short, birth control policies applied either by woman organizations or by state are considered as womb genocide.⁴⁸⁸ So, they say about Turkish women's organizations that "they look us from outside, from up as missionaries with a white face".⁴⁸⁹ It is stated that "We are Kurdish women. Do we need to learn how to raise our children that we gave birth and to determine our social relations from ideological ÇATOMs which come from Ankara or Istanbul?"⁴⁹⁰ These institutions are presented as missionary branches of the state working in line with assimilation policy.⁴⁹¹ They are perceived as enemies which come to occupy their cultural territory.

⁴⁸³ See also Çaha, "The Same Actors With Different Voices: Feminism With Diverse Interests In Turkey", 8.

⁴⁸⁴ Dora, "Siyasallaşan Anneler", 28.

⁴⁸⁵ Kandiyoti, 91.

⁴⁸⁶ Fusun Özlen, "Doğurma Özgürlüğü ve Doğum Kontrol Yöntemleri", 24.

⁴⁸⁷ "Merhaba", *Roza* 6, no.2, (January-February):1.

⁴⁸⁸ Id.

⁴⁸⁹ Id.

⁴⁹⁰ Bawer, "ÇATOM'ların Öteki Yüzü", 39.

⁴⁹¹ Id.

On the other hand, Roza and Kurdish nationalists do not share the same ideas on birth control. Roza opposes the pro-birth discourse of the Kurdish nationalists. The reason of their opposition is grounded on the fact that Kurdish women are married at early ages and used for their reproductive abilities.⁴⁹²

As a result, Pazartesi refuses the institutions of motherhood and family as products of patriarchy and capitalism. They also resist the image of the family as the conveyor of secularism and modernism. The targets of Roza are Kurdish tradition, Kemalist feminists and state policy, which are the agents they strive against in the dual struggle of racism and gender. Roza and Pazartesi examine birth control policies in relation to ethnicity and body politics. From the perspective of Roza, birth control is marginalized in the contemporary context. It can be said that as in the case of motherhood and family, a two-sided confrontation is conducted by Roza. One is based on ethnicity against state policies; the second one is against the nationalist discourse of Kurds that expect women to have the essential duty to give birth and representation of women as mothers of the Kurdish nation. Although Roza is perceived to have deviated from the Kurdish struggle in this respect, its approach to the issues of motherhood, family and birth control is based on ethnicity, while Pazartesi's analysis is formed upon the autonomy of women in decisions about their own body and liberation from the patriarchal institution with the application of their motto: personal is political.

4.2. The Identity Politics: From Single Identity to Dual Identities?

The issue of identity and how it is taken up by these journals reveals their background and reflects their perspective and priorities. This section is focused on how Pazartesi and Roza define themselves in respect of identity politics.

Pazartesi has a socialist background besides gender identity. For example, most of the women who worked in Pazartesi previously worked in the journals of *Somut*, *Feminist*, and *Feminist Kaktüs*, which adhered to Marxist-socialist feminist schools.

⁴⁹²Yıldırım, "Kadınların Namusu Erkeklerden Sorulur", 26.

The background of these women shaped the approach of Pazartesi as well. In this respect, leftist discourses such as creating one's own revolution and reaching emancipation of women found their place in the pages of Pazartesi. Another example is the participation of Pazartesi in 1 May demonstration with their own feminist vocabulary in 1995.⁴⁹³ Considering domestic labor, they draw a parallel with the women and the worker. Pazartesi also had connections with *ÖDP*; the main cadre was active members of this party.⁴⁹⁴ On the other hand Pazartesi struggle with the socialist movement if the womanhood is in the question. For instance they criticized *ÖDP*, which meant that their identity as women was more important than their socialist identity. It shows that Pazartesi continued to have a struggle with the socialist movement due to its feminist identity.

8 Marches played a key role for Pazartesi to define their identity politics in relation to other groups, as when a discussion arose between socialist parties, trade unions and feminists Pazartesi took the side of feminism. In addition of 8 March, 28 February process is also important to understand the standpoint of Pazartesi. Here, Pazartesi challenged not only Kemalism but also political Islam, too.⁴⁹⁵ Both are categorized within patriarchy as they use women to serve their ideology. So all examples above show that feminist identity of Pazartesi is stronger than its socialist identity which does not lead to the dual identity but rather single identity.

On the other hand the identity of Roza is characterized in the framework of ethnicity and gender. In other words for Roza, identity is located at the intersection of gender and ethnicity. Roza defended femininity and being Kurdish as natural things which could not be given up.⁴⁹⁶ Unlike Pazartesi Roza represents dual identity which address to gender and ethnicity. On the other hand Roza states that their ethnic identity is forbidden by the state, which makes it hard to defend their womanhood. In the early period of Roza, the standpoint of the writers is politicized by their Kurdish identity, and then their feminist aspect came to the foreground. But after the arrest of Öcalan, the importance given to ethnic identity became stronger than their gender identity. All these indicate that during times of crisis, their ethnic identity

⁴⁹³Ulus, "1 Mayıs'ta Kadınlar Vardı!", 10.

⁴⁹⁴ Koçali, (2005), 147.

⁴⁹⁵İlyasoğlu, "Askeri Patriyarka mı, İslamcı patriyarka mı?", 2-3.

becomes the dominant character of Roza. In the journal, they often mention that they are forced to admit to be Turks and it is claimed that they are penalized, when they bring their ethnic identity to the surface.⁴⁹⁷ They are vehement in their opposition on the subjects of turkification and islamization, which are seen as main paths to be Turks.⁴⁹⁸ Also Kurdishness is also addressed as a fragmented identity as Kurdish people are spread to four countries: Kurds from Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey are subjected to different assimilation policies according to the structure of the state.⁴⁹⁹ Parallel with this case, they refer to Kurdish immigrants in Europe and the difficulties they face far from their region.

