

WOMAN AND NATION IN TURKEY: *KADIN GAZETESİ* (1947-1950)  
AND *KADIN SESİ* (1957-1960)

BİRSEN BANU OKUTAN

105605012

İSTANBUL BİLGİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER YÜKSEK LİSANS PROGRAMI

Yrd. Doç. Dr BOĞAÇ EROZAN

September 2007

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BİRSEN BANU OKUTAN  
105605012

Assistant Prof. Dr. Boğaç Erozan : .....

Prof. Dr. Nihal İncioğlu : .....

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya : .....

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih : .....

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: .....

Anahtar Kelimeler

- 1) Kadın
- 2) Millet
- 3) Kadın Gazetesi
- 4) İnönü Dönemi
- 5) Menderes Dönemi

Key Words

- 1) Woman
- 2) Nation
- 3) Woman Journal
- 4) İnönü Period
- 5) Menderes Era

## ABSTRACT

### WOMAN AND NATION IN TURKEY: *KADIN GAZETESİ* (1947-1950) AND *KADIN SESİ* (1957-1960)

The relation between woman and nation is a controversial issue which covers a significant part in the feminist literature and gender theories. The first and foremost theoretical study about “woman and nation” is the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias (1989) who hold that the women are participants of the nation from five aspects: “biological reproducers”, “reproducers of the boundaries”, “transmitters of culture”, “signifiers of ethnic-national differences” and “participants of national struggles”. The aim of this study is to examine whether it is possible to assert such a relation for Turkey through the discourse analysis of women journals *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1950) and *Kadın Sesi* (1957-1960) which are the products of a different periods of the republican regime.

## ÖZET

### TÜRKİYE’DE KADIN VE MİLLET: KADIN GAZETESİ (1947-1950) VE KADIN SESİ (1957-1960)

Feminist yazında ve toplumsal cinsiyeti konu edinen teorilerde önemli bir yer tutan “kadın” ve “millet” arasındaki ilişki tartışmaya yol açan bir konudur. Bu tartışmalar arasında İlk ve en önemli teorik çalışmanın sahipleri Yuval Davis ve Anthias’tır. Yazarlara göre kadınlar milli davalara “doğurucu olarak”, “sınırların yeniden üreticisi olarak”, “kültür aktarıcısı olarak”, “milli farklılıkların göstericisi olarak” ve “milli mücadelelerin aktörü” olarak katılır. Bu tezin amacı böyle bir teorik çerçevenin Türkiye için mümkün olup olmadığını, sağlamlaşan Cumhuriyet rejiminin *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1950) ve *Kadın Sesi* (1957-1960) gibi süreli yayınları aracılığıyla incelemektir.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This study is the end-product of ten months by the guidance of my tolerant supervisor, Boğaç Erozan who motivated me to present a more creative and original work for the literature. I am grateful to his understanding and patience in the face of my impatience and anxieties during the research. I would thank my mother and my father who have always believed in and stood by me during my research. I am also indebted to my grandfather and Nilüfer; their positive remarks have made me feel lucky during these ten months. I also owe lots of thanks to Berrak Burçak and her husband for their editorial changes in my thesis. Finally and most importantly, my special thanks for my best friend Muhammet, who helped in every stage of this thesis by his encouragement. He showed endless tolerance listening to my complaints about the unfortunate incidents which I encountered during the study. I promise you, Muhammet; I will help you to prepare your PhD dissertation as far as I can do.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vi
CHAPTER 1 .....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Aim and Methodology of the study.....	1
Overview of the Thesis.....	4
CHAPTER 2 .....	6
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	6
WOMAN-NATION-STATE .....	9
<i>Women as biological reproducers of members of collectivities</i> .....	11
<i>Women as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic national groups</i> .....	12
<i>Women as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture</i> .....	14
<i>Women as signifiers of ethnic national differences</i> .....	15
<i>Women as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles</i> .	16
Reception of Yuval Davis and Anthias .....	17
Five Major Categories in the Turkish Case .....	18
Initial Findings .....	21
CHAPTER 3 .....	25
THE CONTEXTUAL EVALUATION .....	25
The İnönü Period between 1947 and 1950 .....	25
“Women” of the period.....	28
<i>Kadın Gazetesi</i> , (Woman’s Paper) between 1947 and 1950 .....	33
Menderes Period between 1957 and 1960.....	35
“Women” in the Decay Period of DP, 1957-1960 .....	39
<i>Kadın Sesi</i> , (Woman’s Voice) between 1957 and 1960 .....	40
CHAPTER 4 .....	44
<i>KADIN GAZETESİ</i> .....	44
<i>Women as biological reproducers</i> .....	44
<i>Women as transmitters of culture</i> .....	47
<i>Women as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups</i> .....	50
<i>Women as signifiers of ethnic/national differences</i> .....	54
<i>Women as participants in national-military, economic, political and social struggles</i> .....	58
<i>Participant of National and Military Struggles</i> .....	59
<i>Participants of Economic Struggles</i> .....	61
<i>Participants of Political Struggles</i> .....	63
<i>Participant of Social Struggles</i> .....	67

CHAPTER 5 .....	72
<i>KADIN SESİ</i> .....	72
<i>Women as biological reproducers</i> .....	72
<i>Women as transmitters of the culture</i> .....	73
<i>Women as reproducers of the boundaries</i> .....	75
<i>Woman as signifier of ethnic/national differences</i> .....	77
<i>Women as participants in national-military, economic, political and social</i> .....	78
<i>Participants of Nationalist and Military Struggles</i> .....	78
<i>Participant of Economic Struggles</i> .....	81
<i>Participant of Political Struggles</i> .....	82
<i>Participants of Social Struggles</i> .....	84
CHAPTER 6 .....	88
LOOKING AT <i>KADIN GAZETESİ</i> AND <i>KADIN SESİ</i> THROUGH ANALYTICAL LENSES .....	88
CHAPTER 7 .....	94
CONCLUSION .....	94
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	98

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Aim and Methodology of the study**

Gender inequality is still one of the most important issues in Turkish society. Many women complain that they are manipulated by gendered policies or gendered constructions in both the private and public spheres. A great deal of the literature on women shows women's rights in political, economic, and social fields. Some of them criticize the gendered aspect of governmental applications from the proclamation of the republican regime to the present time. Some of them support the rights given to Turkish women in every field of women's lives. I do not intend to minimize the numbers of gender studies in Turkish literature. However, I believe that if the inequalities between men and women are questioned in the direction of "woman and nation" based on a theoretical schema; it can be actually a fruitful study for gendered dimension of Turkish nationalism.

I strongly suggest that women are participants in national struggles although they are not perceived as active players of national causes. Women make significant contributions not only to the creation of national codes, decoration of the national tastes, indoctrination of national culture but also to economic, social, political and military struggles. Multidimensional roles of women in creation, consolidation and continuation of nations motivate me to seek the connection and interplay between women and nation. Therefore; in this study, I aim to analyze the role of the Turkish woman participating in national causes through women journals. This research is based on the significant theoretical study of Yuval Davis and Anthias (1989) who regard women as active participants in the ethnic and national struggles. In other words, I aim to accomplish "a case study" by applying Yuval Davis and Anthias' theory to the Turkish case through two prominent women's journals, *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi*, which are productions of different contexts.

Methodologically, this study is a "qualitative discourse analysis" of *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi*. I consider that discourse analysis is the best method to answer



the questions of what the relationship is between woman and nation, in what ways women participate in the national struggles, and how we can comment on the position of women by the help of women's journals. In the research processes of both journals, I only focus on the "articles" and "news" demonstrating the interrelation between woman and nation but the "stories" and "translated texts" are not studied. The reason is to display a more systematic picture during the analysis.

Although *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947- 1979), and *Kadın Sesi* (1957 -1976) are long-lived publications, I selected three years from each journal for the sake of presenting a more concentrated and detailed study. *Kadın Gazetesi* is examined from its beginning March 1, 1947, until 1950; *Kadın Sesi* has been analyzed since its first publication, October 17, 1957, to 1960. There are significant reasons why these journals were chosen to be examined in terms of the relationship between woman and nation. For this study, the chosen time periods reflect "the appearance of women in Turkey" after the "consolidation period" of the republican regime. However, this study is different from more typical Turkish women studies which scrutinize the application of Kemalist ideology between 1925 and 1937 or investigate the "position", in a way, "awakening of women" in contemporary history, especially after the second half of 1980s. The chosen time periods also symbolize transitions for Turkish society. Between 1947 and 1950, the winds of democracy and moderation blew in the nation; the relatively liberal policies and the transition to the multiparty system paved the way for a governmental change in 1950. Conducting a study on the relationship between women and nation in this momentous era of Turkish politics is essential to understand the extent to which democracy influenced the participation of women in national causes. On the other hand, the years between 1957 and 1960 mark the rise of oppression and violence by the Democrat Party, and it seems necessary to analyze to what extent the oppression policies affect the women and the interrelation between women and nation. Moreover, it is worth analyzing these journals because of their informative contents. Both of them avoid popular topics such as fashion, beauty, decorations, sexuality and concentrate rather on the role of women in national, political, economic and social struggles. In other words, the journals dedicate themselves to the struggle for national causes highlighting the roles and duties of women in national mobilization.

It should also be noted that although the appearances of women embedded in the texts are mainly sources for the study, I do not give mere autonomy to the text and consider the texts of journals in the direction of contextual flows. I believe that the exhibition of the interrelation between “text” and “context” makes the discourse analysis more meaningful and this interplay help to understand what the writers intend to mean and how this meaning can be perceived. To put it differently, I regard to show “the intention of writers to create articles” and “the intention of them in creating the articles” (Skinner, 1989:76) according to the circumstances.

Moreover, we can say that this study is a reflection of the marriage between “theory” and “practice”. In other words, the theoretical foundation of Yuval Davis and Anthias has been applied to the Turkish case and this composition has been presented to clarify the participation of Turkish women in national causes in different historical contexts. At this point, it should also be emphasized that there are important reasons why I have chosen the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias as a basis of woman and nation in Turkey. The most important reason is the generalizable character of the theory which can be used by different scholars in different case studies. The theory can be generalized because it presents five important and comprehensive ways to demonstrate the roles of woman in national struggles. They argue that women are participants of nation as being “biological reproducers”, “reproducers of the boundaries”, “transmitters of culture”, “signifiers of ethnic, national differences” and “participants of national struggles”. These categories are dynamically constituted; according to the contextual differences, “the centrality of these roles” can change. For instance, while two categories can be underlined in one country, the overlapping among the categories can be encountered in another country.

For the Turkish case, the study of five dynamic categories helps us to stick to the general assumptions on women literature. As it is known, there are two types of orthodox beliefs which constitute the agenda of woman and nation in Turkey. On the one hand, it is asserted that the women gain large scale rights with the help of republican regime, and they do not need to struggle anymore for their rights (İnan, 1982; Doğramacı, 1989; Taşkiran, 1973). This statement absolutely ignores the feelings, intentions, outlooks and effects of Turkish women in the national processes. On the other hand, the hegemonic sanctions of the single party period on women are overstated

and women are considered to be puppet symbols of the existent government in the general literature (Kandiyoti, 1987; Berktaç, 1995). This view prevents an impartial approach to the issue because Turkish women desire to be included in the national projects supporting the men and they sacrifice their lives for the sake of the country. More precisely, these two orthodox opinions limit the scale of comprehensive investigation. Disposing the woman in the box of “object” or labelling them as “subjects” in every segment of life is inviting a “misconception” resulting from incorrect reasoning. By the help of the five categories, the spectrum of “woman participation to the nation” becomes larger and the subject is taken away from the autonomy of the traditional sayings. In the following, I will overview our study which is based on the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias.

### **Overview of the Thesis**

The study consists of five main chapters: “Theoretical Framework”, “the Contextual Evaluation”, “*Kadın Gazetesi*”, “*Kadın Sesi*”, “Looking at *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi* through the analytical lens”. In the first chapter, I will explain the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias in depth answering how and in what sense it is useful for our study. In this chapter, the literature review about the fivefold theory is also examined by referring to the scholars who received it directly or indirectly. How the theory has been received by scholars is important for our study so that we might better understand the generalizable character of the five categories. The second chapter aims to give a panorama of the periods in which the journals are produced. Here, I also make an effort to order the explanations from general to specific. To be clearer, firstly I provide an overview of the periods, then I scrutinize the positions of women in these periods and lastly I present general information about the women’s journals. In addition, while the fourth chapter involves the participation of Turkish women in the nation from the aspect of *Kadın Gazetesi* under the subheadings of the theory, the fifth section reveals *Kadın Sesi*’s view about woman in the national cause under the light of the theory. Moreover, in the fifth chapter, I try to get inference from both journals by looking at them more analytically. In this part, I attempt to provide a concise contribution to the research after a deep examination of women journals. I will question how the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias explain both journals although the journals are the productions of different contexts and I will add some elements to the fivefold

theory in order to clarify the relation between women and nation in *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi*. And lastly, I display overall evaluation in the direction of inferences and findings in the conclusion.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The definition of “nation” is a controversial issue; it is described as “a soul, a spiritual principle” (Renan, 1990), “as an ethnic group” (Smith, 1986, Connor, 1994), as a natural and universal phenomenon (Geertz, 1963; Shils, 1957; Berghe, 1979) or as “a territorial-political unit (Weber, 1948)<sup>1</sup>. A huge literature exists from different standpoints to find various influential components of national construction. Gender referring to the social construction rather than anatomical or biological differences (Peterson, 1994) is not regarded as a part of analysis of nationalism for a long time. However, after the mid-1980s, researchers started to examine the “gendered aspect of nations and nationalisms” with more comprehensive lenses. Their aim was to demonstrate the importance of “woman” in the national and ethnic processes.

Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias contributed an edited book, *Woman-Nation-State* in 1989. This book is one of the first studies which expose the interaction between woman and nation in a theoretical framework. In the following paragraphs, I firstly question why this theory is important to explain the relationship between woman and nation; secondly, I review the fivefold theoretical foundation of *Woman-Nation-State*, then I attempt to present the studies directly or indirectly referring to the theory of the co-editors. And lastly, I expose the reason why this theory a foundation for defining the interaction between Turkish woman and nation in certain times through the discourse analysis of women journals.

Before demonstrating the significance of the theory by Yuval-Davis and Anthias, two prominent studies which demonstrate the visibility of women in national projects should be mentioned briefly. Although these two studies do not provide theoretical framework for the interplay between nation and women, they are momentous in that they allow us to see the pioneers who first considered the significance of woman in national causes. One of the important contributions was made by Jayawerdena (1986), *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. It points out the relationship

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<sup>1</sup> For further sources, see the edited book of John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, *Nationalism* (1994).

between women and nations in the third world countries such as in Egypt, Iran, Turkey, India, Sri Lanka, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Indonesia. It essentially shows the similarities of feminine experiences in these countries. On the one hand, it stated that under the pressure of imperialism and capitalism, the native men strove to gain emancipation and save their spiritual and material independence. At that time, the women helped their men in these nationalist struggles by going out into the streets to demonstrate on issues of national concern (1986:22). On the other hand, after independence, male reformers or political leaders of the nation tried to create new types of Westernized educated women within traditional frameworks. Jayawerdana believes that the social and economic transformations affected the attitudes and policies of nations or states, and these changes shaped the manners, outlooks and images of women. Especially, in the modernization projects of the third world such as in Turkey, the women are pictured as unveiled, educated and modern working in public life, doing households and nurturing children at the same time.

The other contribution to this issue is Cynthia Enloe's book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (1989) which concentrates on the place of women in international politics and the relationship of woman with tourism, nationalism, military bases, diplomacy and the international labour force in agriculture, textiles and domestic service. The picture in Enloe's mind is clear: the lives of women are shaped by the global economic forces and interactions among the nations. Also, the private relations between women and men reflect the direction of international commerce and foreign affairs. It means that international politics is not only a men's club (Enloe, 1989:198) because the women are visible subjects within the international system. However, the women of the world do not share the same characteristics and similar places in this system. As in the hierarchical system of the world, diverse group of women such as white, western women have attractive positions. They actively participate in the system by using their labor force or by attending middle management positions.

After a brief summary of the works of Yuval Davis and Anthias' predecessors, it is time to analyze the main theoretical study, *Woman-Nation-State* (1989) of the co-editors. Before analyzing their theory, the reason why this study deserves close interest in "woman and nation" studies should be clarified. In this respect, two reasons can be proposed. First of all, Yuval Davis and Anthias' book, *Woman-Nation-State* (1989)

highlights the dark points of the linkage between woman and nation because it is the “first prominent study” (Özkırıklı, 1999:236) which puts the “theoretical framework” to the literature. It explains the ways in which women affect and are affected by national and ethnic<sup>2</sup> processes. The case studies illustrate the interplay between nation and women and show the importance of women in national practices. Therefore, the theory provides clear and consistent explanations for the gendered dimension of nationalism.