In conclusion, both the leftist and feminist background of Pazartesi helped it to locate itself in opposition to the current system. Pazartesi welcomed the identities defined as the enemy and the other by the system. Though the effect of their socialist background on their discourse is strong, there were struggles with the socialist camp due to their feminist identity. It would not be wrong to say that their feminist identity comes to the foreground. So Pazartesi represents a single identity which refers to feminist identity and reflects its discourse on the case of womanhood in the question. On the other hand ethnicity is the core element of Roza's identity besides the identity of womanhood. For almost every issue, they prioritized ethnicity together with racist policies and oppression. Roza's sensitivity over the issue of ethnicity leads it to use an aggressive language at certain points. Especially in cases of crisis, Roza emphasizes ethnic identity unlike Pazartesi which puts forth feminist identity. In general, it can be said that while Roza constructs its stance on the basis of ethnic and gender identity, Pazartesi prioritizes feminist identity. That is, Pazartesi represented a single identity whilst Roza conveyed dual identities.

⁴⁹⁶ Yaşar, "Özgür Memleketimizde Sevdalar İnfaz Edilecek Mi?", 11.

⁴⁹⁷ Berivan, "İrkçılığı Fark etmek", 10.

⁴⁹⁸ "Merhaba", *Roza* 10, no. 2, (September-October, 1997).

⁴⁹⁹ Çelik, "Politika Minderi, Kadın Ayakları", *Roza* 1, no.1, (March 1996):12.

4.2.1. Kurdish Language as Mother Tongue in Daily Life and Education in Pazartesi and Roza

Mother tongue is another controversial issue between Roza and Pazartesi under the identity politics. Roza defended it as an essential right of Kurdish women, which is indispensable. The writers of Pazartesi do not share the same view about Kurdish as mother tongue. 8 Marches and ÇATOMs were examined to understand these writers approach. But before that, firstly the meaning of mother tongue for Roza will be expressed, and then the discourse of Roza and Pazartesi towards mother tongue will be compared on the basis of examples which refer to ÇATOMs and 8 Marches.

Roza considers Kurdish as mother tongue to represent their ethnicity and their existence. The policy of Roza accompanied with nationalist discourse sees language as a vital element and declares that no concessions could be made for any reason. They added the issue of mother tongue which completed the formation of their feminist approach. This is easily seen in the stories about learning Turkish as the writers use sensible, defensive and offensive language. Their reaction to the obligation to use Turkish was a refusal, as it was regarded as the oppressor's language.⁵⁰⁰ So, they encouraged Kurdish women to write articles in Kurdish which were published in Roza. Also, introductions of this journal were published both language in Kurdish and Turkish. Using Turkish is equated with assimilation, so they strongly advise using Kurdish in order to not lose their ethnicity.

About 8 Marches, after the refusal of the demand of Kurdish women to use mother tongue during the demonstrations, Roza directed its criticism to the Turkish side. This debate depicted the diversity of feminist approaches and identity politics in Turkey. Normally, 8 marches are seen as a chance to exist and collaborate with Turkish feminists in the same space. But it is pointed out by Roza that it is impossible to work with Turkish feminists, so long as they refuse the right to use mother tongue. We can infer from these debates that Kurdish women were accused of fragmenting the women's movement, in the same way they were accused by

⁵⁰⁰ "Merhaba", *Roza* 4, no.1,(September-October,1996):1.

socialists. 8 March of 97 and 98 came to be breaking points between Turkish and Kurdish feminists, who moved closer to *HADEP*. Although it is recognized that *HADEP* does not have a feminist consciousness, they were found closer due to shared ethnicity and mother tongue. On the other hand, *Pazartesi* do not mention any struggle with Kurdish women on the basis of language by referring to 8 Marches. But rather, they touched upon socialist organizations and women who labeled themselves secular Kemalists. *Pazartesi* accused them for ignoring the woman's identity and serving their own ideologies during the celebrations of 8 March.

The second issue revolves around the activities of *ÇATOMs*, which were brought up in the framework of mother tongue by both journals. Roza criticized the writings published in *Pazartesi* related to *ÇATOMs*, while women in *Pazartesi* were discussing mother tongue through this foundation. Ayşegül, one of the writers of *Pazartesi*, claimed that *ÇATOMs* were very useful for Kurdish women, as learning Turkish will decrease the inequality between Kurdish men and women.⁵⁰¹ This comment was attacked by Roza and they asked Ayşegül, whether Turkish women reached equality by knowledge of Turkish. Against this argument of Ayşegül, writers of Roza said that they already had a language. Ayşegül also put learning Turkish in the same category with learning English as a foreign language.⁵⁰² The answer of Roza to Ayşegül is that it is possible to have Turkish lessons at the school you are studying English but it is not possible to have Kurdish lessons. This response shows that they are so far from understanding the situation of Kurdish women and they are forced to learn Turkish even by Turkish feminists. Roza regards this as racism. However, Ayşe Düzkan, unlike Ayşegül, supports Roza. For her, it is not the same thing to learn Kurdish and English because Turkish is the official language which has power to spread all over Turkey, yet by learning English Turks are not subjected to assimilation. On the other hand, Ayşe Düzkan argued that activities of *ÇATOMs* (teaching Turkish language, sewing lessons, etc.) serve for the production of cheap labor force in addition to the assimilation policy.⁵⁰³ Although she is skeptical to *ÇATOMs*, she also thinks that can be beneficial for Kurdish women in the long term. Sema and Ayşegül, who wrote in *Pazartesi*, criticized Düzkan for her approach

⁵⁰¹ Ayşe Düzkan, "Tahlil ve Taraf Olmadan Bir Politika Yapılır mı?", *Pazartesi* 40, (July 1998):40.

⁵⁰² Kayhan, "Kürt Kadınlarına Batırılan Dikenler", 8.

⁵⁰³ Düzkan, "Devletin Eli Uzanyor Mu Kalkıyor Mu", 2-3.

to *ÇATOMs*. Sema claimed that Kurdish women can decide whether to learn Turkish or not while Ayşegül sees *ÇATOMs* as very useful for Kurdish women.⁵⁰⁴ The issue of learning Turkish created a discussion between these three women. Hence, Sema and Düzkan are pessimistic about *ÇATOMs*, yet Ayşegül does not believe that learning Turkish is a policy of assimilation. They do not share a common standpoint about learning Turkish.

In conclusion, it can be said that the discussion between Pazartesi and Roza revolves around Turkish learning campaign of *ÇATOMs*. Pazartesi does not reflect a homogenous opinion on this issue, to some extent they seem to support Kurdish as mother tongue but from other aspects, learning Turkish is considered in a positive way for Kurdish women in the long term, since it is thought to bring an opportunity for Kurdish women to appear in public space. On the other hand, Roza regards Kurdish as mother tongue in terms representation of their ethnicity which resulted in the separation with Turkish feminists. Roza insists that Kurdish women are discriminated within the feminist movement, as the disputes during 8 March demonstrate, due to their mother tongue. As a result, they refuse to attribute any leading role to Turkish feminists. The approach of Pazartesi is more positive on this subject because as they argue women can be present in public space through learning an official language, which will enable them to challenge patriarchy. Roza viewed that issue from the aspect of ethnic identity and also referred to the multiple identities of women under the third wave feminism. In this context, Roza perceived Kurdish as the vital seed of Kurdish identity.

4.2.2. The Approach of Pazartesi and Roza to Islamic Women

Roza included Islamic women with respect to identity politics, while Pazartesi with the belief in sisterhood and as a result of its socialist background opened its door to Islamic women, who were positioned as the other by the system. Both journals have the tendency to pay attention to the demands of these women when compared to Kemalist women who refuse to see veiled women in public space.

⁵⁰⁴ Düzkan, "Tahlil ve Taraf Olmadan Bir Politika Yapılır Mı?", 40.

But Roza and Pazartesi focused on Islamic women with different motivations due to their different perspectives.

For Roza, women who defend Islam should be respected, they should not be discriminated due to their difference. Yet, Roza also regards Islam as an obstacle to reach liberty of women.⁵⁰⁵ As respecting other identities is a major element within the feminist approach of Roza, it supported Merve Kavakçı, when she came to the assembly as an elected member wearing headscarf and forced to go out by Bülent Ecevit and his group. It is stated that she was forced to leave because of her identity as a woman.⁵⁰⁶ So Roza criticized the behavior of Ecevit and defended Merve Kavakçı under the identity politics. However, Pazartesi did not give support to Kavakçı because she was a wealthy American citizen and as such she was not the representative of all Islamic women who go to demonstrations and challenge state policy and power. This stance of Pazartesi can be interpreted as stemming from its socialist perspective, which struggles with imperialism and the USA.

Roza also pointed out that there is not one type of Islamic woman and signified the new Islamist women who focused on Quran from the woman aspect.⁵⁰⁷ For example, Gonca Kuriş is shown as an Islamic woman who questions the sovereignty of Islamic men through a re-interpretation of Quran.⁵⁰⁸ Similar to Roza, Pazartesi mentioned the new Islamic women, who are brought to the agenda with their analysis about the strong position of Islamic man and reinterpretation of the relation between woman's rights and Islam. Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal and Capital Platform took the attention of Pazartesi as their stance was found parallel to feminist discourse, since these Islamic women do not admit motherhood- womanhood correlation.⁵⁰⁹ Also as in Roza, Gonca Kuriş is seen as a new Islamic woman, who challenged the sovereignty of Islamic men and her murder is interpreted as a penalty by the patriarchal mentality of Islamic men.

⁵⁰⁵Necla Akçagöçe, "İslamcı Kadının Aynadaki Sureti", *Roza* 15, no. 4, (February-March, 1999): 30.

⁵⁰⁶Berivan, "Seçimlerin Ardından Kürt Kadınları Kazandı", *Roza* 16, no. 4 (August-September, 1999): 34- 35.

⁵⁰⁷Dicle Toksöz, "Türkiye'de İslamcı Kadın Feminizm, Feminizm, Anarşizm, Erkek", *Roza* 4 no.1 (September-October, 1996):18-19.

⁵⁰⁸Neşe Ceylan, "Müslüman Feminist : Gonca Kuriş", *Roza* 12, no. 3, (January-February, 1998): 14.

⁵⁰⁹Zihnioglu, "İslam'ın Feminizasyonu Mümkün mü?", 5.

Another issue is the discussion between secularist and Islamists which is examined by Pazartesi and Roza under the title of Islamic women. Fatma Kayhan, the editor of Roza, stated that both secularism and Islam interfered with the choice of women and aimed to create a certain type of woman according to their ideology. They lead the oppression of women through creating dual values such as modern-traditional, forward-backward.⁵¹⁰ It is noted here that this duality fragments woman's movement and contributes to fall into the traps of current system. According to Pazartesi, political Islam leads to way to use women as a reserve army to serve the spread of Islam. Therefore, the appearance of women in public space is welcomed by political Islam. In the same respect, Kemalism exploits women to implement modernization and westernization project. Thereby, it allows women to be active in public space while the traditional role of women is continued.⁵¹¹ We can say that the discourse of Roza and Pazartesi is the same in the context of the clash between secularists and political Islam. But it should be noted that Islamic women are considered as establishing a feminist stance by Roza, who also believe that Islam as an ideology utilizes women for its aim.

Roza indicated that some identities like Turkish, Muslim and man have a more advantageous status than other identities like non-Muslim Turks and woman.⁵¹² This is the same discourse of third wave feminists which claim that white bourgeois women are stronger than non-white/ non-bourgeois women. Yelda, one of the writers of Roza, exposed that Kurdish people and non-Muslims are put into different categories, because different identities can be categorized as a minority on the basis of religion but not ethnicity.⁵¹³ So, for Roza ethnic identity also falls into the category of minority. Here, Roza located itself near the women who are non-Muslims and who have different ethnic origins. In respect to varied identity of woman, women figures from different ethnic and religious backgrounds were presented as equal with their differences.⁵¹⁴ When needed, Roza took the side of the non-Muslim women rather than the Muslim woman because they are considered to face double oppression on the basis of religion and gender. Roza put forward that

⁵¹⁰ Fatma Kayhan, "Kadınlara Kullanışlı Çağdaş Bir Din", *Roza* 12, no. 3, (January-February, 1998): 3.