According to Yuval-Davis and Anthias, although the decision makers of collectivities oriented women towards a proper way, women cannot be described as passive agents in the national projects. Women have primary positions in many spaces such as being “ideological transmitters of collectivity” and the “reproducers of boundaries”. Women are also “mothers”, “teachers”, “bearers”, and “symbolizers” of the nations and ethnic group indoctrinating their interests, their benefits, and their views in the national projects whether through nurturing the children or through striving for national glorification.

Secondly, the co-editors’ five categories become a theoretical foundation for the scholars who study the interplay between nation and woman. The categories of the theory are dynamic and permit the contextual differences of countries accepting that the centrality of the roles can be diverse. In this respect, the case studies in *Woman-Nation-State* are examples of the conditional characteristics of the categories. On the one hand, the field investigations show a comparable approach to evaluate various interrelations between nation and woman in different countries, in different times. On the other hand, they demonstrate the common roles of women in different regions. For instance, many women in the world have heavy duties and responsibilities in their culture and nation, and they have burdens of representation. In order to understand the messages of the categories, the general view of the theoretical book, *Woman-Nation-State* should be elaborated. We will now describe in more detail women’s roles in each of the five categories.

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<sup>2</sup> Yuval Davis and Anthias state that women are participants of national and ethnic process; however, the term of ethnicity is not used in our study because of avoiding a terminological confusion.

## ***WOMAN-NATION-STATE***

The book is a collection of considerable essays and it mainly investigates the ways in which women participate in national and ethnic processes. The introduction part of the study, which is written by Yuval-Davis and Anthias, exhibits a theoretical structure asserting how women have a linkage with nation; and the ongoing essays are in the form of case studies view through this theoretical lens. The writers of case studies try to explain how women affect and are affected by the national projects of Britain, Australia, South Africa, Uganda, Israel, Iran, Turkey, Cyprus and Italy. In the following paragraphs, I will explain the notable arguments of the introduction section and discuss the five categories.

There are three significant points to be emphasized in the introduction. Firstly, it criticizes the lack of feminist analysis on the concept of “state”<sup>3</sup>. The conception of the “state” which claims womanhood and manhood are created by mere state tool cannot explain the position of women in nation. According to the co-editors, ‘the central dimensions of the roles of women are constituted around the relationships of collectivities to the state; and the central dimensions of the relationships between collectivities and the state are constituted around the roles of women’ (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989:1). In addition, the national/ethnic process is not only related to subordinate collectivities because the states constitute a feature of social processes in general. Therefore state policies are relevant to the discussion of “majority”, in other words “dominant collectivities” (op.cit.,2).

Secondly, the state is essential both in terms of its ‘intentions’ and in terms of its ‘effects’. When certain political projects of states are looked at within the different economic and social contexts, it is seen that state creates a kind of ‘female image’ but challenges it at the same time. This complexity of linkage between woman and nation can be clarified by two aspects. On the one hand, the women act as members of collectivities, institutions or groupings and they actively participate in the national struggles. On the other hand, they are under the special attention of the state as a “social

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<sup>3</sup> While the white Socialist feminists in Britain believe that the position of woman is constituted by the state policies such as taxation, social welfare, the black feminists stress the racial and discriminative policies of the state ideologies towards the women who are from different ethnicities (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989:1)



category” limited with specific roles and rules. That means women should not be understood as simple objects of the state policies but they must be seen as active participants within their nations, ethnicities or states. However, it must be known that roles of women cannot be reproduced by the “state” or any “control mechanisms”. The “different forms of the state” or “different states” even within the same form can create different “national identities” and “citizenship understanding” for their people (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989:6).

Lastly, it is claimed that there is no homogenous category of women and therefore, various aspects of class, ethnicity, nation or lifestyle change the peculiarities of interaction between woman and nation. To put it differently, women attend to the national construction according to their class, age, family situation and so on. Different historical contexts will construct these roles not only in different ways but also the centrality of these roles will differ. From the point of view of the writers, the types of women’s participation in national or ethnic processes can be studied under five major (but not necessarily exclusive) categories:

1. Women as biological reproducers of members of collectivities
2. Women as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups
3. Women as participants centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture
4. Women as signifiers of ethnic national differences
5. Women as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles

These categories present the ways women can participate in national struggles. My study also analyzes the relationship between women and nation in the Turkish case. I examine whether these five categories encompass all the major ways that Turkish women affect and are affected by the national causes. Therefore, we should have a close look at the categories in order to understand what Yuval-Davis and Anthias (1989) suggest with these five categories.

### *Women as biological reproducers of members of collectivities*

According to Anthias and Yuval Davis, women are biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities or nations. The natural capacity of women allows them to be called as “bearers of the collectivity”. Mainly, the reproductive roles of women are pronounced with the belief of “common origin” which creates similar kinds of individuals in ethnic and national groups. When nationality is the first criteria to be acceptable in a group and there is an admiration of pure blood, some precautions are taken by the head of nation or ethnic group to purify the generation. Sexual relationships or marriages with foreigners are not legally allowed or various exclusive policies are applied not only by the states but also by the communities. Surely, the addition of “common origin” can be different from one another. For instance, legal permission for people from different “races” to have sex and to marry is one of the first significant steps that the South African government took in its journey towards the abolition of apartheid (Yuval-Davis, 1997:27). Moreover, in some collectivities, such as Switzerland and Belgium, common destiny is crucial rather than common origin; however, there can be explicitly or implicitly hierarchical practices to find common origin (Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, 1995).

Furthermore, in some cases the principle of “common origin” desires to improve the quality of the people who come from the same source. Recently, the eugenicist policies aiming at improving the quality of the national stock by encouraging those who are suitable in terms of origin and class to have more children and discouraging the others from doing so (Yuval-Davis, 1997:22) have been taken into consideration. To give an example, the prime minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew indicated in 1983 that the educated women of Singapore must have children for the sake of the nation and he encouraged sterilization for poor and uneducated women with some kinds of rewards (Yuval-Davis, 1997:71). In addition, undesired groups or minorities make the nations anxious because the demographic superiority of minorities is seen as a threat. The fear of being swamped by different racial or ethnic groups has raised both individual state and interstate policies which aim at limiting the physical numbers of members of groups that are defined as “undesirable” (Yuval-Davis, 1997:8). States take certain measures such as “birth control” “abortions” and “immigration controls” in order to limit the physical number of members of undesirable groups. In some cases, the precautions can

be stronger, such as the physical expulsion or even actual extermination of minorities such as Jews and gypsies in Nazi Germany.

Reproduction is also significant for providing demographic power for the sake of the country. The nationalist purposes necessitate the participation of people in military or civil services. Certain policies such as birth encouragement are followed having “demographic power” for the nation. For this purpose, child benefit systems, other maternal benefits or the allocation of loans are put in the political agenda of the state. As a form of social indoctrination, traditional idioms or religious statements motivate people to have children. For instance, in Australia, the phrase ‘populate or perish’ is part of a campaign of indoctrination to convince people to have children (Yuval-Davis, 2001:124). For the Israelis, the situation is not different. They call on women to produce children because the population is extremely crucial according to their Zionist doctrine obligating intensive Jewish population. For many Jews, the number of Jews lost in the Nazi Holocaust is as a nightmare can never be forgotten and it is one of the factors that pushes them to reproduce. In addition, the demographic race with the Palestinians has been prominent in Israel’s history. The Palestinians’ famous phrase “the Israelis beat us at the borders but we beat them in the bedrooms” (op.cit., 8) supposedly motivates the Israelis to produce more children.

Women as biological reproducers determine the population and quality of the nation or ethnic group. However, the responsibility of women to have more children is not only for the sake of country but also for their husbands. During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century women were only allowed to reproduce the British nation on behalf of their husbands (Klug, 1989:21).

### ***Women as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnicnational groups***

Women are controlled not only by being encouraged or discouraged from having children who will become members of the various groups. They are also controlled in terms of “proper way” in which they should have them (Yuval Davis and Anthias, 1989:9). The legitimizing and controlling strategies of the state underlining the “proper ways” determine different roles of woman and men. When women behave properly, they deserve to reproduce the certain boundaries. The types of proper paths can be

different from one another for each group. In most cases, “legal marriage” is a requirement to be recognized as a member of the group, and sexual relationships with members of “undesired groups” are not allowed. In some cases, religious and social traditions determine who can marry whom to design the features of the next generation. To give an example, it is the religion, ethnicity of the mother who determines if the child will be considered Jewish or not. If the Jewish mother marries an “undesired, foreign man” the child is treated as an outcast. Also, in Egypt, if a child has a Muslim mother and a Copt Christian father, he does not have any legal status.

Moreover, there are some peculiarities which make women the “border guards” of the nation or ethnic group. Cultural and traditional components determine the ways of behavior, they are occupied with ‘specific cultural styles’ such as dress, behavior as well as to more elaborate bodies of customs, religion, literary and artistic modes of production, and, of course language’ (Yuval-Davis, 1997:23). Thus, nations clearly draw the positions that women are able to hold. Unexpected and undesired behaviors can be the reason for exclusion from society. “Unexpected manners” of the women are perceived as dishonoring, and shaming; this also paves the way for labeling them as “the others”. The other women are isolated from the society and more radically “tortured” or “murdered” by their companions. For example, women who betray the “collective honor” were exposed to the mass shaving in various European countries after the World War II. The women accused of befriending the occupying Nazi armies during the war were victimized by the authorities (op.cit., 46).

“The other women” typology can be different in various nations and ethnic groups. In contemporary Europe, the “other” could be a migrant, a black person, an elder person or a new minority, somebody from another religion, someone who speaks with another accent or someone who comes from another region (op.cit., 47). When the political and social rules and methods teach women their positions naming the different as “the others”, these limitations have resulted in a categorization such as “us” and “them” and have deepened the discrimination between distinctions. Radically, the construction of boundaries paves the way for racist attitudes among the “differences”.

*Women as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture*

Women are perceived as obvious participants of the ideological reproduction of collectivity and as transmitters of its culture. Women are the main socializers of small children; and thus, they are often required to transmit the rich heritage of ethnic symbols, traditions and values to the young members of the group (op.cit., 9). The components of culture such as shared beliefs, collective thoughts, habits, and customs are ideological tools which are expected to be handed down through women from one generation to the other. This is actually related to mothering. It is expected that mothers should indoctrinate their children in their duties and responsibilities for the sake of the national or ethnic groups, and teach them the local tastes, languages, stories, traditions, foods et cetera. Moreover, women are active players in the setting up a home in which “the ways of cooking and eating, domestic labor, play and bedtime stories can become naturalized and reproduced” (op.cit., 43). Commonly, women have more time to communicate face to face and have closer relationships with their children. It means that they have potential power to shape their children according to the group’s requests.

It is a well known reality that the women of minorities are often less assimilated socially and linguistically by the hegemonic culture. The hegemonic culture does not require the handing down of the ethnic symbols of the minorities from generation to generation because the teaching of the rich heritage of ethnic culture is seen as a danger. Therefore, the space in which the women of minorities can breathe is tried to be limited by the decision-makers.

In order to understand the shape of culture which is ideologically used by the women, it needs to be analyzed in a more detailed fashion. Surely, culture is a debatable term; in the first half of the twentieth century, many anthropologists defined culture as the way of life of a people (Williams, 1985:90). They explain “culture” with the limited land, unified traditions, and customs. They also focus on the peculiarities and uniqueness of cultures and consider the concept of culture very homogeneous. However, in the second half of the twentieth century, with the effects of globalization, many anthropologists assert that the notion of culture cannot be defined with the limited concepts such as determined nation, religion, and finite boundaries. The definition of culture as a way of life of a people is converted into the imagined way of life of a

people. The intensive interrelations among the cultures make it impossible to define a pure culture. Therefore, the description of culture is considered according to the cultural interactions, borrowings, joining and so forth. Moreover, according to the Davis' point of view, culture is not a reified fixed thing but rather a dynamic process, continuously changing, full of internal contradictions which different social and political agents, differentially positioned, use in different ways (Yuval Davis, 1997:67). Thus, it is an open ended space that the hegemonic culture(s) of the world can affect the local cultures, their life styles, mentalities, symbols, and this can create the cultural overlapping of collectivities.

### ***Women as signifiers of ethnic/national differences***

Women are participants in national, economic political and military struggles. Generally, they are perceived as signifiers of ethnic, national differences. When women become mothers, they deserve to be a "symbol" of their nation or ethnic group. In some cultures, the territories of nation are expressed with the word of mother such as Mother Russia, Mother Ireland, and Mother India. This is also well known story, in the French Revolution "La Patrie" female figure gives birth to a baby. In Cyprus a crying women refugee on roadside posters is the embodiment of the pain and anger of the Greek Cypriot collectivity after the Turkish invasion (Yuval-Davis, 1997: 45). Also, the peasant societies believe that women and earth are similar to each other because both of them are fertile and productive.

Women are also signifiers of nation in war time or riots. It is a general argument that "because of a loved women in danger", men should fight against the enemies; or for the sake of "women-and-children" men should go to war (Yuval Davis, 2001:128). The reason of this argument is that women have potential power for "collectivity" or nation/ethnic group and when women are threatened by the enemies that is a nightmare not only for present but also for the future of the nation. The spirit of nation is carried by the women; when the enemies attack the nation, it must be seen as an attack on their women.

Nevertheless, in order to be a signifier, women must be surrounded by some rules and regulations which are called "burden of representation" (op.cit., 129). For

instance, in the Hitler Youth movement, it was a must for women to be faithful, pure and German. As Yuval-Davis argues, this “burden of representation has brought about the construction of women as the bearers of the collectivity’s honor (Yuval Davis, 1997:45). Also, a “true” Sikh or Cypriot girl should be honorable if they do not want to be excluded from their community.

***Women as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles***

Women are considered to be actors in national economic, political and military struggles. Firstly, women play various roles in national liberation struggles, in guerilla warfare or in the military. They take care of the wounded and ensure material and spiritual support to the men. In some situations, women fight against the enemies on the battleground and die for the sake of the country. For example, during the siege on Jerusalem by the Romans, Jewish women participated in the fighting activities such as pouring boiling oil on the Roman soldiers (op.cit., 95). Stories and poems have been written to encourage women to participate in struggles; for instance, the central role of the women in a national crisis is exemplified in an Australian poem that is given below:

Ye girls of British race  
Famous for your beauty  
Breed fast in all your grace  
For this is your duty  
As Anzac gave in war  
So daughters at your call  
Will quick respond the more  
To replace those that fall  
(quoted from De Lepervanche, 1989:47)

Although they have taken many risks, they are generally perceived as supporters of the men. Especially, in war time women are also the main actors in their own homes, they are responsible for maintaining the life of their family and their children. The women are also aware of their duties and they are active in the reproduction and modification of their roles; “these roles are not necessarily imposed upon them” (Yuval-Davis and Anthias, 1989:11).

### **Reception of Yuval Davis and Anthias**

Yuval Davis and Anthias' five categories have been well received by many scholars, intellectuals or researchers who study the place of women in the nations and national projects. In order to understand the generalizable nature of the theory, it will be useful to review the literature on the fivefold theoretical framework. Sometimes, these five categories are shown as theoretical bases to indicate the position of women in the case studies such as in Canada (Denis, 2001), in Palestine (Abdulhadi, 1998), in Southeast China (Armij, 2003), in Uzbekistan (Özataş, 1997). Sometimes these categories are drawn upon as reference points for explaining the "gendered dimension of nationalism". Peterson (1995) uses this theoretical approach to clarify the linkages between "nationalist politics" and "woman", stressing the discrimination among the men and the woman. However, he makes some modifications to support his study; for instance, the "transmission role of the woman" in nationalist discourse is converted to the "role of woman as societal member".

Moreover, Walby (1992) asserts that *Woman-Nation and State* shows women as eminent subjects for ethnic-national practices and the case studies in the book, *Woman-Nation-State* (1989) provide sufficient empirical support. However, she asks whether these five categories encompass all the major ways that gender and ethnic/national relations intersect. Therefore, she (Walby, 1992:83) suggests some additions to these categories. For instance, according to her, the division of labor is imperfectly explained in the list, and although the protection of boundaries between ethnic and national groups creates conflict between different forms of social hierarchies, it is ignored in the book.

While some researchers (Wilford, 1998:5) support the doctrine of "women as individually and collectively active agents in their own subordination and in national projects", some advocate (Boot, 1997:832) the "principle of central dimensions of the roles of women as constitutes around the relationships of collectivities to the state". However, in some works, it is believed that the symbolic role of the women is positively exaggerated. The decision makers are passionate to construct women as pawns in the nationalist ideology of states (Booth and Vera, 2006:14).

Although some studies do not directly refer to the five categories of Yuval Davis and Anthias, they move in the direction of the theory. For instance, Valentine



Moghadam believes that national struggles that necessitate traditional loyalties and mothering for transmission of the culture and protection of the national boundaries are necessarily important (Moghadam, 1993).

In many researches, it is also indicated that women are participants in the state building projects; therefore, “nationalism” should also be regarded in the level of “gender formation” of states (Gordon, 1990; McKinnon, 1989, Peterson, 1992, Skocpol, 1992). In some works, women are thought of as reproducers of collectivity (Moghadam, 1994; Papanek, 1994) and their “mothering role” is believed to be extremely influential (Kesic, 2001; Morokvasic 1998; Bracewell, 1996, Papanek 1994; Clintock 1993; Jody 1994; Halkias, 2003). Furthermore, women are considered to be actors in national (Sunindyo, 1998, Enloe, 1995; Saigol, 1998) economic (Mc Kinnon, 1989) and political struggles (Glavanis-Grantham, 1996; Mir-Hosseini, 1996, Thapar-Björkert, 1997).

Moreover, it is believed that the “female bodies” are used as social and political symbols in national projects (Baron, 1989; Racioppi and O’Sullivan See, 2000), and in some cases, it is claimed that “nation” means “mother” (Peterson, 1994; Mostov, 2000; Najmabadi, 1997). Some researchers are also convinced that women are symbolic figures of two dilemmas; “tradition” and “modernity” (Chatterjee, 1993; Mc Clintock, 1993). That means woman as a Janus faced god represents two sides at the same time. On the one hand, women are the keepers of the traditional values, customs and cultural attributions (Moghadam, 1994; Ranchod, 2000); on the other hand, woman whose shape and behaviors indicate the development rate of the country is the vanguard of modernity.

### **Five Major Categories in the Turkish Case**

The participation of women in social, political and also national struggles is also a debatable issue for Turkey. Researchers have examined reasons and results of women’s appearance in the national processes. In the early-1980s, the literature on woman was not satisfactory, but after mid-1980s it began to increase. The main concern in the literature dealing with Turkish women is to demonstrate that mainstream national ideology is dominantly shaping the female image and controlling the female voice. As

Şirin Tekeli (1995:16) argues, there are many differences among women such as social class, ethnic origin, level of education, occupation; however, all of them are under the pressure of the patriarchy both from their husbands and their states.

Despite the fact that the hegemonic relations between Turkish man and Turkish woman are underlined by many scholars, the linkages between nation and Turkish woman are rarely analyzed; and the researched works about woman and nation are limited to articles. One of the outstanding edited books, *Fatherland, Motherland and Women* (Vatan Millet Kadınlar) (2000) includes only six articles analyzing “Turkish woman” and “nation”. The other articles concentrate on “women and nation” in different parts of the world. However, lately, some dissertations examine the ways in which women participate in the Turkish national project analyzing literary works such as novels (Gözdaşoğlu, 2005) or magazines (Doğan, 2002). Surely, these studies are affected by the theoretical frameworks of foreign studies written on “gendered nationalism”; and the five categories of Yuval-Davis and Anthias are directly or indirectly used to examine the relationship between woman and nation in the Turkish nation building process.

According to Ağduk-Gevrek (2000), the Kemalist nationalist project based on “family” can be meaningful through these categories. In the Turkish national building process, “biological reproduction” and “transmission of the local culture” for the continuity of Turkish nation were extremely important. The women became responsible for breeding and training their children for the good of the nation. Women were called as the teachers, educators and symbols of the nation (Ağduk and Gevrek, 2000:304). Nevertheless, Yalçın and Gelder (2000: 325-353) have analyzed Kurdish women through the lens of the five categories. They point out that Kurdish women are encouraged to have many children in order to gain demographic power. Mothering is also essential for socialization of the Kurdish children. Kurdish mothers show the sensitivity to care for their children according to their customs and rules; they especially believe in the importance of speaking the Kurdish language at home (op.cit., 347). In addition, the writers claim that Kurdish women play key roles in the Kurdish mobilizations and organizations.

Moreover, Deniz Kandiyoti concentrates on women's participation in the nation at the end of the Ottoman Empire and during the early republican period. She argues that the emancipation of the woman was ideologically used by the activists in the construction of the new nation. In the transformation period, women were encouraged to participate into the nationalist struggle, and they were mobilized for the sake of the country. She uses the example of the famous writer, Halide Edip Adivar to show the "woman figure" in escalating the nationalist war. Halide Edip Adivar considered herself one of the fighters and saviors; she motivated the people to strive for expelling the enemies from the country. Thus, she became a heroine as a 'self-sacrificing comrade' in the eyes of the people, and "she was depicted as an asexual sister-in-arms whose public activities never cast any doubt on her virtue and chastity" (Kandiyoti, 1989:143).

Kandiyoti (1991: 433) also continues to analyze Turkish woman in her ongoing works following the arguments of Yuval-Davis and Anthias who assert that the control mechanism on women is one of the main offices of the nations. She demonstrates that the Turkish women are both participants in the political struggles and the symbols of the new Turkey. Although nationalist movements appeal to women to participate more fully in collective life by calling on them to be national actors, namely mothers, daughters, educators, workers and even fighters, they construct the boundaries of culturally acceptable feminine conduct and manipulate women to articulate their "gender interests" within the terms decided by nationalist discourse.

However, some scholars question the participation of the woman in Turkish nation building process or the places of women in the national project without referring to Yuval-Davis and Anthias despite the fact that their analysis reminds us the "certain categories" presented by *Women-Nation-State* (1989). In a way, it may be asserted that the foreseeable characters of five principles coincide with all intellectuals who scrutinize the ways in which women affect and are affected in the national or ethnic struggles.

Many studies assert that the Turkish women play an important role in the Kemalist projects (Zihnioğlu, 1999; Arat, 1998; Çağatay and Nuhoğlu-Soysal, 1995) and their duty is first and foremost as mothers (Kadıgözü, 1998; Toska, 1998, Sirman, 1989). They also have symbolic roles such as symbols of "Kemalist principles" (Tekeli,

1988; Taşkıran, 1976) and symbols of “modernization” (Arat, 1998; Durakbaşa, 1998). Sometimes, Turkish women are considered as bridges between tradition and modernization (Kadıoğlu, 1994; Çağatay and Nuhoglu Soysal, 1995), sometimes they are imagined symbols of both Turkish projects and participants in the political struggles (Moghadam, 1993:82).

Moreover, it is asserted that the primary place where the woman belongs to is with the “family” (Şerifsoy, 2000; Kadıoğlu 1998; Kandiyoti, 1995). As Kadıoğlu claims women are indicators of the Kemalist nationalist project and they are fixed in the family being isolated from their personality (1998:99). Furthermore, women are participants in the political (Gün-Ayata, 1998; Tekeli, 1995; Kılıç, 1998; Koray, 1998; Arat, 1998; Berktaş, 1995), economic (Ecevit, 1995; Özbay, 1995; Berik, 1995) and national struggles (Altınay, 2000).

### **Initial Findings**

As it was noted before, this study aims to show the suitability of the Yuval Davis and Anthias’ argument for the Turkish case through the discourse analysis of women journals at certain times. In the following statements, I will question why I chose this study to illuminate the interplay between “woman and nation” in Turkey. I will then show the deficiencies of the theory to clarify the picture of reciprocal relations between woman and nation, and add some viewpoints.

There are two types of mainstream ideologies which support the agenda of “woman and nation” in Turkey. On the one hand, it is proposed that the women are emancipated by the rights given by the republican regime; they do not need to challenge the founders for their freedom in the nation. On the other hand, the Kemalist ideology and hegemonic governmental policies are considered to be inescapable chains for the hands of women and Kemalist discourse of women is overstated in the woman studies. Both of these approaches prevent us from seeing the interplay between women and nation clearly. Yuval Davis and Anthias suggest five ways in which women affect and are affected in the national processes. These ways stimulate us to seek different aspects of women’s participation in the national, economic and political struggles.

Moreover, the categories of the theory are dynamically constituted. According to the contextual differences, the constitution of the roles of the women and the centrality of these roles can be different. This is a helpful statement for explaining how different times and different places affect the participation of Turkish women in the national, economic and political struggles. Particularly, it presents a prominent perspective to compare in what ways the construction of “female image” in *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-60) is different from that in *Kadın Sesi* (1957-60) or to what extent the continuum is seen between the two journals despite the contextual distinctions.

Although the categories of the theoretical basis are useful in examining the interrelation between Turkish woman and the nation, unfortunately such an examination reveals that we do not have a detailed Turkish case study that has been explicitly done under the light of Yuval Davis and Anthias’ theory. Two reasons can be stipulated for the lack of this theoretical framework in Turkish studies: first, the traditional perception of reducing woman to “*object position*” hinders understanding of the woman as an active agent for the participating in the national projects and processes; second, the studies analyzing the interaction between woman and nation are at the article level, and rough illustrations with limited pages prevent discussion of the suitability of the categories for illuminating the relationship between “woman and nation” in Turkish case.

However, despite the fact that *Woman-Nation-State* is a substantial contribution deserving to become a foundation for field work in “nation and woman studies”, it should not be given an “absolute” and “immutable” autonomy. Firstly, although women are seen as participants in the national, political, economic and military struggles in the theory, the shape of the participation in the *economic* and *political* struggles is not clearly explained. Economically, “how women enter to working life” “to what extent they are attached to the public sphere”, “what type of roles are given to women by hierarchical structures of work”, “whether they are passive earners or not in professional life” and “how women contribute economically if they are housewives” should be highlighted. In the Turkish case, it is not possible to demonstrate the participation of women in the nation without explaining their contributions to the economic life through reducing the expenditures and avoiding luxury. Moreover, the attempts of women to join political life should be indicated by paying attention to their desires, ambitions, and

priorities. Also, the struggles of women to get extended rights, and the demands of women for a greater voice in the decision making process have to be analyzed. In addition, if the attitudes, outlooks and arguments of women deputies about women participation to the nation are demonstrated, it would open a door to better understanding in what ways the woman is conceived as a “subject”. For instance, in the Turkish women’s journals, *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi*, the political presence of woman cannot be clearly scrutinized without mentioning women’s demands for the “application of given rights” or “joining the parliament”.

Although Yuval Davis and Anthias mention that “woman” does not constitute a homogenous category, the differences of class, age, wealth, and education are not exemplified in detail. Without asserting the differences among women, the correct perspective about the women cannot be reached. What kinds of women in what ways include in the national struggles should be elaborated. For instance, in women’s magazines, *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi*, the obvious differences among women are underlined; the founders and writers of the journals are already qualified elite women and they separate themselves from the *Anatolian, illiterate women*. In other words, the republican women of the journals who are modern and educated have a mission to elevate the “others” to their level for the development of the country. Without exemplifying the different involvement of women to the national project, the woman view in the national process cannot be clarified.

Furthermore, the five categories of the theory need two additional elements; firstly, although women are considered as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles, the participation of women in *society* is not mentioned. Social relations of the women such as endeavoring to save poor people and motherless children are not conceived as struggles for the development of the country. However, in the women’s journals, *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi*, the woman is described as an active social player, who socializes not only their own children but all children for the sake of the country. Also, under the roof of charity foundations, the women provide help to poor people, unemployed woman, and needy children to promote the social standard of the community. Therefore, in the following pages, one more category with the heading of “woman as participant of social relations” will be added to the five principles.

Secondly, before explaining the “roles of woman in the nation”, presenting the role of the “woman in the family” would be a good start to understand in which positions the women are passive and in which positions they are active. The flow of the theoretical assertion from the “family to the nation”, “from the specific” to the general”, from the “nucleus to the atom” would clarify the relationship between woman-nation. For example, in the women’s journals, *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi*, women cannot be imagined outside of the context of the family. Women’s services to their husbands in the family resemble their services to the nation. Obeying the family rules and traditions is a petit act of submitting to the laws, regulations of the state mechanism. In this respect, during the research of the five categories in the women’s journal, the concept of *family* and the place of woman in the family will be often referred to.

Consequently, Yuval Davis and Anthias demonstrate the ways in which women affect and are affected by national and ethnic processes within a clear theoretical framework. The five categories of the co-editors become the theoretical foundation for many studies regarding the relationship between women and nation. Our study also questions whether the five categories are suitable to show women’s participation in the nation in the Turkish case. However, before showing the mixture of theory and practice, it is necessary to embrace that there are no “timeless elements” within “universal ideas”. In the following chapter, to avoid being overly influenced by the scope of the theory, the context of political, economic and religious factors which has the capacity to change the directions of the events will be carefully evaluated.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE CONTEXTUAL EVALUATION

Women's magazines and journals are significant tools reflecting the construction of womanhood in society. The places and roles of women are described in these works; in a way, women's magazines "are used indirectly in identity building and maintenance, which is an important part of attaching generalized, evaluative significance to texts" (Hermes, 1995:27). Surely, the magazines are the productions of their contexts and they are fed through the characteristics of the period. In this respect, the contextual evaluation provides us with certain hints to better understand the texts. However, it is necessary to balance text and context. In other words, the appropriate way to interpret the meaning of a text is focusing not just on the autonomy of text, but also on the context of religious, political and economic factors which helps to understand it (Tully, 1989). In this chapter, in the interest of maintaining the balance between text and context, I will analyze the political and social environments of *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1950) and *Kadın Sesi* (1957-1960) and demonstrate the position of women in these periods as far as possible.

#### **The İnönü Period between 1947 and 1950**

During the first half of the 1940s, Turkish society was under the hegemony of a single party regime directed by İsmet İnönü. Although Turkey was not an active participant in the Second World War, the state was affected by the destruction of the war, not only economically but also spiritually. The standard of living was decreasing because of the inflation, the black market, and the oppression of land lords who filled their pockets by exploiting the peasants due to the *National Protection Law*. Dissatisfaction was arising from the different segments of the society; the religious people were dissatisfied with the radical secular policies of the government, a group of intellectuals and minorities was dissatisfied by the constraints on freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the application of the *Wealth Tax* (1942) which victimized the non-Muslim business community, especially the Greeks, to compensate for the inadequate tax revenues of the government. As a result of the widespread discontent in



the society, the Republican People's Party (RPP) gradually lost its popularity; therefore, some measures were considered by president İnönü to ameliorate the situation.

In the following years, the government put the term "democracy" on the RPP's agenda and the democratization process was initiated. To be more precise, the period between 1945 and 1950 was called a "transition to democracy" (Zürcher, 1993; Karpat, 1959). There are two prominent reasons why İnönü chose the "democratization path" for the future of Turkish politics. Firstly, the domestic dissatisfaction that resulted from the economic, political and social policies paved the way for a search for an escape hatch; hence, the transition to the multi party regime was intended to serve as a "safety valve" (Karpat, 1967; Lewis, 1951; Ağaoğlu, 1972; Avcıoğlu, 1969; Kara, 1985) to escape from the turbulent atmosphere. Secondly, the polarization of the international system between the USSR and the US forced Turkey to choose whether or not to side with westernization. Turkey followed the path of the West against Turkey's traditional enemy, the USSR, and supported the western principles by submitting to the *containment* (Kennan, 1947) policy of the US for the sake of their security and protection. Thus, Turkey started to impose liberal principles in the areas of politics, economics and social relations.

Politically, there were outstanding events on the political scene of Turkish Republic after 1945. One of the significant episodes was the decision to move from a single party system to a multi-party one. On 1 November 1944, İnönü as president declared that "the Turkish nation should find out the type of democracy that best fits its character and culture" (Heper, 1998:148). That declaration was perceived as an invitation card requesting people to share their different opinions, and the subsequent discussion of *the Land Reform Bill* paved the way for the appearance of the sharp opposition between the hardliners and the reformers such as Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Refik Koraltan and Fuat Köprülü. When İnönü declared "the only thing we lack is an opposition party confronting the party in government" (Heper, 1998:190), the multiparty system was justified in the eyes of people. Over the course of the following days, with the consent of İnönü, the opposition of the RPP founded the *Democratic Party* (DP) which supported liberalism in every field of life. The foundation of the Democratic Party added impetus to the liberalization moves of the Republicans. For instance, in May 1946, President İnönü abandoned the title of "Permanent Chairman"

and declared that chairmanship of the party was to be determined by elections which would be held every four years. However, in order to prevent the full establishment of the DP the national elections were held in July, 1946 -a year earlier than originally planned. The election system was “free and direct” with “open ballot and secret count”<sup>4</sup> in the elections of 1946. The Republicans were victorious winning 390 of the 465 seats while the Democrats won 65 seats (Ahmad, 1994:107) in the assembly. In actuality, the atmosphere of the elections was not democratic. It was under the repression of the government; so much so that it was even difficult for the Republicans to claim the legitimacy of the elections (Toker, 1991b:9; Ahmad, 1977:18; Çavdar, 1995:403).

The DP wanted to the establishment of the democracy applying democratic principles. During the First Congress of the DP in 1947, three points were determined to be necessary for the consolidation of democracy: the amendment of the anti-constitutional laws restricting rights and freedoms of the individual; an election law to assure the safety of the ballot-judicial supervision over the elections; and the separation of the Presidency from the chairmanship of the RPP (Karpat, 1959:180; Tunaya, 2000:650). In this congress, the DP was declared to be a new political wave following Atatürk’s path, and completing his reforms by introducing democracy (Zürcher, 1998:214). Over the following months, the RPP and the DP struggled to obtain popular consent and when the debates became harsh, İnönü held separate talks with the head of the RPP and the DP in July 1947. “This so-called Twelfth of July Declaration legitimized the existence of the opposition and called upon the state apparatus to be impartial and to deal even-handedly with both parties” (Zürcher, 1998:214). However, in the Second General Congress of the DP in 1949, the DP criticized undemocratic applications of the government under the name *Milli Teminat Antı* (National Security Oath). It was advocated that “any infringement upon the Election Law was equivalent to a violation of the individual’s natural rights which placed the citizens in a position of self defense” (Karpat, 1959:223). The critical declaration of the DP against the opposition was named as *Milli Husumet Antı* (National Hostility Oath) by the RPP.