⁵¹¹ "Ne panik, Ne de kış uykusu!", 7.

⁵¹² Ayşegül, "Ayrımcılık-Ayrıcalık", *Roza* 2, no. 1, (April- March, 1996): 15.

⁵¹³ Yelda, "Onlar Azınlıkta, Biz Neyiz?", *Roza* 16, no. 4, (August-September- 1999): 3.

although there is not an official religion of Turkey; Islam is regarded as the religion of 99% of the population. A connection is established here between Kurdish women and non-Muslim women who both face double oppression. On the other hand, it continues to stand up for Islamic women and argues that they should be admitted with their values. When we come to Pazartesi, we see that there is not any reference to non-Muslim identity. Instead, Pazartesi focused on veiled women and the ban over the veil. For example, Düzkan expressed that veiled women are subjected to double oppressions because of their clothes and gender.⁵¹⁵ Also the ban over headscarf at universities is opposed by Pazartesi and they supported the demonstrations of veiled women as Pazartesi said that they could not affirm a policy that forbids women to enter the public space.⁵¹⁶ Pazartesi maintains that women are discriminated because of their sex, while men who have the same opinion with women are allowed to represent themselves in public space.

Roza put forward that there is not just one type of women, but there are women with different identities who have different experiences, demands and who face different forms of oppression. In the same respect, Roza requested articles from readers related to experience, feelings and demands of women, but not only from Kurds, but also from Armenians, Rums, Circassia, Jewish, Christians, that is women from all ethnic and religious groups. To support differences, women who are from diverse ethnicities and religions wrote in Roza. New Islamic women were also welcomed by Roza, as they strived against the sovereignty of Islamic man. Pazartesi concentrated on Islamic women with the perspective of sisterhood and headscarf was seen as an essential right of women. Both Roza and Pazartesi did not support political Islam and secularism as they were considered to be in the service of patriarchy.

4.2.3. The Approach of Pazartesi and Roza to the State

Roza and Pazartesi located themselves in opposition to the state. Independency from state was claimed to be an indicator of the success of woman's

⁵¹⁴ Hediye Yılmaz, "Farklı Ama Eşit", *Roza* 7, no.2, (March-April,1997): 26.

⁵¹⁵ Düzkan, Türlan Tartışması Mecliste: Yasaklanan örtü mü, kadınlar mı?,24.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

movement by these journals. Ethnic and feminist identity of Roza had an impact on the construction of its perspective to state, whilst Pazartesi with its socialist-feminist background determined its policy towards state in the framework of opposition.

Roza struggled with the state to prioritize ethnicity and in this framework, it concentrated on war, assimilation policy, rape and torture in prisons and under detention. Pazartesi underlined the legal arrangement of the state about the woman's issue, they at the same time criticized the state for the operation to northern Iraq and operation to prisons.

Pazartesi brought the subjects of civil law, penalty law, and the court's decisions about violence against the woman's body. Roza shared the ideas of Pazartesi in the case of civil law and penalty law that legal system contributes to the oppression of women.⁵¹⁷ Whereas Pazartesi put more emphasis on the legal system, Roza's responses and emphasis were more powerful about the decisions of the court for the cases of rape and sexual harassment. According to Roza, court is a vehicle of the state to protect criminals who work in state departments. This policy is regarded as a strategy of war against Kurdish women who represent the ethnic existence of Kurds as shields against the assimilation policy and who are regarded as an image of territory. They observed the court processes of Remziye Dinç and Şükran Aydın in order to support these women on the basis of ethnicity and gender and publicize the condition of women from East and Southeastern part of Turkey.⁵¹⁸ Likewise, women who were subjected to being raped and sexual abuse under the detention are denounced by Roza and Pazartesi. The stories of women who were raped or sexually abused were also published by Pazartesi, such as the court processes of Şükran Aydın, Remziye Dinç, Fatma Ülkü and Asiye who claimed to being raped by state officials. Here, the approach of Roza is shaped with consideration of their ethnic identity, while Pazartesi located the reason as violence against the woman's body.

Roza regards the court decision to pull their issues from the shelves and the compensation penalty as an attack to their ethnic identity but at the same time it is

⁵¹⁷ Kaya, "Kadınlar Hukuk Bilgisinden Uzak", 41; "Tecavüz Mağduru İki Kadın", 56.

⁵¹⁸ Kayhan, "Remziye' ler Yalnız Değil", 2-3.

also considered to be an indicator of their position as an opposition to the state.⁵¹⁹ Although Pazartesi attacked state's policy towards women and Kemalist and nationalist ideology which it regarded as constructed within patriarchy and capitalism, it was not subjected to such censor.

Pazartesi directed its criticism at KSSGM and Turkish State Minister for Women and Family Affairs, which are perceived to be in the service of the policy of state instead of women.⁵²⁰ The reason, as Pazartesi suggests, is the structure of these institutions within the prime ministry which prevents them from producing successful policies for women. It is tried to be shown that minister of state for women and family affair are afraid of "f" word by Pazartesi, although they represent women. On the other hand, Roza defined the Turkish state as a colonizer that exploits Kurdish men and women.⁵²¹ According to Roza, the state is the hegemonic power of the Turkish side that works to prohibit the existence of Kurdish identity. Therefore, Roza is skeptical about all policies that come from the state. Pazartesi does not use metaphors of slavery to depict the relation between the state and women. But it challenged the official ideology which prevents the appearance of independent women's movement in other ways.

Roza also indicated that after the arrest of Öcalan, the pressure of state on Kurds became stronger than before. Parallel to this event, it is pointed by Roza that all opposition groups were forbidden to attend the celebration of 8 March in order to prevent the appearance of Kurdish women in public space, except the women's organizations that cooperate with the state. Here, Roza also mentions that that woman's groups who are not with Kurdish women are also penalized by the state. Pazartesi supported Roza during Öcalan's arrest and the hard times that followed for the Kurdish feminist journal.