The foreign policy of the Republican People’s Party supported the American aid. Turkey became a part of Truman (1947) doctrine, which proposed to guarantee

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<sup>4</sup> Simple majority system with “secret ballot and open count” is accepted in 1948.

security and protection for nations against communism, and aimed to get benefit militarily as much as it could. Furthermore, Turkey joined the “International Bank for Reconstruction and Development” and “International Monetary Fund” in 1947, the “Organization for European Economic Cooperation” in 1948 and it accepted the Marshall<sup>5</sup> aid (1948) as financial support to rebuild the economy. With the help of the Marshall Plan, Turkey tried to liberalize the economy in the direction of “capitalism” instead of “statism”. A new *Turkish Development Plan* which underlined the importance of free enterprise, and the development of agriculture were adopted. The devaluation of the Turkish lira and the increasing of importation exemplify that Turkey was on the way towards adaptation to the rules of the international system.

Nevertheless, in the years between 1947 and 1950, the government took moderate measures to placate society. Beginning in 1947 the restrictions on the press were gradually lifted. Various trade unions were established now that they had the right to organize, the universities gained administrative autonomy, the establishment of religious schools (1948) was permitted by the government, and many newspapers were published under the more liberal press law. These more moderate policies of the RPP had been motivated by promises and speeches made by the DP.

### **“Women” of the period**

The democratization attempt brought relatively moderate, westernization-Americanization attitudes to segments of the society between 1947 and 1950. However, the women’s voices could not be heard enough; women did not clearly express their wants. Not surprisingly, the proportion of representation by women was 1.9% between 1946 and 1950<sup>6</sup> (Arat, 1998:257). The women deputies did not defend women’s rights. They claimed that they were representatives of the “whole nation”. The position of woman in this atmosphere was a continuum of woman perception in Kemalist period rather than distinguished separate term. In the following pages, firstly I will show the function of womanhood in the republican regime and then lay out the noteworthy points about the view of woman between 1947 and 1950.

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<sup>5</sup> The aim of Marshall Plan (1948) was to help the Europeans, sustain lucrative export markets for US industry and to eliminate poverty as a breeding ground for communism (Zürcher, 1993:218).

<sup>6</sup> The name of the women deputies are Mebrure Aksoley, Zehra Budunç, Latife Çeyrekbaşı, Makbule Dıblan, Hasene Ilgaz, Fakihe Öymen and Tezer Taşkiran (Arat, 1998:260).

The republican regime, which was shaped by authoritarian politics, took on dictatorial overtones, under the governments of *Republican People's Party* delineating the places of every man and woman (Tunçay, 1999). All the positions, duties and rights are constructed by the hands of “Kemalist men” requiring men and women who are grateful to the nation must be hand in hand to protect the nation without fearing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of country. The place of women was determined in this Kemalist project. While some rights have been gained by the government, some has been pushed to the margins. The rule was simple: every woman player must perform her action in the given scene; women could not raise their voices beyond a certain level. In other words, the republican framework expanded the opportunities for women to improve their status, but only on the condition that, the women trust that their best interests were being considered by the republican elites.

Indeed, women learned that the stressing of women's rights was not necessary because the Kemalist regime had already taken them sufficiently into consideration. The Kemalist government had given significant rights women: the Law of Unification of Instruction (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March in 1924, and the Civil Law (*Medeni Kanun*) on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February in 1926. Before explaining these laws, we must assert that women's rights defined by law were significant both for the existence of modernity that the state elites regarded as well as for the women who would practice those rights.

In *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law*, the unification of education was provided; women and men would be educated according to the same criteria. In addition to this, primary education became obligatory for women. Mustafa Kemal believed that woman must be well educated to perform “her first duty”, motherhood (Taşkıran, 1973: 184-186). Moreover, the Civil Code responsible for arranging the relations of women and men was adapted from the Swiss Civil Code. The Civil Code, which is singular in its being a secular code in a Muslim country, gave equal rights in inheritance, and civil marriage was contracted rather than a religious one. Polygamy, and the religious type marriages were abolished, the right of divorce for women was given. In addition to this, women were given “political rights” by the Kemalist government. In 1930, the women got the

right of “suffrage and the right to be elected” in the municipalities, and they got the voting right in the whole country in 1934.

The Kemalist elites wanted to have monopoly over the women. They could fight woman who did not want to be “manageable enough” to obey these nationalist principles. Docile women of the republican regime could attend the politics as westernization necessitates but they had to recognize that they could not demand to be free from the chains of national limitations. Here, what women wanted was not an issue (Arat, 1997:99); the issue was the national interest of the country which was ensured by the Kemalists who were the real emancipators. The best way to understand women was let them become deputies but they must cooperate fully with the republican regime. This is the Kemalist understanding of participation within specific boundaries.

These boundaries can be clarified by the statements of Mustafa Kemal. According to him, women were equal contributors in the building of nation; therefore, they should attend to “the progress of the motherland” shoulder to shoulder with men. He explains the issue as follows:

Let us be frank: society is made of women as well as men. If one grants all the rights to progress to the one and no rights at all to the other, what happens? Is it possible that one half of the population is in chains, for the other half to reach the skies? Progress is possible only through a common effort; only thus can the various stages be by-passed (quoted from Jayawerdana, 1986:36).

Moreover, Turkish women should be the subjects in the national struggles as the “Anatolian women” and they should be courageous, self sacrificing and honorable. While Mustafa Kemal glorified the characteristics of the “Anatolian women”, he sent messages to the Turkish women and thought about the rules of ideal womanhood.

The Anatolian woman has her part in these sublime acts of self sacrifice and must be remembered with gratitude, by each one of us. Nowhere in the world has there been a more intensive effort than the one made by the Anatolian peasant women. Woman was the source of a vital dynamism: who ploughed the fields? She did. Who sowed the grain? She. Who turned into a woodcutter and wielded the axe? She. Who kept the fires of home burning? She. Who, notwithstanding rain and wind, heat or cold, carried the ammunition to the front? She did, again and again. The

Anatolian woman is divine in her devotion. Let us therefore honor this courageous and self-sacrificing woman. It is for us to pledge ourselves to accept women as our partners in all our social work to live with her, to make our companion in the scientific, moral, social and economic realm. I believe that this is the road to follow (op.cit.,35).

In addition, the first and foremost duty of the woman is being a mother. The biological role of the women is combined with the cultural duties and the image of motherhood is decorated with the burden of responsibility.

History shows the great virtues shown by our mothers and grandmothers. One of these has been to raise sons of whom the race can be proud. Those whose glory spread across Asia and as far as the limits of the world had been trained by highly virtuous mothers who taught them courage and truthfulness. I will not cease to repeat it, woman's most important duty, apart from her social responsibilities, is to be a good mother. As one progresses in time, as civilization advances with giant steps, it is imperative that mothers be enabled to raise their children according to the needs of the century (op.cit.,36).

Hence, the Kemalist regime constituted the womanhood as the dutiful and patriotic mother-citizens with modern appearance. In other words, the new patriotic woman is a wife and a mother, but she also has another mission, that of educating the nation (Sirman, 1989:9).

Moreover, during the second half of the 1940s, under the permission of republican regime, some associations were constituted: *Soroptimists* (1948), *Turkish Undergrad Women's Union* (1949) and most eminent among them was the *Turkish Women's Federation (Kadınlar Birliği)*. The *Turkish Women's Federation* which was revived in 1949 is important essentially because it has a past experience established by Nezihe Muhittin on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February in 1924. In 1920s, the community was under the control of Kemalist government. Mustafa Kemal urged the community to stress "necessity of education for women" rather than requirements for political rights to the women (Oruz, 1986). Therefore, it focused on "education, health and family" until 1927. However, in the following years the members began to crave "political participation". In addition, while the speeches of the Federation and its demands were radicalized towards 1930s, Kemalist elites increased their attempts to control the

women. In the days of hard discussions, the President of the Federation, Nezihe Muhittin who demanded political reforms about women (Zihniođlu, 1999) was dismissed from the Federation and Latife Tekin became the new leader of the Federation. She declared that the Federation must be primarily involved in charitable and cultural activities and oriented the federation in the direction of Kemalist wants. In 1934, when women's suffrage was given and women were given the right to be elected in national elections, the president of the Federation rejected the previous labor of the organization and donated all the property rights of this new development to the Republican Fathers. And in the same year, the Federation announced that since women had been given all the rights, there was no need for a Women's federation (Sirman, 1989:13). When the federation became a puppet of the regime and issued a declaration against the rising Nazi threat, it was closed.

In 1949, the Turkish Women's Federation was reopened but did not return to its suffragist root rather it became an organization aimed at elevating Turkish and Middle Eastern women. Its aim was, first of all, the protection of the rights that the Turkish revolution had provided women with; second, securing the cultural advancement of Turkish women; third, convincing women to embrace the notions of right, duty and responsibility in the Turkish democracy; and fourth, preventing women from succumbing to immorality so that young girls could complete and mature Turkish mothers (Setenay, 2002:85). The organization had certain rules: they would isolate themselves from the partisanship; that meant that a woman who was a member of a party was not accepted to the federation. Gradually the federation was identified with the governmental policies, and some members of the federation became deputies (Kılıç, 1998:350).

Nevertheless, in this context, there is very little literature about women (Gürpınar 1948; Çaka, 1948), sixteen women's magazines such as *Kadın Dünyası* (1940), *Kadınlar Alemi* (1940), *Sesimiz* (1940), *Kadın Ev* (1943), *Asrın Kadını* (1944), *Türk Kadını* (1944), *Ev Kadını* (1945), *Aile* (1947), *Ev Kadın* (1945), *Yün Örgüleri* (1947), *Salon*, (1947), *Hanımeli*, (1948), *Yeni Holivud Magazin* (1948), *Yeni Moda*,

(1948), *Büyük Moda Mecmuası* (1949), *Dişi Kuş* (1949), and only one women's journal, *Kadın Gazetesi*.<sup>7</sup>

### ***Kadın Gazetesi*, (Woman's Paper) between 1947 and 1950**

*Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1979) was a long-lived, influential publication generally about eight pages in length. It was nurtured by the “Americanization”, “moderation” and “democratization” features of the period and supported the governmental policies. The owner of the journal, İffet Halim Oruz and the other five women founders, Emel Gürler, Münevver Ayaşlı, Furuzan Eksat, Nimet Selen and F. Elbi<sup>8</sup> introduced *Kadın Gazetesi* as a “weekly, social, political women's journal” and justified the necessity of that type of women's journal in its first edition:

The republican revolution has contributed our womanhood to the place within the advanced womanhood of the world. Blood and spirit features of the Turkish womanhood have supported both quick and successful embodiment of this act... Woman's Paper does not opine about equality between man and woman... We embrace the movements of science, art and ideas which are considered helpful for the country and the family, and which will help the progress of our womanhood... Our aim is to be the origin and the lap of woman's sensitivity and kindness which are the great assets of the society<sup>9</sup>(*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947, 1:1).

Clearly, the journal is loyal to the republican system and to the founders of the country who had contributed to the extensive rights of women in Turkey. In other words, it often presented thanks to Mustafa Kemal and İnönü, and sincerely appreciated the current policies of governmental system. Moreover, the primary aim of the paper is denoted as striving for the development and improvement of the country. For the journal to perform successfully, it was necessary to struggle with the obstacles against the publication of the journal; therefore the writers call for the help of all Turkish

<sup>7</sup> Aslı Davaz-Mardin (1998) presents a bibliography about the women magazines and journals from 1929 to 1998.

<sup>8</sup> The journal does not explain the name of the writer; it is also stated that F.Eksat.

<sup>9</sup> Cumhuriyet İnkılabı kadınlığımızı ileri dünya kadınlığı arasındaki yerini vermiş bulunuyor. Türk kadınının kan ve ruh vasıfları bu hamlenin hem hızla hem de başarıyla vücut bulmasını desteklemiştir. *Kadın Gazetesi* kadın erkek eşitlik davası üzerinde fikir yürütmeyecek... Memlekete ve aileye yararlı görülen ve kadınlığımızın tekamülüne yardım edecek ilim, sanat, fikir hareketlerine kucak açıyoruz... Cemiyetin en büyük varlığını teşkil eden kadın tahassüs ve şefkatinin kaynağı ve kucağı olmak amacımız...



women to struggle against the obstacles. In one issue of the journal, the handicaps are enumerated as follows:

1) We struggle to the newspaper sellers not to stick bawdily woman portrait on the cover of the paper. 2) ...to the invalid group who likes showing around the foreign papers and claims not to care the journals without advanced technological capacity 3) we struggle with “impassiveness”...4) with the group who does not read anything<sup>10</sup> (Oruz, 1948c, 53:1).

Mainly, the journal discusses the importance of woman in the creation and maintenance of the nation. The development of the nation is related to the improvement of women’s position in society; therefore, it uses the motto “*sublime womanhood creates the sublime nation*”<sup>11</sup> on the first page of each issue. For this reason, women must be clever, well educated, talented and intellectual. It is not forgotten by women that *Kadın Gazetesi* is the journal of “enlightened woman” (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1948, 58:5). In this picture, the first duty of the enlightened woman is to be a mother; mothering gives” honor” to a woman. When a woman becomes mother she merits dignity. Mothering is essential not only for the demographic power of the country but also in order to nurture the next generation with a sense of national consciousness. When mothers indoctrinate the national values, traditions, the love of country and flag, the next generation will be filled with energy to work for the future of the nation. Mothers have certain limitations and characteristics; for instance, one essential characteristic for a mother is to be loyal to the republic and the founder of it, Mustafa Kemal. The others are “being frugal”, “being educated”, “being modern”, “being brave”, “being altruistic”, “being powerful” and “being unveiled”.

The issues about economic, social, cultural, literary are discussed and the “health problems of woman and children”, “the ways of having elegant yet cheap clothes”, “the methods of raising healthy children in an affordable way” are revealed. Apart from these colorful subjects, the journal draws ideal images of women such as “women of the world”, “peasant women”, “women of charity”, “house wives”, “and

<sup>10</sup> 1) Gazeteye bir kapak ve kapağın üzerine açık, saçık bir kadın portresi yapıştırmamak için bayilerle mücadele ediyoruz.. 2) Ecnabi gazeteleri ellerinde dolaştırmak zevkinde ve yüksek teknik kabiliyetli mecmualardan aşağısını beğenmemek illetiyle malul olan zümrelere dertlerimizi ve davalarımızı dinletmemekle mücadele ediyoruz. 3)Adam sendecilikle mücadele ediyoruz...4)okumayan büyük zümreyle mücadele ediyoruz...

<sup>11</sup> Yüksek kadın yüksek millet yaratır. This is the translation of Setenay (2002:84).

working women” (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947, 1:8). It shows that the mission of the journal is great; they discipline the people by dealing with the serious issues such as “outcast children”, “education of family and children” and thus they help the national education system (Ilgaz, 1949b, 105:9). Among their missions, defense of the Cyprus has a meaningful place; Turkish women feel connection to the Cyprus case and at times, they send greetings to the women of Turkish Cypriots (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1949, 127:1).

In addition, the journal voices to the “world women” in allocating a paper with few extracts of the journal that would be interested by the English speaking nations of the world since 12<sup>th</sup> of September, 1949; in their words

The *Kadın Gazetesi* aims at voicing the wants, the desires and suggestions of the Turkish woman, who plays an important part in the social, economic and political life of the country. Therefore, we hope that our message of sympathy and goodwill will reach every woman in the world who would be interested in those of our country (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1949, 133:10)<sup>12</sup>.

Furthermore, the political environment directly affects the tendencies of the paper. The democratic turbulences, anti-communist manners and Americanism shape their vision. For instance, the contributors to the journal believe that, “the journal is a production of a democratic environment which permits them freedom of thought” (Oruz, 1949f, 105:1-9) and they admire the Americans while they criticize Russia and the Russian women. Also, they believe that the American assistance would only be consolidated by the Turkish women who have national consciousness (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1948, 58:5) and impulse to ensure the balance between the modern and the traditional.

## **Menderes Period between 1957 and 1960**

The Democratic Party claimed the victory on May, 1950 winning 53.4 percent of the vote against the RPP. The DP’s attacks on the main principles of the RPP such as statism, reformism and secularism were seen as the reason for the DP’s victory (Sarıbay, 1991:123) and the results were celebrated by a great number of people in the country. The facet of the DP’s agenda was full of liberal principles in the areas of economy, politics and societal relations and democratic speeches. However, the

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<sup>12</sup> English in the original.

democratic winds did not sufficiently refresh the atmosphere of Turkey because of the DP's "authoritarian attitudes" which were performed by the predecessors.