Therefore as all examples above indicates, Pazartesi and Roza introduced themselves in opposition to the state. However, the manners in which they were in opposition were different as it can be seen when we look at the identity policies of

⁵¹⁹ Berivan, "İrkçılığı Fark Etmek", 10.

⁵²⁰ Savran, "İyi Niyet Yetmez", 12.

⁵²¹ Doğan, "Evet Erkekler Türk Devletinin Köleleri Ama Biz Bacılar Kölelerinin Köleliyiz" 6.

these journals. The language of Roza is deeply entrenched in ethnic grounds. Dual oppression based on ethnicity and womanhood made them put a distance with the state, which was quite apparent most of the time. Pazartesi focused on legal arrangement and court decisions about sexual harassment and rape. On the other hand, the socialist stance of Pazartesi led them to attack state for the operation to prisons and against people who are involved death fast. It can be said that Pazartesi prompted its socialist and feminist perspective in the case of a relation with the state.

CONCLUSION

From the proclamation of the Republic to the current date, feminism in Turkey emerged with different discourses in relation to social, economic and political developments of the time. The first phase started with the woman's movement of the last period of Ottoman Empire which had similar demands as the liberal feminists such educational, political and economic rights and this phase continued during the early period of the Republic until 1935. The state has the only power to take and give rights to citizens. Therefore, it did not approve of any movement conducted by religious, liberal, and socialist or woman's groups. For example, Woman's Party founded by feminist generation of the early years of Republic under the leadership of Nezihe Muhiddin was not allowed by the state since this initiative was perceived as being out of the state's control. As in all nationalistic processes, women played an essential role to demonstrate the image of the state in domestic and foreign policy. With the adaptation of the principles of modernization and westernization, women were regarded as windows of the state. The educational, political and economic rights were granted to women from within this framework. Despite these given rights, women were expected to continue their traditional role in their private life. Women represented the image of Turkey in foreign policy and they were also conveyers of reforms as mother and teacher of the nation. This phase demonstrates first wave feminism, although women obtained their rights thanks to the state-led modernization and westernization projects.

Second phase refers to second wave feminism which takes place during the 1980s and the street's movement. The main feature of this phase was the effect of slogan "personal is political", which meant that women oriented their attention towards private life, family, marriage and motherhood. The reason behind the emphasis on private life was the belief that political, economic and educational rights which are related to the appearance of women in public space could not prevent the oppression of women. Women started to question the position of the state on woman's policy and their personal life. It should also be pointed that women who

were active in 70s in leftist movements were a part of feminist movements in the 1980s as well. Here the main criticism made to leftist movements is the same criticism voiced against Kemalist movement that is the expectation from women to have an asexual identity when they are in public space. But, for women, the 1980s is a period of resistance both against socialists and Kemalists on the basis of feminist discourses. For example, women came together in houses in order to discuss the problems of women in public and private space which can be categorized as a consciousness raising activity. Then, they started to write to the woman's page of journals and they met for women's congress, and finally they emerged in public space with their feminist identity. Violence against women and legal arrangement of the state are the main arguments of the 1980s under second wave feminism.

The 1990s is the starting point of the third phase of feminism in Turkey, which is identified with the third wave feminism. With a panoramic look at the world, this can be viewed as a challenge to the essentialist and universalist concepts as it underlines multiplicity, plurality and flexibility. Unison under common oppression and sisterhood is attacked by feminist from the third world, black women, Islamic women and Middle Eastern women. Feminism in Turkey can be perceived in relation to the movements of women from outside of West. In Turkey, different women's groups, such as Kurdish and Islamic women emerged in public space since the 1990s. During these years, feminist groups in Turkey transformed themselves according to the changes in current domestic and foreign atmospheres. Institutionalization period, project feminist and international women congress are also main features of the 1990s feminism.

In this work, Pazartesi and Roza were analyzed as representatives of the transformation of feminist movements in Turkey. These journals are leading examples of the diversity in the discourses of feminisms since the 1990s. Pazartesi can be regarded as a continuation of feminist history in Turkey but Roza arose to cut its connection with this history. Pazartesi opened its door to woman's groups which emerged in 1990s under sisterhood, and did not judge them due to their identities as Kemalist women did. Yet, Pazartesi criticized state led woman's organizations such as ÇYDD and Women's Word because for Pazartesi they serve Kemalist ideology by attempting to shape women according to Kemalist reforms and ignoring varied

identities of women. Moreover international feminist conferences influenced the approach of Pazartesi to follow a more flexible policy with respect of other identities such as religious or ethnic identity. On the other hand Pazartesi, which is as a product of project feminism, has a controversial relation with third wave feminism. Even though Pazartesi embraced local feminism, it prioritized womanhood, sisterhood and common oppression from a global perspective which is in line with the approach of second wave feminism, which also influenced their perspective on the issues of family, motherhood, birth control and body politics. Motherhood and family are seen as institutions of patriarchy and capitalism to lead the oppression of women while sexuality and the concept of beauty, birth control are evaluated under body politics. It is defined that women should have autonomy over their own bodies. Besides their feminist identity, their socialist background was effective in their support for veiled woman's demonstrations and criticism to operation of state to f type of prison.

On the other hand Roza emerged from and was situated in third wave feminism. The location of Roza is defined in the Middle East and its position is from the working class, while Turkish feminism is associated with the west and western – white bourgeoisie women by Roza. It adapted the notions of black feminism in their struggle against Turkish feminists and Kurdish men. So they identified themselves against Turkish feminist movement on the basis of racism because their identity is not only comprised of womanhood but also ethnicity, which is regarded as one of the reasons of oppression. What can be called contradictory to their above mentioned belief is that they see Turks as a homogenous group, the reason of which can be ascertained as the tension between these two identities. Besides Turkish women, Kurdish men are criticized in the framework of sexist discrimination which postpones the emancipation of Kurdish women. This dual nature of oppression, as suggested by Roza also affects its analysis of body politics, motherhood, family and birth control. Motherhood, family and mother tongue are areas of resistance against assimilation policy and representatives of ethnic identity for Roza. Therefore, they refuse any intervention from outside, yet they question the dynamics at play within these institutions inside Kurdish society themselves. Under the body politics, sexuality was not mentioned in Roza, instead, war is brought to the agenda. It can be said that discussions on sexuality is seen as a luxury by Roza, which can be due to the peculiar condition of Kurdish women. Moreover, the way Roza sees the state as

exploiter, colonizer and a foreign enemy is much more extreme than the stance of Pazartesi which attacked the legal arrangement and court's decision by state.