In political life, the DP employed a liberal discourse in the package advocating to be the popular will (milli irade) under the slogan of "Enough, the people have their say". However, the deep anxieties about the revival of the RPP did not let to be the popular will of the nation. The major reason for their anxiety was the function of İnönü who was supported by the bureaucrats and the army. In 1953, the DP dominated Assembly requisitioned all the RPP's material assets and handed them over to the treasury. The Halk Evleri, (People's Homes) and Halk Odaları, (People's Rooms) were closed down (Zürcher, 1993:223) and the press organ of the RPP, *Ulus* a daily newspaper was closed as well.

In domestic politics, the DP continued to be victorious until 1957. On 2 May 1954 the DP was able to increase its share of the vote from 53.6 to 56.6 per cent <sup>13</sup>(Ahmad, 1994:112) with the help of massive from the peasants against İnönü and the supporters of the RPP. However, problems arose in the intra-elites of the party; some of them were made to resign and they were expelled. Indeed, the main chaos brought after the 1957 elections. Although the DP was the largest party in parliament, it received 47.3 percent of the votes. In this picture, the RPP's votes with 40.6 percentages alarmed the government to take strict measures for preventing the support of opposition.

In the foreign policy of the DP, the ideals of Westernization and Americanization were obviously dominant; they declared the intention of "making Turkey a little America within a generation, with a millionaire in every district" (Ahmad, 1994:109). On the path of Americanization, in 1952 Turkey joined the NATO, *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* which was a community with the hope of attaining territorial security against the communist threat.

In economy, the Menderes government considered the farmers' interests. Imported machinery was bought through credits. Foreign investments were welcomed; new roads provided easy transportation among the cities and villages. The economic

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<sup>13</sup> According to Zürcher (1998:223) the DP increased its vote from 53.6 to 58.4.

boom because of the Korean War paved the way for the export of Turkish food and raw materials. By making use of the large scale American assists, the first half of the 1950s drew a successful view in economy. The main symptom of the economy which brought a growth and development in all sectors was “borrowing money”. Inevitably, the result of the temporary provision of money was destruction. From 1955 onwards, wage and salary earners were hit by the inflation. The government delayed the liberal policies and instead applied the “National Protection Law” (1956) which necessitated regulation of economy. By the late 1950s, the economy could not be controlled and stabilized anymore. In July 1958, Turkey was looking for rescue from the turbulent economy by demanding the help of the western powers; the government went deeply into debt and the Turkish lira was “devaluated from 2.8 TL to 9.025 liras to the US dollar” (Ahmad, 1994:117). The turbulent economic atmosphere also entailed shortages of goods and rising of the unemployment rate.

The doors to democracy were not totally opened to the society because of the various amendments made to on the laws of “universities”, “press”<sup>14</sup> and “opposition”. However, there are amazing differences in the view of society and the societal relations. The 1950s were the years of the mass migration from the countryside to the towns and cities. A new concept, shanty house (*gecekondu*) was put on the agenda of the Turkey. Although utilities such as water, electricity, roads did not serve these areas because of the insufficient “infrastructure”, migrants of villages and factory workers established tiny-houses for themselves. Thus, the rural population and the countryside have compulsory contact to cohabitate. Moreover, some kinds of concessions were seen in the field of republican secularism; the call to prayer (ezan) was converted from Turkish back to Arabic, many mosques and schools were built and innovations were made for better religious education. On the one hand, the government accepted the establishment of autonomous religious actions such as *Nurcu Movement* and gave the movement their support in the elections. On the other hand, the foundation of the secular thought of the DP was similar to the RPP. The Tidjani attacks to smash the busts of Atatürk were punished, the offenders were arrested and a law was passed to protect the memory of Atatürk (1951). As expected, the minorities were not satisfied with the governmental

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<sup>14</sup> Especially in 1959, the press was harshly controlled, punished and closed. The journals such as *Ulus*, *Telgraf*, *Dünya*, *Yeni Gün*, *Büyükdoğu*, *İbret*, *Havadis*, *Yeni Ant*, *Zafer*, *Vatan*, *İleri Yurt*, *Tercüman* were closed. (*Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi*, 2002: 353-378).

policies; especially the 6-7<sup>th</sup> September events victimize many non-Muslim citizens in Democrat Turkey.

From 1957 onwards, the DP increased the controlling on the politics and society increased. The oppression of the “universities”, “opposition” and “press” reached its peak. In a way, it was a return to the single party regime; as the president, Celal Bayar expressed it, “no more refined democracy” (Loğoğlu, 2005:162). Certain events escalated the tension between the government and the opposition, such as the campaigns of the opposition and the arresting of nine army officers (1957) for plotting against the government. All kinds of criticisms were seen as a threat by the decision makers; absolute authority urged people to obey absolute rules. For instance, the DP prevented contact of the unions between the industrial sectors or international organizations. By 1959 the domestic environment of Turkey was highly unstable. Economic difficulty and oppression created widespread opposition in society. In the midst of this scene of intolerance, the DP aimed to broaden their support by establishing the *Vatan Cephesi* (Fatherland Front). The state-controlled media informed the people about lists of people who joined the DP and this move was protested by the intellectuals, professors, officers, army members and supporters of the RPP.

More radically, it was declared that a committee would be set up to investigate the actions of the opposition; the extraordinary power of the committee in oppressing the political environment made many intellectuals, university students, professors, military students anxious and various demonstrations were organized by them to protest the attitudes of the government. After the committee explained that the investigation of the opposition was complete and that would be reported soon (Zürcher, 1998:240), the army postponed the parliamentary system by a coup d’etat on 27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1960.

Overall, the years between 1957 and 1960 can be described as the “transition to the period of decay”. The limitation of the all kinds of opposition such as politicians, journals, intellectuals, and the suppression of men of science, men of letters and performers created great dissatisfaction among the elites. Economic collapse and steep inflation hit the tradesmen, merchants and also the peasants. The oppression, obstruction and intolerance became the obvious characteristics of the period in domestic space and Americanism/ anti communism is dominant in the foreign affairs. Hence, the

massive discontent in the society paved the way for changes in the direction of the political winds.

### **“Women” in the Decay Period of DP, 1957-1960**

The fluxes in the political environment from unconsolidated “democracy” to the “re-authoritarian” regime did not bring extensive changes for the roles and positions of the women in the DP era. The position of woman in the “nationalist agenda” of the RPP period continued in the mental world of the DP’s program. Although women’s concerns could be seen as a continuum during the DP period, between 1957 and 1960 women’s spaces were obviously narrowed. In the following paragraphs, women’s position in the autocratic years of the DP will be reviewed.

Firstly, in this period, the symbolic roles of women such “being mother”, and “transmitting of the culture” continued and the traditional view of womanhood was kept. According to a gender study which investigate the position of Turkish women and men in the text books between 1928 and 1998, women were mainly domesticated, and considered to be “mothers” and “housewives” after 1950 (Gümüšoğlu, 1998). For instance, in a primary school text-book, it was found that the young girls were encouraged to do housework such as washing the clothes, ironing, putting them into the places with great pleasure (op.cit., 106).

Not surprisingly, the participation of women in policy making was intensively controlled by the decision makers and the women were not encouraged to make policy. In this gloomy environment, the participation of women in politics was not satisfactory; the percentage of women deputies<sup>15</sup> in parliament was 1.3% between 1957 and 1960<sup>16</sup> (Arat, 1998:257). Although, the women deputies were highly educated, they were not the educators of the women anymore. They did not advocate women’s rights; instead, they claimed to fight for the sake of the country. In some cases, the women deputies made speeches in parliament about health care, the nursing of the children and education of women feeling that “they are partisans participating in the sharp rivalry

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<sup>15</sup> The names of women deputies are Perihan Arıburun, Übeyde Elli, Ayşe Günel, Nuriye Pınar, Necla Tekinel, Hilal Ülman (Arat, 1998:260).

<sup>16</sup> The rate of women deputies in the early periods of DP was slightly different:0,6 % between 1950 and 1954 and 0,7% between 1954 and 1957(Arat, 1998:257).

between the Democrats and the Republicans” (Arat, 1989:122) and presenting sincerely their gratefulness to the male-decision makers.

The government presented some primary applications for women in this period. For instance, two women members, Nezahat Mart and Şükran Esmerer were accepted to the Council of State in 1957; a woman doctor, Sema Eren joined the army as an officer in March 1957. However, during the 1950s, only a limited number of organizations were established by women: *Kadın Haklarını Koruma Derneği*, *Türk Anneler Derneği*, *Türkiye Kadın Dernekleri Federasyonu*, *Türk Kadınları Kültür Derneği*, *Ev Ekonomisi Kulübü*. The targets of these federations were not the improvement of the rights of the women but rather the compensation for fulfillment of women’s deficiencies (Kılıç, 1998:350). In other words, the members of the organizations believed that the women had already given indispensable rights by the Kemalist elites; therefore, their job was to show how the ideal womanhood must attitude in the direction of endowments.

Not unexpectedly, the literature “about the woman” was not widespread<sup>17</sup> (Cumbur, 1955, Topçuoğlu, 1957; Başçı, 1959; Kansu, 1959; Tuncar, 1957), the number of women’s magazines was very limited (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1958; *Sim* 1958) and there was only one women’s journal, *Kadın Sesi*, (*Woman’s Voice*) which was published from 1957 to 1976.

### ***Kadın Sesi*, (Woman’s Voice) between 1957 and 1960**

*Kadın Sesi* was an eminent woman journal which had been published in İzmir, since 17<sup>th</sup> October of 1957. The content, shape, aims and dictation of the parallel principles resemble *Kadın Gazetesi*. Both of them try to shape “the ideal woman” who sacrifices herself for the benefit of the nation without demanding extensive rights from the governments. Despite no clear evidence to show the continuum between the journals, the founder of the *Kadın Sesi*, Melahat Faik Gökmen in *Kadın Gazetesi* indicates that the latter (*Kadın Sesi*) was influenced by the former (*Kadın Gazetesi*). Afet İnan underlines the similarity as follows:

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<sup>17</sup> See Baha Bal, (2000), *Kadın Yazıları:Kadınların Edebiyat Ürünleri, Kadınlar üzerine yazılanlar ve Tezler Bibliyografyası*, İst, Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı.

In Istanbul, the *Kadın Gazetesi* of İffet Halim Oruz being published for eleven years is a broadcasting organ of the Republican Revolution. History can succeed in giving objective knowledge if the written documents are studied and compared with each other. Here! Under the light this knowledge, it is necessary to appreciate the wish of *Kadın Sesi* which is published in İzmir to perform the labor<sup>18</sup> (İnan, 1958, 22:1-7).

*Kadın Sesi* is presented accurately as a “weekly opinion newspaper” and aims not to fight for “women’s rights” but rather to motivate women to integrate into society and to make them more helpful for the development of the country. In the founder’s words:

We will not have endless demands. We do not claim to demand the rights of women. We have obtained our rights more easily than any other women in the world. Our beloved father, Atatürk gave us our present freedom without our crises and struggles... Turkish womanhood is an example of virtue in being a mother, in war, in peace, in professional life. Today, also various deeds, various issues wait to be handled. The elevation of the nation depends on the womanhood of the nation... there is a large number of causes such as “unemployed women”, “desolate children”, “deprived, poor women”, “uneducated Anatolian woman” waiting for women...Modern Turkish woman is responsible for every cause of the nation<sup>19</sup> (Gökmen, 1957,1:1).

The journal reflects the characteristics of the epoch. Nothing is written about politics, the writers were afraid to say something wrong. The founder underlines that the paper does not sympathize any party and they are distant to every party. With the statement of the founder as follows:

First of all, we believe that the woman must be enlightened being a “good person”, “good woman”, “good partner”, “good mother”; being partisan is a secondary issue. Essentially, if the woman is not a good person ...and good mother, she cannot only be “a good citizen and good partisan” but also she cannot nurture good children... We are only an

<sup>18</sup> ...İstanbul’da İffet Halim Oruz’un on bir yıldan beri devamlı olarak çıkardığı *Kadın Gazetesi* Cumhuriyet devrimimizin bir yayın organı olarak yer almaktadır. Tarih yazılı vesikaların incelendiği ve birbiriyle mukayeseler yapıldığı zaman objektif bilgiler verme hizmetini başarabilir. İşte bu bilgilerin ışığı altında İzmir’de çıkmakta olan *Kadın Sesi* gazetesinin görmek istediği hizmeti takdirle karşılamak icap eder.

<sup>19</sup> Kadınlığın haklarını istemek iddiasında değiliz. Biz haklarımızı bütün dünya kadınlığından daha kolay aldık. Bugünkü hüriyetimizi Aziz Atamız, haykırmadan çırpınmadan bize verdi...Türk kadını analıkta, savaşta, barışta, iş hayatında bütün dünya kadınlığına bir fazilet örneği olmuştur. Bugünde yapılacak pek çok iş, halledilecek pek çok mesele vardır. Bir milleti yükselten kadınlığıdır. Kadınlığı bekleyen davalar sayılamayacak kadar fazladır. İşte işsiz kadınlar, kimsesiz çocuklar, yoksul düşün kadınlar, aydınlatılması gereken köy kadını...Bugünün Türk kadını yurdun her davasında vazifelidir.



opinion newspaper; we are not interested in parties and partisans. We only esteem the people according to their qualifications in the society not the belongings to any party<sup>20</sup> (Gökmen, 1958g, 62:3).

Under the cover of impartiality, the *Kadın Sesi* does not support the governmental policies; obviously, it is apathetic to the governmental attitudes, victories and sorrows. For instance, Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes (1959) survived a plane crash at London's Gatwick Airport. Although many papers and magazines wrote about political issues in long pages and gave information presenting Menderes as a sacred man, interestingly, it was not mentioned in *Kadın Sesi*.

Moreover, the intention of the journal was to help Turkey reach the level of civilized nations (Gökmen, 1959e, 64:1-8). In the writings, stories, fashion pages, there are many references to the Western countries especially Americans which were perceived to be civilized. The journal protects the balance between imitating the west and protecting the national values. This balance system is ideal, and despite many difficulties, they struggle to follow the ideal path (Gökmen, 1958e, 53:1-8; 1959d, 105:1-8). For this reason, the journal invited women to support them not only spiritually but also materially (*Kadın Sesi*, 1959, 75:2-7).

In this format, *Kadın Sesi* depicts an ideal of womanhood. Woman is first and foremost a mother. To support mothering, on the top of the sixth page of each issue, it is written that “God has given the most beautiful titles to the mother among women” and “the future of a nation depends on children who are nurtured by their mothers.”<sup>21</sup> Reproducing is a duty of the women, but women will have more difficult duties after the birth. Women are responsible for educating their children and indoctrinating them in the love of their country, nation, flag and so on. The women should become highly educated because each woman is an applicant of nurturing men like Mustafa Kemal.

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<sup>20</sup> Kadının evvela iyi insan, iyi kadın, iyi eş, iyi ana olması için kendisini lazım gelen hususlarda aydınlatmanın lüzumuna kanıyoruz. Particilik ikinci planda kalır. Esasen iyi insan ...iyi ana olamayan kadın iyi vatandaş, iyi partici olamayacağı gibi, vatana faydalı evlatlar da yetiştiremez...Biz sadece fikir gazetesiyiz. Particilikle ilgimiz yok. İnsanlara mensup oldukları partiye göre değil cemiyet içindeki vasıflarına göre değer veriyoruz.

<sup>21</sup>“Tanrı kadın olarak en güzel sıfatları anaya vermiştir” and “Bir milletin istikbali anaların yetiştirecekleri çocuklardadır”.

The journal as an instructor demonstrates how women must behave. The woman as housewife works for her husband and children; she serves her husband with a cheerful face and does not complain. In the bilateral relations between men and woman, woman should be more calm and peaceful. Moreover, woman is a participant in the national, economic and social causes. For the economic development of the nation, a woman should be frugal in the home and she must avoid luxury expenditures. In national struggles, the woman fights against enemies as do the men and they nurture the soldiers, carry weapons et cetera. Women also reproduce boys for the national struggles, and motivate them to sacrifice of their lives for the continuation of the country. Meanwhile, to be a soldier is a momentous duty for *Kadın Sesi* which allocates a section in the paper in the name of “Soldier Column”. In this section, military service is extremely glorified, the soldiers are appreciated for their enthusiasm in defending the nation and the letters of the soldiers and their relatives are presented.

Consequently, *Kadın Sesi* is an intellectual journal which aims to demonstrate the ideal characteristics of womanhood without desiring extra-rights apart from those already bestowed upon them by their Republican fathers. In the articles of journal between 1957 and 1960, the ostensible tip of the iceberg is distant to criticize political events and governmental issues. However between the lines, the columnists reprove the degeneration in the society. Thus the *Kadın Sesi* skillfully walks the tightrope like an acrobat concentrating on the “woman-duty” equation.

As an overall conclusion of the chapter, I have presented a brief contextual overview of two journals and now it is time to elaborate the ways in which Turkish women participate in the national struggles as biological reproducers, reproducers of boundaries, transmitters of culture, signifiers of national differences and participants of national struggles from the eyes of the women’s journals. In the following two chapters, firstly, I will analyze *Kadın Gazetesi* for the period between the years 1947 and 1950; and then I will review *Kadın Sesi* for the period between 1957 and 1960.

## CHAPTER 4

### *KADIN GAZETESİ*

As it is noted above, women's magazines are essential tools for the understanding of the shape of ideal womanhood. *Kadın Gazetesi* is one of the leading journals illuminating "the woman's perception". In this chapter, I will question the ideal portrait of a Turkish woman in the national struggles and I will examine to what extent and if any, in which ways the five categories of Yuval Davis and Anthias can be applied to the Turkish case. I will underline what needs to be revised and at times, added to the fivefold theory. Before starting a journey into contemporary history (1947-1950) through *Kadın Gazetesi*, I should indicate that the category of "women as cultural transmitters" is described after the category of "women as biological reproducers" to provide a more comprehensive view in showing the importance of "being a mother"; and also under the light of the journal's data, one more sub-heading will be added to the fifth item in the name of "women as participants of social struggles".

#### *Women as biological reproducers*

In *Kadın Gazetesi*, Turkish women are considered to be biological reproducers. "The reproductive role of women" is a primordial and given duty. They never give up or delay their momentous responsibility because breeding is related to not only the family but also the nation. To be clearer, in the journal, readers are indoctrinated to the "reproductive role" of women in three ways: "evoking", "encouraging", and "urging". Firstly, the journal tries to internalize in readers the idea of "mothering" through evoking the word "mothering". According to the journal, "women are first and foremost mothers" (1948, 55:1-3; 1948, 93: 1-7; 1949, 142:1-5; 1947, 18:2; 1949, 103:1-6; 1947, 8:8) because they are created to be mothers (1948, 55:1-3 1949, 103:1-6; 1947, 41:6). Although mothering is a right of woman, it is the most outstanding duty which determines the acceptance of the woman as a "real woman". Every woman should strongly desire to be mother; if she does not want to have a child, this reflects very badly on her.

Nature creates every woman for the purpose of being mother. The women who get married absolutely want to be mothers... the women who do not have a child are forever offenders firstly against their husbands and then their milieu<sup>22</sup> (Eldem, 1948, 55:1-3).

More radically, it is argued that mothers can have essential duties but in the name of being a real mother, they should prefer serving at home rather than at work. They are responsible for the maintenance of the home; they should not move away from their natural duties. The felicity of the family depends on the woman working at home (Anıl, 1947, 8:8), if women are highly educated and talented, they should nurture strong, conscious and healthy children. All mothers should know that, when a mother works outside the home, she has to foresee that there will be many problems which could cause fights and heated debates between the wives and the husbands. Overall, woman as a female bird of the family has to be responsible for reproduction and family life.

The woman has been known as a mother from the past to the present. It must also be required...the distinguishable quality of the woman is being a mother...why do they work... they should not work but they should deal with their husband and children at home...very well, the desires of each women are already that<sup>23</sup> (Berke, 1949, 137:2).

Secondly, women are encouraged to have babies through indicating the superior status of mothering. Women are more significant and more honorable than men in terms of social relations because they have capacity to have babies, in a way; they are potential carriers of brave men like Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the nation. The Turkish women are not the kind of women who easily give up the pleasure and honor of being a mother and the honor of nurturing brave children. Being a mother is considered to be a divine aim and holy power and if the men belittle the women, they belittle the most a sacred title, “mothering” at the same time.

Moreover, mothers are individuals who bestow life to their children not only materially but also spiritually; there are “mother tracks” in every kind of thing. Mothers

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<sup>22</sup> Hilkat her dişiyi anne olmak için yaratmıştır. Evlenen her kadın mutlaka anne olmak ister. ..Çocuğu olmayan kadınlar birinci derecede kocalarına, sonra muhitlerine karşı daima suçlu vaziyettedirler.

<sup>23</sup>Kadın insanlığın kurulduğu günden bu güne kadar ana olarak tanınmıştır. Böyle olması da lazımdır...Onun mümeyyiz vasfı da analıktır...niçin çalışıyor, çalışmasın, evinde çocuklarıyla, kocasıyla meşgul olsun çok güzel, zaten her kadının dileği budur.

are surrounded by the children and they feel that they are the richest and the luckiest women in the world. All mothers are also pleased to be the source of the nation and to be the cornerstones of the country (Uludođan, 1949, 115:1-7).

A mother is the most dignified creature with the most difficult roles in the society. For her, the most valuable treasure is her family. A woman without family is like a tree which has begun withering, casting leaves, and then convicted to the proximate death. The family is the only way which elevates the woman to the rank of “mother”. The continuation of this rank which each woman proudly desires is only possible with a fine spirit, exalted outlook and noble training<sup>24</sup> (Karayel, 1947, 10:8).

In the name of emphasizing the importance of being a mother, the writers of the journal require the help to assist the needy pregnant, and the poor mothers who have more than one child. In this picture, the charities to the reproducers are demonstrated to be tools to promote having more babies and according to one of statements:

For a woman, the most honorable duty is surely nurturing children. Rather appropriately, presenting particular respect and attachment to the women who have more than one child is a statement of our gratitude; then again, the allocation of the boarder-free staff to talented children whose families have more than one child will be beneficial for diminishing the overload on Turkish families, and gaining citizens with well-functioning hearts and brains and for supporting our demographic cause<sup>25</sup> (Anıl, 1948, 73:1-6).

Last, the journal claims that reproduction is a national cause, and here, women are urged to have children for “demographic reasons”; the women should reproduce not only for her family but also for the continuation of the nation. The ideal is to fill each kilometer with more people (Oruz, 48, 91:1-2). As in an article, it is stated that “the woman who has more children should be trendy this year” (Oruz, 1947c, 20:2). An ultimate aim is underlined through the “evoking”, “encouraging”, and “urging” of the

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<sup>24</sup> Anne cemiyet hayatında en çok takdir edilen ve en fazla rolü olan varlıktır. Onun için en kıymetli hazine ailesidir. Yuvasız kadın kurumađa başlayıp, yapraklarını döken ve en yakın bir ölüme mahkum olmuş ağaca benzer. Yuva kadını anne mertebesine yükseltecek yegane yoldur. Her kadının gururla arzu ettiği bu mertebenin devamı, ancak iyi bir ruh, yüksek bir görüş, asil bir terbiyeyle mümkündür.

<sup>25</sup> Bir kadın için en şerefli vazife hiç şüphesiz evlat yetiştirmektir. Çok çocuk sahibi anneleri pek yerinde olarak hususi bir hürmet ve alakaya mahzar kılmak, onlara karşı duyduğumuz şükranın bir ifadesi sayılacağı gibi ayrıca yatılı-parasız kadronun çok çocuklu ailelerin kabiliyetli çocuklarına tahsisi de hem Türk ailelerin yükünü hafifletmek hem de kalbi ve kafası iyi işleyen vatandaşlar kazanmak ve sonra nüfus davamızı desteklemek bakımından faydalı olacaktır.

woman to have more babies: “reproducing paves the way for creating a nation”(1949, 88:1; 1947, 37:2). In other words, the woman who reproduces children also creates a nation. However, if a woman does not want to breed, she is a “degenerated woman” (Doğrul, 1949, 120:2) and guilty in the eyes of the nation. In this respect, abortion is considered to be a totally criminal offence. A woman who dares to commit abortion is a deviant contradicting not only her natural and sacred duty but also the sacred nation.

Thus, it can be deduced that although the reproductive role of the women is extremely regarded during three years, from 1947 and 1950, it is not always spoken. The reason is that women have already been stereotyped by the label of the “mother”. The natural character of the woman already gives her the name of mother; “woman means mother” and there is no way to think in a different way. In many articles, the words of “woman” and “mother” are used in the same statements (1949, 97:1; 1949, 118:1; 1949, 107:1). Therefore, on going inferences from the journal should be evaluated by paying attention to this directly or indirectly implied principle, “woman is already a mother”.

### ***Women as transmitters of culture***

It is a substantial argument of the journal that the mothers have many duties but their most influential duty is “training their children” in “certain criteria”. In the following paragraphs, I will analyze the educating role of the woman and explain the shape of training which is formed according to the national and cultural principles of the nation through the investigation of opinion-writings of the journal.

In the journal, it is believed that the mothers are responsible for the education of both their children and the next generation. “Mustafa Kemal commends republican Turkey and Turkish youths that nurturing duty is given to the sacred Turkish mothers, who have potential to create the youths” (Oruz, 1947f, 35:2); therefore, women should be extremely careful in their attitudes and manners because they are the means of cultural transmission from one generation to the other. In this respect, they have to know their places; they are potential candidates of being “holy mothers” who reproduce remarkable leaders such as Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü. The republican mothers should imitate these “holy mothers” and try to nurture their children as their methods

(İlgaz, 1948, 74:1-3). In that case, they can truly represent the country and can be the “true mothers” of the nation.

The most obvious way of being a “true mother” (1948, 60:3) is not to stop paying attention to the children but to dedicate everything to them whether it is necessary to sacrifice their lives. Mothers should always be their children’s protector, guidance, teacher, assistant, friend from the cradle to the grave, they should perform this honorable duty self sacrificially for the improvement of the nation. They are responsible for the nurturing of “healthy” and “strong” children providing them with appropriate, healthy foods (1948, 56:3). The women should show their children the “right ways” through methods such as the “lullaby” which is a signal of the mental world of mothers. Furthermore, mothers are responsible for the manners, attitudes and tastes of the children. The mothers should consistently indoctrinate them in positive opinions. Love, respect and mercy are important features to be taught. Especially in the pre-schooling period, the children have to learn the Turkish culture, traditions and respect for the national values. The children should learn the protection of the next Turkish generation in small ages. Moreover, the woman should be able to foresee the inclinations and capacities of the children and they should understand in which occupation, in which school the children can be successful and happy. For instance, if a child has the inclination to write poems, the mother should discover this ability and motivate him to be a poet.

As woman and as mother, we are in a serious struggle to do our task in nurturing the children of the nation in national and social training from the family to the age of university...By the goal of transformation of the training of children from the mother’s lap to the national training <sup>26</sup> (1949, 97:1).

Although maintaining children is a service of woman, for the sake of the nation, some limitations should be taught; the children should not get used to spending extravagantly, the mothers have to give them money in a controlled manner. It should not be forgotten that the development of their moral sense is more important than their

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<sup>26</sup> ...Kadın ve ana olarak ta aileden başlayarak memleket evladını üniversite sıralarına kadar takip edecek bir milli içtimai terbiye disiplini içinde yetiştirmek için rolümüzü yapmak üzere büyük bir mücadeleye girmiş bulunuyoruz... ana kucağında başlayan çocuk terbiyesinin bir millet terbiyesi haline gelmesi ....gayesi ile....

temporal desires (Gökmen, 1948b, 68:9). If children have incorrect manners, the women are sinful. Ill-mannered, impolite children are signifiers of clumsy mothers. For instance, in one article in the journal, a child is tried because of corruption and it is stated that “if the child is found guilty, all the mothers become shameful” (Oruz, 1948e, 54:2). In other words, if children steal something, kill somebody; the mothers of children are ill-omened and damned (1948, 70:1). The mothers should be well educated and talented not in order to find a good job but for nurturing the best qualified children (Arsu, 1949, 102:6).

Indeed, the most necessary criterion to create an ideal child is educating the youth according to the national values (1948, 60:2) and through glorifying the republican period and its contributions. The children should learn to love the country more than their mothers and fathers; as it is proposed “the women should indoctrinate the love of motherland, the love of nation, earth and flag from the time the children are very young” (Gökmen, 1948a, 66:3-5). Moreover, one of the national duties of the children is to learn about the Turkish military struggles such as the War of Independence to develop historical consciousness. Boys and girls should consider the necessity of loving their country, protecting their nation and living for the realization of the “ultimate ideal” which is based on the development and improvement of the nation. Furthermore, through the heroic stories about the brave Turkish men, children internalize that “the nation is more holy than the individual” and that sacrificing their lives for the sake of nation is something they should be ready to do with pleasure. In a way, dying for the nation is seen as an honor, the children are educated to feel the happiness of being martyrs and they are mobilized to reach the rank of a martyr. Mothers should obtain a promise from the children to work for the benefit of the nation, not to deviate from the republican principles, to be loyal to the founders, to obey the rules and duties of the state, and to depend on the general framework of the constitution. Ideologically, “mothers recreate the children” (Oruz, 1949e, 98:2) indoctrinating them in the love of nation and inspiring them to work for the success of the national cause. In the journal, essentially, in many statements, the youths are prepared for their national cause; such as the following example:

The youths are the strongest support of a nation...The earth of the nation will be the responsibility of the next generation. They should know to



endure this task without hurting or jolting, without destroying or dispelling... Brave as a Turk, determined as a Turk, self-sacrificing as a Turk, strong as a Turk! The Turkish youth, elevate these features which are peculiar to your race to the high as far as possible, the nations of the world cannot catch up to us, and we are proud of you <sup>27</sup>(Nihal, 1948b, 64:1).

### ***Women as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups***

According to the journal, the women should behave in properly because they are reproducers of the Turkish boundaries. Boundaries are determined by marriage; understanding the role of the woman in the family is important to understand the function of the woman in the nation. In this part, I question how the propriety of manners in marriage as well as in the family are constructed in the journal under the name of “ideal womanhood”.

Before expressing proper boundaries which are reproduced by women, the understanding of “the holiness of the family” in the journal should be underlined. Family is seen as miniature of the nation (1949, 116:1-5). The first education is provided by the family. When the family lives in good conditions, the children and the youth are saved (İlgaz, 1949a, 104:6). In a way, the children are the mirrors of the families. The essence of the children comes from the characteristics of the family. The consolidation of family paves the way for the consolidation of nation. If in a family, there is no harmony, combination and unity, there is no social unity in the nation. In order to be successful in the nation, an “ideology” needs to be constituted in the family (1949, 99:1-6). The ideology should be based on what benefits the nation: it is necessary to consider maximizing benefits and minimizing risks for the future of the nation. This journal shows prominent attention to the concept of “family” allocating papers for public survey about the “family”. In the survey, they ask the public questions such as what they think about the quarrel in the family, whether the harmony is decreasing or not from day to day, how they perceive the marriages in early ages and

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<sup>27</sup> ...Gençlik bir milletin en kuvvetli dayanağıdır...Vatan toprağı geleceklerin omuzlarına yüklenecektir. Onlar bu kutlu armağanı incitip sarsmadan, kırıp dağıtmadan taşımasını bilmelidir. .. Türk gibi mert, Türk gibi yılmaz, Türk gibi sağlam! Türk genci, ırkına mahsus olan bu meziyetleri öyle bir yüksekliğe çıkar ki, dünya milletleri bize yetişemesinler ve biz seninle övünelim... (1948, 64:1)

parents intervening in their children's marriages or what they think about divorce (Osman, 1947, 22:1-7).

While the journal highlights the importance of "family", it presents certain principles for cohabitation in the Turkish tradition. The legal marriage is seen as the ultimate necessity of constituting a home. However, the realization of "true marriage" depends on "marriage between Turks". In the journal, it is stated that male soldiers, military or civil officials who get married with foreign women are repelled from the job through the resolution prepared by National Defense Ministry (1947, 3:2). According to another statement:

We absolutely do not approve of the marrying of Turkish woman to a foreign man. Reproducing a strong, new .... Turkish generation is a duty... These sorts of marriages are not approved of not only for religious considerations but also with national understanding...we should know our place<sup>28</sup> (Coşkun, 1947, 21:2).

Moreover, there is a division of labor in the family as in the family of birds. While the female bird incubates the eggs; the male bird brings food (Aybar, 1947, 10:8; Abbas, 1948, 58:1). The woman is the female bird of the house (Anıl, 1947, 8:8); therefore, she should constitute the home and seriously protect it. It is important to remember that female birds have power to constitute the nest or destroy it (1948, 61:3). The place of the women is the home and they are the self-sacrificing and generous housewives of the house. However, if a woman decides to work outside, she also should not give up being a good housewife because the national felicity is based on family. (1949, 97:6). Hence, the ideal women always crave to work for their nation and play leading role in the spiritual life of the nation. They are absolutely benevolent and charitable to their fellows. Indeed, the "sublime woman creates the sublime nation"<sup>29</sup> (1948, 1:1). However, if women want to break the chains of the division, this creates chaos. For instance, if a woman wants to look like the men, she is miserable because there is very big gap between men and women; "no women can draw picture as men painters, no women can be scientist as men....The women cannot imitate their

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<sup>28</sup>Türk kadınının yabancı erkekle birleşmesini hiçbirimizin tasvip etmediği muhakkaktır...Sağlam...yeni Türk nesilleri üretmek vazife...bu kabil izdivaçları yalnız eski din telakkileri değil, milliyetçi anlayışımızla mütalaa ederek hoş karşılamıyoruz. ..ayağımızı denk alalım...

<sup>29</sup> This is the translation of Setenay (2002:84).

husbands, their fathers and their brothers, “the true, noble woman” is submitting to her husband” (Celal, 1948, 80:2). Marrying means constituting a “permanent family”, and if the women and men do not pay attention to protect the sensibility of the “family”, they are traitors to their nation (Duru, 1949, 116:1-5).