In this thesis, the appearance of diverse feminist discourses in Turkey since the 1990s is examined through an analysis of the journals Roza and Pazartesi in the context of feminist approach and identity politics under third wave feminism. Roza has a dual identity in the context of ethnicity and gender whilst Pazartesi held single identity in the respect of womanhood. However both can be located in periphery to challenge Kemalism and patriarchy. The resistance of Roza is stronger because it a struggle at multiple targets which are state, Turkish feminists, Kurdish society and, Kurdish men. Pazartesi, by contrast, focuses basically on the domination of state and men over women.

I would like to conclude my thesis with the sentences of Caryn Mctighe Musil:

The challenge of the nineties is to hold simultaneously to these two contradictory truths: as women, we are same and we are different. The bridges, power alliances and social change possible will be determined by how well we define ourselves through a matrix that encompass our gender particularities while not losing sight of our unity.⁵²²

The contemporary world of feminist movement directs its attention to the multiplicity of identities besides womanhood. This triggers not only diversification within feminism but also challenges mainstream feminism. However, the concept of *difference* should not be overvalued or undervalued as that would lead to enhancing the gap between women, which can be a cause of discrimination.

⁵²²Quated from Davis, 126.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Açık, Necla. "Ulusal Mücadelede, Kadın Mitosu ve Kadınların Harekete Geçirilmesi: Türkiye'deki Çağdaş Kürt Kadın Dergilerin Bir Analizi", in *90'larda Türkiye'de Feminizm*, eds. Aksu Bora & Asena Günel, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009).

Akal, Cemal Bali. *Siyasi İktidarın Cinsiyeti*, (Ankara: İmge Press, 1994).

Amos, Valerie & Parmar, Pratibha. "Challenging Imperial Feminism", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997).

Arat, Yeşim. "Women Prime Minister in Turkey? Did It Matter", *Women & Politics* 19, no. 4 (1998).

Atakul Satı. *A Popular Feminist Journal Experience: Women only Journal Pazartesi*, (M.A. diss., Ankara University, 2002).

Aziz, Razia. "Feminism and the challenge of racism, deviance or difference", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997).

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernlik ve Müphemlik*, trans. İsmail Türkmen, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2003).

Bayrak, Mehmet. *Geçmişten Günümüze Kürt Kadını*, (Ankara: Özge, 2002).

Bergmann, Barbara. *The Economic Emergence of Women*, (New York: Basic Books, 1986).

Bora Aksu & Günel, Asena. "Preface", in *90'larda Türkiye'de Feminizm*, eds. Aksu Bora & Asena Günel, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004).

Canan. "Feminist Kürt Kadın Oluşumları (Roza ve Jujin Dergiler)", in *Özgürlüğü Ararken*, ed. Devrim Çakır, (İstanbul: Amargi Press, 2005).

Carby Hazel V. "White Women Listen: Black Feminism and The Boundaries", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997).

Chakraborty, Mridula Nath. "Wa(i)ving It All Away: Producing Subject and Knowledge in Feminism of Colors", in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Collard, Andrée & Contrucci, Joyce. *Rape of Wild*, (London: Women's Press, 1988).

Costa, Mariarosa Dalla & James, Selma. "Women and the Subversion of the Community", in the *Power of Women and Supervision of Community*, eds. Mariarosa Dalla Costa & Selma James, (Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1972).

Cox, Ana Marie & Johnson, Freya & Newitz, Annalee & Sandell, Jillian. "Masculinity Without Men: Women Reconciling Feminism and Male Identification", in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

Çağlayan, Handan. *Analar, Yoldaşlar, Tanrıçalar*, (İletişim: İstanbul, 2010).

Çaha, Ömer. "Türkiye'de Kadının Hareketinin Tarihi: Değişen Bir Şey Var Mı?", *Kadın Bianeli Çerçevesinde Türkiye'de Kadın ve Sivil Toplum*, (İstanbul, March 2001).

-----."Türkiye'de Kadın Hareketi ve Feminin Sivil Toplumun Gelişimi?", *Kadın Çalışmaları Dergisi* 3, no. 1,(April 2007): 1-20.

-----."Feminizm",ed. Mümtaz'er Türköne, *Siyaset*, (İstanbul: Opus, 2009).

-----. *Sivil Kadın*, (Ankara: Savaş Press, 2010).

Çaha & et'al, "The Same Actors With Different Voices: Feminism With Diverse Interests in Turkey", in *Women and politics: Class differences in feminism*, (Zagreb: Zenzka Infoteka, 2008).

Çiftyürek, S. "Mezopotamya'da Kadının Dünü, Bugünkü, Geleceği", in *Kürt Solu: Kadın Dosyası*, eds. Savaş Keskin & Özlem Kaşıkçırmaz, (İstanbul: Gün Press, 2003).

Çubukçu, Sevgi Uçan. "Post-1980s Women's Movement In Turkey: A Challenge To Patriarchy", in *The Position of Women in Turkey and in the European Union: Achievements, Problems, Prospects*, ed. Fatmagül Berktaş, (KA-DER Press: İstanbul 2004).

Davis, Nira Yuval. *Gender and Nation*, (London: Sage, 1997).

Davis Nira Yuval & Werbner, Pnina. "Introduction: Women And New Discourse of Citizenship", in *Women, Citizenship And Difference*, eds. Nira Yuval- Davis & Pnina Werbner, (London: Zed Press, 1999).

Demir, Zekiye. *Modern ve Post Modern Feminizm*, (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997).

Dijk, Teun A. Van. "Structures of News", *News as Discourse*, (Hove & London: Erlbaum Associates, 1988).