We who easily got independence have forgotten about the duties of womanhood and have been attempting to rival men and compete meaninglessly. We have forgotten that the women and men must perform different roles in the society<sup>30</sup> ... (Kara, 1949, 133:1-2).

Moreover, journal indicates some features of the ideal woman. She has to work patiently and care her children and husband; she never forgets that the woman must be more dignified and honorable than the man (1948, 92:1-8). When a woman gets married, she should know her duties and responsibilities. She should understand that the woman is the maid of her nest, the cook of her family, nurse of her children and friend of her husband (1948, 58:3). In addition, the woman should know how to manage her family, in other words, she must be a good administrator in the home. The housework should be enjoyment for her instead of being trouble. Although there are a great many duties, the love of family overcomes any difficulties. As it is stated in the journal:

She should get up earlier than her husband who goes to work, prepare breakfast, dress her husband and her children, and see them off with a smiling face...the woman should symbolize the demands of the husband...for expecting loyalty from the husband, she looks for the ways which pave the way for his loyalty<sup>31</sup> (1949, 97:6).

Women should be more careful about the welfare of the children than the fathers are and they should protect the health of their family. For instance, in an advertisement page of the journal, it is proposed that each housewife should protect the health of their husbands and children by using *Turyağ* (1949, 100:5). Moreover, the ideal women should pay attention to the cleanliness of the house and they must be models for their children. The women should also try to seem nice to their husbands, “they should listen the advice of their men, eliminating their personal interests so as not to miss the chance

<sup>30</sup> Hürriyeti kolay elimize geçiren bizler şimdi erkeklerle rekabete girişerek kadınlığımızdan beklenen vazifeleri unuttuk ve kuru bir müsavat yarışına çıkmış bulunuyoruz. Erkek ve kadının cemiyette başka başka rolleri ifa etmek zorunda olduğunu unutarak...

<sup>31</sup> ...kadının işe gidecek kocasından önce kalkıp ...kahvaltıyı hazırlamak kocasını çocuklarını giydirmek onları güler yüzle işine okullarına göndermektir...kadın erkeğin aradığı tipi temsil etmelidir...kocasından sadakat beklemesi için, o sadakatin sağlayacak yolları aramalıdır.

of cohabitation and not to destroy the felicity of the home” (1948, 108:2). According to the passage from journal, an ideal woman

prepares necessary nourishment to the nation, home, child but with the pride of completing her success like a sovereign... beautiful Ayşe, her spirit is full of effort, virtue, patience, conviction, great Ayşe, who one deserves to have comfort, rest, and to feel prouder than you do <sup>32</sup> (1948, 45,3).

Actually, the journal stresses that women need to be protected, to be loved. They cannot continue their lives on their own, and need partners (Nihal, 1947c, 5:7). Women’s partners get tired at work from the effort of trying to provide better conditions to their wives; they are more frayed than women in the life struggle. Therefore, incapable women who should not highly voice their desires have to respect to the husband and tolerate the selfishness of them (1949, 133:1-2). The women who forget the familial duties, their husbands and their children are called “fabric (*kumaş*) women” (1947, 32:2), these kind of women are harmful for the family. Not surprisingly, the ideal woman cannot be fond of drinking, gambling, fortune-tellers (1947, 5:2); every pace of the ideal woman should be in the direction of the advantages of her family and the nation.

Furthermore, besides the proper behaviors of the Turkish women, their shapes should be properly designed. The Turkish woman is between the modernity and the traditional. She is unveiled, but she cannot imitate the foreign women by wearing “eye-catching styles”, or applying make up. The working women especially should pay attention to whether their appearance is protecting the stability between the modern and the traditional. Indeed, being careful about one’s appearance is an indication of honor, pride and virtue according to the writings. The rule is clear; the Turkish woman can be attractive only for her husband and she can seem smart only for her man.

The journal encourages women to get involved in three things: “foreign language” “social sciences” and “sport” (Onat, 1948b, 91:1). Among these, the most stressed encouragement is for doing sports, which is connected with “health”, “beauty”

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<sup>32</sup> ... milletine evine çocuğuna gereken gıdayı hazırlamış, lakin başarısını tamamlamış bir hükümdar gururuyla ... Güzel Ayşe, ruhu fazilet, gayret, sabır ve kanaat dolu büyük Ayşe, şu yurt içinde senden daha fazla rahat etmeye, dinlenmeye ve gurur duymaya hakkı olan kim var?

and “life”. It is believed that healthy and powerful generations are just created through the sports. It seems as reality that the Turkish men are fond of doing sports such as riding horse and wrestling, and the ideal Turkish women should also be interested in sports (Çambel, 1947, 8:8). Health creates merriment and all healthy women become more beautiful and cheerful when they participate in sports activities (1948, 58:7). If women tend towards sports, the continuity of the racial beauty of Turkey can be ensured. Hence, the “information about sports activities” such as mountain climbing, tennis, fencing (1949, 104:5), tracking (1949, 107:5), backgammon and volleyball (1949, 49:110), dance (1949, 121:1), skiing (1948, 58:7) cover remarkable places in the journal.

Overall, the ideal woman is the partner of her husband, the mother of her children and the protector of family. “True Turkish women” should be healthy, pure, strong, beautiful, self-sacrificing, generous, obedient, hard working, respectful, peaceful, proud, honorable, honest, virtuous et cetera. If the woman displays these features, the nation can develop. In other words, naturally declines the mankind if the woman is destitute (Setenay, 2002:38). Therefore, the woman should not forget their responsibilities and their ideal features because they are reproducers of the limitations of the nation and they are the determinants of the borders.

### *Women as signifiers of ethnic/national differences*

It is a well-known statement that women are considered to be symbols of modernization. In the republican era, the principle is constituted; “the nation can be modernized if the women get modernized”. According to writings on this topic in the journal, women are symbols of the nation with the implied meaning that “virtuous womanhood creates the virtuous nation”. More precisely, the “mother-woman” symbolizes “territories of nation” (1949, 132:2) and the nation is a “symbolic mother” in the name of motherland. The following paragraphs explore the symbolic relationship between nation and mother.

Turkish women, who are first and foremost mothers, symbolize the nation by signing the national differences of Turkish nation in being loyal to the republican regime and its contributions. Not surprisingly, the prominent way to be a true

“republican woman” is to be faithful to the founder of the republic, Mustafa Kemal, a woman cannot become a real woman without showing love and esteem for him. Therefore, the journal stresses their allegiances to the founder by glorifying him: he is a light of the nation (Oruz, 1949c, 142:2), he is the greatest human being and the greatest hero (Baran, 1948, 89:1), the genius, savior, reformer, the greatest soldier, the greatest Turk (1947, 37:1), he is a unique man (1947, 37:13), he is the most brilliant face in history (Yatağan, 1947,37:5), and he is immortal (1947, 37:4; 1947, 37:4; 1949, 142:12). More radically, he is attributed divine or sacred features; he is human as semi-god (1948, 82:1), as the dawn god of the Turkish nation (1947, 37:6), as the prophet of the people (Oruz, 1947g, 37:1), as a man who has reached more noteworthy love and respect than all the prophets (Malkoç, 1949, 142:7). The writings show that the love of founder is extremely high and anyone who criticizes him is called “degenerated” and the propaganda is started to blame the traitors (1947, 16:2).

Besides admiration of the founder, his words are thought as “law” and obeying these laws is a form of “national worship” (1948, 91:2). The emphases of Mustafa Kemal about mother such as “the greatest task of a woman is motherhood” is accepted as an absolute principle; mothers should be promoted, they should be well educated, scientific minded, they should have similar status with men, they have to walk side by side with men during every stage of life (1949,143). If women want to be “the true mothers” of the country, they should be modern and loyal to Mustafa Kemal’s description about the “rights and responsibilities” of “modern woman”, as follows:

It is a right and a duty for every citizen to use his vote in all political elections, there should be no difference between man and woman in personal and political rights, nor should there be difference in responsibilities. The Turkish woman cannot be left beside from such serious tasks and obligations. Our Turkish girls have to be educated mentally and bodily in this spirit (1949, 143:6)<sup>33</sup>.

Moreover, the journal does not ignore the second man of the Turkish Republic, the president İnönü. He is described as honorable (1949, 133:10), eminent (1949, 143:1), supportive (1949, 141:6), noble and cordial (1949, 143:1). The writers also present their admiration and faithfulness to İnönü. The attempt of suicide to İnönü is

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<sup>33</sup> English in the original.

condemned and harshly criticized in the columns of the newspaper (1949, 143:1). Additionally, his helpful and polite wife, Mevhibe İnönü, is introduced as an honorary president of “Turkish Women’s Federation” (1947, 14:1). Occasionally, it is possible to see the pictures of İnönü’s family on the front page of the journal, especially when they are in the ceremonies. In a passage, the appraisal to İnönü is presented as

Estimable President İsmet İnönü is our most powerful support...İnönü is Atatürk’s closest friend from the revolutionary period; he is the person who together with Atatürk improved this revolution and continues to do so<sup>34</sup> (1949, 141:3).

Apart from the charismatic chiefs, the republican women also have to submit to the state system, in true words to the Republican Party. The republican women have to be loyal to the RPP because they still express that party means state (1948, 89:2). For instance, when it is reported that 39 people died in a train crash, journal states that “victims were 39 Republican Party sympathizers” (Oruz, 1948i, 89:2), although there is not any indication about the passengers’ party preference. Indeed, the journal shows a high degree of loyalty to the RPP. It is believed that the RPP gives all the necessary rights to the women (1947, 39:2); the women are enlightened through enacting of the laws. As expected, among these laws, the most appreciated is the Civil Law; this is the “unique contribution” of the republic providing women with all necessary rights (İlgaz, 1947, 39:2; 1947, 21). Through this law, Turkish womanhood reaches the pinnacle, they get equal rights (1949, 141:3) like men, they become independent and enlightened (1947, 21). Therefore, the Turkish woman is grateful to the republican regime and they are ready to show their fidelity to the nation by being “true republican woman”.

The way to show loyalty to the republic is by obeying and believing the principles of the RPP. The obvious principle which women have to obey is secularism. The journal passionately supports republican women having to be secular, they have to escape the dark ages of the past and change not only their thoughts by also their appearances. Although there is not any punishment for veiling, the republican woman should give up traditions of bigotry and become unveiled (1947, 34:2; 1949, 99:2).

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<sup>34</sup> ...Sayın Devlet Başkanı İsmet İnönü bizim en kuvvetli dayanağımızdır...İnönü Atatürk’ün en yakın inkılap arkadaşıdır. Bu inkılabı onunla beraber geliştiren şahsiyettir ve role devam etmektedir.

It is presented that the Turkish woman who hides in the mysterious folds of the black veil which is closed to the corners of the *harem* has slipped off the covers in front of the whole civilized world... Yes, if this is a form of magic, this magic is appropriate and on time<sup>35</sup> (Ağaoğlu, 1949, 113:2).

It is believed that they are responsible for the prevention of every kind of protest against secularism and the other republican principles. The republican women are invited to fight against the veil through the journal. They are examples for the women of the Orient (1949, 138:7); therefore they have to protect the contributions of the republic and they should be worthy of the new modern nation.

Another notable characteristic of the republican woman is being “modern”. Modern women are well educated and they practice various professions on top of their function as mother and housewife. The journal emphasizes that the modern republican Turkish woman should be introduced to the both the Turkish society and to the world. The campaign is started under the name of “Our woman with professions” by the journal<sup>36</sup>. The target is to show the world how talented Turkish women and modern, this action is a national duty for the journal (1948, 54:1-2; 1948, 63:1-2; 1949, 113:4, 1947, 8:1-3, 1947, 12-2; 48, 65:1). The modern women who are introduced are presented as the “female intelligentsia” of Turkey. It has to be understood that modern, civilized, confident Turkish women symbolize their nation and they prove how they are players in the civilized world. In this picture, the occupations of women are predominantly “doctor” (1948, 92:1; 1948, 87:1; 1948,55:1; 1948,68:1; 1949,68:1; 1949,109:1; 1948,94:1; 1948,93:1; 1948,75:1; 1949,104:1; 1948, 76:1; 1949,128:1; 1948,85:1; 1948,72:1; 1948,62:1; 1949,100:1; 1949,117), “teacher” (1949, 97:1; 1948,56:1; 1948,63:1; 1948,54:1; 1948,57:1; 1949,118:1; 1949,108:1; 1949,148:1; 1948,86:1; 1948,91:1; 1949,112:1; 1949,105:1), and “lawyer” (1949,133:11; 1948,71:1; 1949,13:1; 1949,107:1; 1949,146:1; 1949,113:1; 1948,67:1; 1949,119:1; 1948,64:1).

On the other hand, the lands of the nation are called the “motherland” because of its similarity to the mother. Nation is as nurturer, protector, saver, lover of the people. The personification of lands within the nation is demonstrated in some writings found in

<sup>35</sup> ...Harem köşelerine kapatılan siyah çarşafın esrarlı kıvrımları arasında gizlenen Türk kadını bütün medeni alemin önünde örtülerinden sıyrılmış gibi bir hal arz etmektedir. Evet bu bir mucize ise bu mucize yerinde, zamanında olmuştur.

<sup>36</sup> This part is started after the statements of the Soviet delegate claiming the Muslim women including Turkish women are illiterate and unequal in the United Nations Commission of Women’s Status, 1948.



the journal such as “people are raised by sucking on these territories” (1947, 9:8). People feel safe in their nation; they consider it to be a compassionate shelter. Therefore people have to show their love to the nation, they should defend their nation’s territories. If enemies attack the nation, this is equivalent to the mother being raped. Thus, many writings call the different Anatolian territories mother. For instance, one writer describes İzmir as “beautiful İzmir, my dear İzmir, my mother İzmir (Oruz, 1947d, 25:4). In another example, the writer shows the loyalty of the people to the nation’s territories to be like their loyalty to their mothers:

The land is my beloved and my mother.  
To her I have given my heart and my soul and my life.  
I have dedicated myself to her<sup>37</sup> (1947, 11:6).

These are signs of the reciprocal representation between woman and nation, people call their nation’s territories mother; the secular, modern, educated mother woman has the right to symbolize the nation and national differences. Thus, we can understand that the emancipated Turkish women as mothers are signifiers of an emancipated modern Turkey which stands alongside the civilized countries.

### ***Women as participants in national-military, economic, political and social struggles***

In this section, I will analyze the role of women in national-military, economic and political struggles in *Kadın Gazetesi* under the light of Yuval Davis and Anthias’ theory. Moreover, I will elaborate the place of the Turkish women in the social relations with an addition to the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias which is deficient to explain the role of women participation in the social struggles. During the review of the writings of *Kadın Gazetesi*, it should be kept in mind that the journal’s writers who call themselves republican women are elitists, educated and modern. Their statements are advice on the participation of national military, economic, political and social relations for women.

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<sup>37</sup> Sevgilim benim, anam benim bu toprak, ben ona gönül verdim, can verdim, can adadım...

### *Participant of National and Military Struggles*

*Kadın Gazetesi* always attempts to motivate the Turkish republican women to participate in military struggles, by referring to their predecessors who joined the War of Independence. Moreover, the journal introduce readers to many of the brave women in Turkish history through the narratives of heroes such as Ayşe Gazi, (1948, 81:2), Kara Fatma (1947, 19:2). According to the journal, the Turkish women are virtuous and brave (1947, 1:1; 1949, 110:1-3; 1948, 85:6; 1947, 5: 2-7; 1947, 25:1-12), their origin is one of heroism. They are also strong-willed, dauntless (1947, 19:2), self-sacrificing (1947, 22:2) and generous (1947, 23:8). The journal repeats the missions of women such as respecting Atatürk who acknowledged woman as soldier and contributed the will for its realization (1949, 133:10). The journal maintains that women are responsible not only for nurturing the military, carrying the weapons, caring for the injured but also for assisting at the battleground and fighting against enemies. Here, the journal gives the example of Turkish girls the most noteworthy soldier woman, Sabiha Gökçen who is the spiritual daughter of the founder Mustafa Kemal. She is a cheerful, benevolent woman at home but a talented, real master in her profession (Ağaoğlu, 1947c, 36:1). Therefore girls should imitate her attitudes and strive to be like her for the sake of the nation and of the family.