Donovan, Josephine. *Feminist Teori*, trans. Meltem Ağduk Gevrek, Fevziye Sayılan & Aksu Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009).

Edut, Tali & Logwood, Dyann & Edut, Ophira. "HUES Magazine: The Making of a Movement", in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

Elliot, Patricia. "Dorothy Dinnerstein and the Development of Narcissistic Discourse", *From Mastery Analysis: Theories of Gender in Psychoanalytic Feminism*, (the USA: Cornell University, 1991).

Engels, Friedrich. *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, (New York: International Publishers, 1972).

Enloe, Cynthia. "Gender Makes The World Go Round", *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, (University of California Press: 1989).

Ertürk, Yakın. "Doğu Anadolu'da modernleşme ve kırsal Kadın", in *1980'ler Türkiye'si'nde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*, ed. Şirin Tekeli, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010).

Evans, Judith. *Feminist Theory Today: Introduction to Second Wave Feminism*, (London: Sage, 1998).

Firestone, Shulamith. *The Dialectic of Sex*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1970).

Gamble, Sara. "Post Feminism", in *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Post Feminism*, ed. Sara Gamble, (London: Routledge, 2006).

Genz, Stéphanie. "Third Way: The Politics of Post Feminism", *Feminist Theory* 7, no. 3, (1 December 2006).

Grant, J. *Fundamental Feminism: Contesting the Core Concept of Feminist Theory*, (London: Routledge, 1993).

Heckmann, Lale Yalçın & Gelder, Pouline Ven. "90'larda Türkiye'de Siyasal Söylemin Dönüşümü Çerçevesinde Kürt Kadınların İmajı: Bazı Eleştirel Değerlendirmeler", in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşe Gül Altınay, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004).

Henry, Astrid. "Solidarity Sisterhood: Individualism Meets Collectivity in Feminism's Third Wave", ed. Jo Reger, *Different Wavelengths: Studies Contemporary Women's Movement*, (New York: Routledge, 2005).

Heywood, Leslie & Drake, Jennifer. "Introduction", in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

-----, "It's All about the Benjamins': Economic Determinants of Third Wave Feminism in the United States", in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

hooks, bell. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*, (Boston: South End, 1984).

----- . *Ain't A Women, Black Women and Feminism*, (Boston: South East Press, 1999).

Howie, Gillian & Touchert, Ashley. "Feminist Dissonance: The Logic of Late Feminism", in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Howie, Gillian. "Interview with Luce Irigaray", eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Jaggar, Alison M. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*, (the USA: Rowman & Littlefield Press, 1983).

Kandiyoti, Deniz. *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2007).

Kerestecioğlu Filiz. "Pazartesi Dergisi (1995- 2000)", *Özgürlüğü Ararken*, ed. Devrim Çakır, (İstanbul: Amargi, 2005).

----- . "Kadınlara Mahsus Gazete: Pazartesi", *1990'larda Türkiye'de Feminizm*, eds. Aksu Bora & Asena Günal, (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2009).

Kutluata, Zeynep. *The Politics Of Difference Within The Feminist Movement in Turkey as Manifested in the Case of Kurdish Woman/Feminist Journals*, (M. A. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2003).

Larrabee, Mary Jeanne. "Existentialist Feminism", ed. Lorraine Code, *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Lerner, Gerda. *The Feminist Thought of Sarah Grimké*, (New York: Oxford Press, 1998).

Lind, Amy & Bruzuzzy, Stephanie. "Post Feminism as the Next Stage of Feminism", in *Battle Ground Women, Gender and Sexuality*, (The USA: Greenwood Publishing, 2008).

Lygate, Magdalene Ang. "Charting the spaces of (un)location: On theorizing diaspora", ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, (London: Routledge, 1997).

MacKinnon, Catharine A. "Francis Biddle's Sister: Pornography Civil Rights, and Speech", in *Feminism Unmodified: Discourse on Life and Law*, (the USA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

Mahon, Joseph. *The Second Sex: Woman as the Other, Existentialism, Feminism and Simon De Beauvoir*, (New York: Palgrave, 1997).

Massey D. B. & et al., "Spatial division of labor in Practice", *Environmental and Planning A* 21, no. 5, (1989).

Millet, Kate. *Sexual Politics*, (London: Virago, 1977).

Mojab, Shahrzad. "The Particularity of 'Honour' and the Universality of 'Killing': From Early Warning Signs to Feminist Pedagogy", in *Violence in the Name of Honor: Theoretical and Political Challenges*, eds. Shahrzad Mojab & Nahla Abdo, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University, 2004).

Mojab, Shahrzad. *Devletsiz Ulusun Kadınları*, (Avesta: İstanbul, 2005).

Morgan, Robin. *Sisterhood is Powerful: an Anthology of Writing from Women's Liberation Movement*, (New York: Vintage Book, 1970).

Nagel, Joane. "Erkeklik ve Milliyetçilik: Ulusun inşasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Cinsellik", in *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*, ed. Ayşegül Altınay, trans. Aksu Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000).

Nye, Andrea. *Feminist Theory and The Philosophies of Man*, (New York: Routledge, 1989).

O'Brien, Mary. *The Politics of Reproduction*, (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Poul, 1981).

Patel, Pragna. "Third wave feminism and black women's activism", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997).

Phoneix, Ann. "Theories of Gender and Black Families", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader* ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997).

Pilardi, Jo Ann. "Feminist Read the Second Sex", ed. Margaret A. Simons, *Feminist Interpretation of Simone De Beauvoir*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

Pope, Nicole. "Honor Killings: Instrument of Patriarchal Control", in *Violence in the Name of Honor: Theoretical and Political Challenges* eds. Shahrzad Mojab & Nahla Abdo, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University, 2004).

Rassool, Naz. "Fractured or flexible identities? Life histories of 'black' diasporic women in Britain", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997).

Reynolds, Tracey. "(Mis) Representing the Black (Super) Woman", in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza, (London: Routledge, 1997).

Sanders, Lise Shapiro. "'Feminists Love Utopia' Collaboration, Conflict and the Futures of Feminism", in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Saktanber, Ayşe. “Türkiye’de Medyada Kadın: Serbest Müsait Kadın Veya İyi Eş, Fedakâr Anne”, in *1980’ler Türkiye’nde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*, ed. Şirin Tekeli, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010).

Siegel, Deborah L. “Reading between the Waves: Feminist Historiography in a ‘Post feminist’ Moment”, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

Sorisio, Carolyn. “A Tale of Two Feminism: Power and Victimization in Contemporary Feminist Debate”, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

Shoemaker, Leigh. “Part Animal, Part Machine: Self Definition, Rollins Style”, in *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminist*, eds. Leslie Heywood & Jennifer Drake, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

Spencer, Jane. “After words”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Stanton. “Chapter II: Comments on Genesis”, *The Woman's Bible - 1895/1898* maybebook.com/download_free_ebook/...**woman**-s.../ebook23791.pdf, (accessed, May 15, 2010).

Steinem, Gloria. “Foreword”, in *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Challenging the Face of Feminism*, ed. Rebecca Walker, (New York, Doubleday, 1995).

Stone, Alison “On Genealogy of Women: A Defense of Anti Essentialism”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Stryker, Susan. “Transgender Feminism: Queering the Woman Question”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Unat, Nermin Abadan .“Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Kadını”, in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat, (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1979).

Valassopoulos, Anastasia. “‘Also I Wanted So Much to Leave for the West’: Postcolonial Feminism Rides the Third Wave”, in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Warren, Karen J. “Feminism and Ecology: Making Connections”, *Environmental Ethic* 16, (Spring 1987).

Whelehan, Imelda. *Modern Feminist Thought: From Second Wave to ‘Post – Feminism*, (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

Walker, Alice. *In Search of Our Mothers' Garden: Womanist Prose*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983).

Walker, Rebecca. "Being Real: Introduction", in *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism*, ed. Rebecca Walker, (New York: Anchor, 1995).

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, (Mineola N.Y& London: Dover Publication, 1996).

Woolf, Virginia. *Kendine Ait Bir Oda*, trans. Suğra Öncü, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009).

Waters, Melanie. "Sexing It Up? Women, Pornography and Third Wave Feminism", in *Third Wave Feminism: Critical Exploration*, eds. Stacy Gillis, Gillian Howie & Rebecca Munford, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Taylor, Harriet Hardy. "Enfranchisement of Women", in *Essays on Sexual Equality: John Stuart Mill, Harriet Hardy & Taylor Mill*, ed. Alice S. Rossi, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

Tidd, Ursula. *Simone De Beauvoir*, (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Timisi, Nilüfer & Gevrek, Meltem Ağduk. "1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Feminist Hareket: Ankara Çevresi", in *90'larda Türkiye'de Feminizm*, eds. Aksu Bora & Asena Günel, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009).

Tong, Rosemarie Putnam. *Feminist Thought: More Comprehensive Introduction*, (the USA: West View Press, 1998).

----- . *Feminist Düşünce*, trans. Zafer Çirhinlioğlu, (İstanbul: Gündoğan Press 2009).

Yüksel, Metin. *Diversifying Feminism in Turkey in the 1990s*, (M.A. diss., Bilkent University, 2003).

Zihnioğlu, Yaprak. *Kadınsız İnkilap*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2003).

ABSTRACT

Ziynet Seda ÖZCAN

April 2011

Feminist movement constructs its position in the periphery to challenge the central position of male power and to reach emancipation of women. The movement has gone through a certain transformation as manifested by the first wave, second wave and third wave feminism, which varies from country to country with respect to the special structure, history, experience, traditions and customs of that country. This thesis focuses specifically on feminism in Turkey since 1990s in the light of third wave feminism. The aim of this thesis is to show the diversities of feminist discourses on the basis of the discourses of Pazartesi and Roza journals from 1990s. While Pazartesi is published by mainstream feminists from Turkey and can be considered as an example of the transformation of feminism in Turkey, Roza as a Kurdish feminist journal puts distance with Turkish feminism as it establishes its own feminism in the framework of identity politics. This work analyzes how these journals identified their feminist approaches and their identity under the third wave feminism and tries to show the diversities of feminist discourses in Turkey since 1990s.

Key words: Black feminism, third wave feminism, identity, ethnicity, motherhood, body politics, family, birth control, Kurdish feminism, Turkish feminism.

KISA ÖZET

Ziynet Seda ÖZCAN

April 2011

Feminist hareket pozisyonu çevrede inşa ederek erkek egemen güce karşı çıkmakta ve kadının özgürleşmesini hedeflemektedir. Feminist hareket birinci, ikinci ve üçüncü dalga şeklinde dönüşümler yaşanmıştır. Fakat bu dönüşümler ülkenin yapısı, tarihi-tecrübeleri, gelenekleri- görenekleri doğrultusunda ülkeden ülkeye değişiklik göstermektedir. Bu tez spesifik olarak üçüncü dalga feminizm ışığında 1990'lar Türkiye'sindeki feminizme odaklanacaktır. Tezin amacı 1990'lardaki dergilerden Pazartesi ve Roza'nın söylemleri temel alınarak, Türkiye'deki feminist söylemlerdeki farklılaşmaları göstermektedir. Pazartesi ana akım feministler tarafından yayımlanmıştır. Ve Pazartesi Türkiye'nin feminist tarihi devamı olarak farz edilerek, Türkiye'deki feminizm değişimin örneği olarak değerlendirilebilir. Roza ise Kürt feminist dergisi olarak Türk feminizmine mesafe koyarak, kimlik politikası çerçevesinde kendi feminizmini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Böylece üçüncü dalga feminizm göre bu dergilerin feminist yaklaşımlarının ve kimliklerin nasıl tanımladığı gösterilerek 1990'lardan itibaren Türkiye'deki feminist söylemdeki farklılaşmalar tartışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyah Feminizm, üçüncü dalga feminizm, kimlik, etnisite, annelik, beden politikası, aile, doğum kontrol, Kürt Feminizmi, Türk Feminizmi.