Furthermore, the journal describes the role of the idealized brave women by giving the information about the sanctions of state and applications in the society. For instance, it informs the beginning and the end day of military campaigns for the girls (1949, 121; 1949, 126; 1949, 128), appreciates the girl participants (1947, 27:1) and justifies the necessity of preparing the girls for the war time. The journal proposes that Turkish girls should be educated in the areas of aviation, war transportation, obtaining supplies, nursing and operating radar systems. It seeks to indoctrinate women in the idea that the military is a duty for women as well as men, and that the self confident girls have to be conscious about their responsibilities in defending the country. Although women have to prepare themselves for military service, they should also prepare their children for the defense of nation; each mother-woman should teach their children the significance of military duty. As it is stated in one lullaby,

My son will grow up, he will be a soldier  
 He will fight against the enemies<sup>38</sup>  
 (Nihal, 1947b, 31:1)

In another statement,

In each mother's heart,  
 There is a love of country  
 The Turkish boy absorbs this blood  
 This breast firstly becomes a shield for him  
 Thus, the Turkish boy has been a soldier  
 Since his birth<sup>39</sup> (1947, 27:1)

In addition, the journal glorifies participation in national struggles and the winds of nationalism blow in the pages of the journal, especially on days such as 29<sup>th</sup> October, 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 19<sup>th</sup> May, 9<sup>th</sup> September (1949, 134; 1948, 80) which commemorate. Indeed, the national holy days are sincerely celebrated. For instance, the Lausanne Treaty is seen as an outstanding victory in the republican history and on its anniversary, various narrations are expressed, and the success of İnönü's strategy is acclaimed (1949, 126:1-6). Furthermore, the journal defends that Turkey is the most brilliant country, and that being Turk is extremely honorable. The bravest men and the most beautiful girls of the world (1947, 5:3) are Turks; Turkish girls are talented (1947, 19:1), Turkish boys are skillful and the Turkish youth are the most intelligent youth in the world. It is also expected that Turkish youth should be conscious about the continuation of the country; they should never make their own individual goals their first priority. They should struggle for the good of the nation and behave according to their "blood" which is the most valuable component of the world. It is the most anticipated fact that the Turkish youth strive to protect the existent regime with endless energy. Thus the journal creates an image of "ideal youth" and invites all Turkish children to be the ideal Turkish youth.

Actually, the journal highlights the importance of Turkish features; the Turkish language has to be returned to its pure form and cleared of Ottoman words. In this

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<sup>38</sup> Benim oğlum büyüyecek, asker olacak, düşmanları kıracak.

<sup>39</sup> Her ananın bağrında vatan sevdası tüter, Türk oğlu bu bağrıdan sağılan kanı emer, bu bağır ki ilk önce olmuştur ona siper, böylece Türk çocuğu bir anadan doğma er...

respect, the Sun Language Theory, which is a reform movement, is supported and Language Festivals are celebrated (Nihal, 1947b, 31:1-6). Kemalist founders believe the validity of the “Turkish Historical thesis”<sup>40</sup> which claims the origin of all humanity is Turkish. More precisely, the civilizations of the Near East such as the Sumerians and the Hittites are accepted as proto-Turks, Atilla and Cengiz Han are defined as creators of Turkish civilization. It is pointed out that the owners of Anatolia are Turks and the remnants of ancient Anatolian civilization are seen as the Turks’ inheritance. For instance, the journal praises these civilizations and claims that in ancient civilizations such as those of İskit, Eti or Sümer, woman and man work together in public life but in the Ottoman period, the active position of the Turkish woman is spoilt (Ağaoğlu, 1947a, 37:1-2). Some radical writings in the journal expressed disdain for Ottoman values but expressed admiration for the pre-Ottoman period. (1948, 56:1-6; 1949, 142:2).

### *Participants of Economic Struggles*

Women play the key role in “family economics” which is nucleus of the national economics; “they can be enormously helpful in the matter of consumption and production by their ability and cleverness” (1949, 147:6). In this respect, the economic role of the women can be broken down into two categories: “earning” and “saving money”. The journal rarely emphasizes the function of earning money; the woman can work outside the home to help the family budget if her husband permits her working. However, personal desires and interests of women cannot be reasons for earning money. To reiterate, according to the journal the most acceptable jobs for women are doctor and teacher, both of which serve the population in important ways. Moreover, the second one, saving money by being frugal is one of women’s major duties. In the following, I will explore the keeper role of the women through significant essays published in the journal.

Women working as housewives have to avoid luxury expenditures (1948, 73:1; 1948, 70:2; 1949, 137:1-3), because luxury means extravagance. To this end, the journal focuses on women’s clothing. They encourage women not to become overly fond of shopping. Paying money the various kinds of dresses, hats, shoes, skirts, jewelers, furs,

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<sup>40</sup> The Turkish Historical thesis asserts that the Turks had originally lived in Central Asia, but because of drought and hunger they were forced to migrate to different parts of the world such as Europe, China, and the Near East; thus the Turks created the source of all great civilizations.

perfume damage the family budget. The journal singles out the use of silk stockings for special criticism due to the fact that they ladder easily (Oruz, 1947a, 1:1-3; 1949, 122:1-2; 1947, 3:1)<sup>41</sup>. The journal also propose that women do not need to follow the new trends, more specifically the journal criticizes the trend of wearing long skirts (1947, 38:3; 1948, 62:2). In order to help the budget of the family, it is recommended that women sew their clothes on their own; therefore, the journal provides various kinds of models as samples (1947, 1:5; 1947, 15:5; 1948, 67:3).

If women waste their family's financial resources, their husbands and children will suffer. The women should be satisfied with the income of the family, and spend it properly. In order to provide for her family's needs in an economical way, she needs to be both skilled and creative. And to help women become more skilled and creative, the journal provides a separate section called "lets make our house more beautiful" through "the cheap ways" (1947, 2:7). For example, this section shows how to build a bookcase cheaply as an alternative to buying one (1947, 12:5). Also, the journal provides practical information to teach women how they can, in general, avoid wasteful spending.

Women create both the family and the nation (1948, 76:1-3; 1949, 133:3); when the women avoid extravagancy, they help not only the family but also the nation (1947, 38:6). In other words, the economic development of the nation cannot be achieved without women (Oruz, 1947e, 26:1). There is a strong connection between the budget of a nation and that of the family. When the family has a budget deficit, the family has a shortage (1948, 85:2). It is also proposed that women should not forget the war years and take precautions for potential difficulties in the future. They should also protect their children from extravagancy by not permitting them to be spoiled (1947, 3:1; 1949, 111:5; 1948, 71:3). In this respect, all the women are invited to "economic mobilization" to save the nation. How the men guard the straits of the nation, and the women should maintain the throats of family (1948, 60:5). Moreover, the essays in the journal sincerely advocate using the "domestic products" and they support the "economy weeks" (1949, 146:6) during which the mass media underlines the importance of using Turkish goods (1949, 146:1). According to the journal, fortunately, the government get some measures such as *tax of luxury* against the extra consumption,

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<sup>41</sup> Using silky sock has already been regarded by the government since 1937; it is urged through the regulation that the silky socks have to be firmly produced by the factories (1947, 3:1).

and the women have to help the state policies (1949, 97:1) supporting the “cooperatives” (1949, 123) which provide meat, milk and et cetera at low prices (1947, 43:1-2).

To sum up, the preferred republican woman is contented satisfied, thrifty (1947, 29:2) and plain (1948, 78); she never forgets that “the female bird makes the nest” (1949, 101:2; 1949, 147:1; 1949, 147:6). She maintains balance between income and expense, and protects the limited revenue for the continuation of her family. Also the woman as mother should avoid luxury and indoctrinate her children in being thrifty. The conscious women know that they have an eminent mission to ensure the maintenance of both family and nation. When the budget of family is comfortable, the budget of nation can be smooth, and when deficiencies appear in the family, the bells warn of shortages in the nation. To the extent that the words of a passage from the journal is

If we do not want our national economic situation to come to an impasse in this incident, we should rid ourselves of the far fetched ideas of a certain group of people, and think of taking some other measures. It goes without saying that the foremost measure would be the restriction of consumption and this also could be applied in different ways. While economy on import could be adopted as a first measure, luxury and extravagance would also have to be avoided ...just as we have always maintained, women will be the key to such a movement, and an organized move in this respect can only be possible by first mobilizing the women of our country (Oruz, 1949b, 137:6)<sup>42</sup>.

### ***Participants of Political Struggles***

According to the journal, women are on the scene of politics and they are conscious about their place in the political discourse. Essentially, the writings of women deputies in the journal show how aware they are of their political rights and duties in the national struggle. This means the women deputies use the journal as a tool to discuss their desires which they cannot advocate in the parliament. For instance, it is asserted that certain laws can be passed to prevent bribery (1949, 103:1), or that crimes involving knives can be severely punished (Çeyrekbaşı, 1948, 95:1-6). More radical demands are brought by Hasene Ilgaz, the RPP deputy, who is a regular columnist for the *Kadın Gazetesi*. She suggests that women workers have to be protected, some

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<sup>42</sup> English in the original.

principles of the factories have to be facilitated for the sake of women workers (1949, 148:1-2). She also states that the government should assist all workers who suffer from tuberculosis (1949, 137:2). She also suggests that the tariffs should be reformed (1948, 55:1-3), the Working Ministry should assist the unemployed in finding work (1947, 16:1). The women workers should not be required to work the night shift (1948, 71:6). Moreover, she supports some rules of the government such as law courts for children (1948, 64:2), the reforms in prisons (1948, 96:1-6; 1949, 148:6), the equitable road tax, trade tax, association tax (1949, 99:1-2), the applications for orphaned children and retired people (1949, 119:1-5), the facilities for pregnancy (1947, 3:2). Ilgaz also defends the new system of elections properly designed by the government and the path of democracy (1948, 75:1-3).

Actually, the writers of the journal present their loyalty to the idea of democracy, and democratic contributions to the society; for that reason, they call on women to struggle for the improvement of democracy. Certainly, women are called upon to vote in the elections in order to voice their desires (Oruz, 1948a, 87:1-6). The women cannot forget their essential role in the elections (1947, 32:1) both in terms of electing and being elected. Essentially, the journal is a sympathizer of the RPP. The founder of the journal, Oruz indicates she is a RPP sympathizer and invites all women to use their voting rights (1948, 87:1-6). Moreover, the DP is considered to be a child of the RPP, because the generation of the members of the DP is the same as those of the RPP (1948, 74:3). In that respect, the political discussions among the DP and the RPP are seen as opposition to İnönü. The journal claims that depending on a charismatic leader is easier than relying on parties for Turkish people (Onat, 1948a, 64:1-3). It prefers harmony and democracy in the political arena by an authoritarian leader rather than hot debates between the parties. However, the journal stresses that democracy does not mean anarchy; it cannot provide limitless independence to the individuals (1948, 90:1-9; 1948, 75:1-7).

Actually, the journal asserts that within the framework of democracy in politics women have to struggle to be elected in the parliament by defending the rights of the nation, they should attempt to be elected and try to be worthy to the republican regime which contributed prominent reforms to them. In the Turkish society, the journal supports people should learn democratic behaviors and respect each other. Parents should indoctrinate their children in the culture of democracy (1949, 134:3; 1949,

128:2) since they are in the cradle. Also the spirit of democracy should be extended to every segment of society such as to associations, labour unions, and schools.

Furthermore, the journal is conscious of Turkey's foreign policy and it exposes certain judgments about the related issues. Firstly, the attitudes of the writers support the Anglo-Saxon perspective; America and England are the allies and close friends of Turkey. America economically assists Turkey with the Marshall plan and tries to ensure peace around the world (1948, 27:7). It is believed that the Americans crave the protection of the poor (1949, 114:1-3) and the Turks should follow the strategies of America. Additionally, some parallel relationships are formed between the Turkish mothers and the American mothers; it is claimed that both of them are self-sacrificing and patriotic (1947, 17:1). The journal strongly sports American strategies; especially "anti-communism" is strongly supported by the journal. Communism is seen as the most dreadful ideology (1948, 59:3), it is the ideology of evil Russia which is the eternal enemy (1948, 72:1-6) of the Turks. In Turkey, no one can support communism, if one considers communism to be the true path, it is a danger for the nation (1948, 59:2). By this logic, against all kinds of communist possibilities, parents should educate their children so they understand this danger. Essentially, the journal recommends that a "religion course" should be included in the school curriculum because the surest antidote to communism is learning about Islam (1948, 63:1-5). This is of course with the stipulation that the limits of republican secularism are not exceeded (1948, 56:1-2). The journal's anti-communist attitude becomes more fervent after the speeches of the Russian delegate who claims that "Turkish women live under the hegemony of Islam and under dark age conditions as they are oppressed by the Turkish governmental policies" (1948, 78:1). Thereupon, the journal argues that the Russian women are whipped by the communist regime (1949, 118:2), they are poor and victimized. The Russian women do not have the principle of honor, they have immoral relationships with the men, and the family is not an important institution in Russia (Oruz, 1947b, 12:2).

Secondly, the journal acclaims the principles of England and they believe the English government to be the close friend of the Turks. The democratic English administration is exemplified because of its admirable economic policies (1947, 33:3). Moreover, the journal trusts the strategies of English government on the Cyprus



question; according to the writings, the English existence in Cyprus is considered advantageous for Turks (1948, 27:7; 1948, 79:1-3; 1948, 77:5). Indeed, the main task of the journal is to support the rights of the Turkish Cypriots because they are the “brothers” and the “sisters” of the Turks, their blood is Turkish blood and their race is similar to that of the people in the motherland (Oruz, 1948g, 75:2). There are not any differences between Turkish women and the women of Turkish Cypriots. They are self-sacrificing, honorable and virtuous. The Turkish Cypriots also obey the rules of Turkish Republic such as secularism, and they submit to Mustafa Kemal and İnönü by following the ideals of Turkish culture and its traditions (1948, 75:1-2; 1948, 85:5). According to the journal, the Turkish people recognize the Cyprus issue, support the rights of the Cypriots and demonstrate how connected they are with Cyprus (1949, 132:2; 1948, Oruz, 1948b, 91:1-2), and how Cyprus is a part of Anatolia (1948, 76:6). The journal also makes it clear that the Cyprus question would be solved if the question of Hatay were solved, (1948, 95:1; 1949, 127:1). The only necessary thing is not to lose the national excitement. To the extent the poem

Cyprus, I have fallen in love with your land.  
 You have flowed into my longing breast like poisons.  
 We are unable to abandon you.  
 It is an oath <sup>43</sup> (Oruz, 1948h, 80:1).

Actually, women learn about the politics through the journal. They declare their hopes and desires in the columns of the journal. More radically, Şükufe Nihal’s essays probe why the women do not participate to the nation as the men do, why women’s names are uttered after the men’s not only in society but also in the house as well. In some essays, Nihal suggests that husbands should help their wives. For example, men can perform basic repair work around the house (Nihal, 1948a, 96:3). Nevertheless, she believes the wives are “degenerated” because of their husbands who are in the pursuit of the coquettish women (1947, 1:7). She also criticizes expressions such as “the woman should be only a housewife”, “the woman is only a mother” (1947, 4:1). In some writings, she debates the inequality between men and women in public life and supports equal pay for equal work (1948, 95:1). Moreover, some parts of the journal harshly criticize attacks and rapes perpetrated against women (Oruz, 1947h, 40:1; Nihal, 1947a,

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<sup>43</sup> A Kıbrıs, gönül verdim toprağına taşına, hasret dolu bağrıma ağular gibi aktın, bırakamıyoruz ant olsun seni yalnız başına.

16:3), and condemn the perception of women as “puppets” or “trinkets” commonly held (Gökmen, 1948c, 74:3). The journal attributes blame for these problems to the belief that women are merely “goods”. Despite the fact that in theory women’s rights are upheld by republican principles, in practice, women are absent from society (Nihal, 1947d, 8:8; 1947, 41:1). To put it differently,

The consideration of woman as means of sexual love a wrong as to take the working woman to be working, thinking and feeling like men. To be useful to society under the conception of equality, we should always remember in our conscience and our cultural activities the principle of a parallel course (Oruz, 1949d, 145:6)<sup>44</sup>.

### *Participant of Social Struggles*

The theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias is incomplete because it does not express the importance of women participation in society and it does not emphasize the role of women in the “social struggles”. Women are active players of the society; they socialize their children for the sake of country, they organize to save the poor people and motherless children in the charity foundations. For that reason, to ignore “women as participants of social relations” prevents us to have better understanding about the relationship between women and nation. In this research, *Kadın Gazetesi* underlines the influential participation of the women in social mobilization. The Turkish women are created for helping those in need, they are the most compassionate women in the world, and they are prepared to join social struggles (1949, 107:1-6). The mass of prudent, educated, and virtuous Turkish women should organize (1947, 10:2; 1948, 56:1-6) and help the poor; charities for the needy are not only serving those needy people but also the entire nation. The starting point of activism and mobilization comes from the belief “do not expect all deeds from the state” (1948, 57:2).

The socialization of women starts through learning the strategies of being a “good woman”. For that reason, the government established proper institutes such as *Kız Sanat Enstitüleri* (Girls’ School of Arts), *Akşam Kız Sanat Okulu* (Girls’ Evening Arts School). The main target is to prepare women for life. These institutions create the

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<sup>44</sup> English in the original.

ideal type of woman. Young girls learn sewing, embroidery, cooking, floristry, and the act of cleaning (1948, 68:1-6). In brief, the girls learn everything, from carrying a weapon to threading a needle (1948, 56:2) through the houses of illumination. Furthermore, nursing courses (1947, 15:1) are arranged to prepare the girls for war conditions and to introduce them to the sacrifices they may be called upon to make for their nation (1949, 110:3). In addition to these institutes, women established various education clubs with the aim of indoctrinating the women workers in the love of nation, the necessity of marriage, reproducing and of improving their status (1948, 69:1-2).

Another important attempt at socialization is directed towards the Anatolian women who compose the neediest segment of the nation. They are the hard working (1947, 14:2), faithful (1947, 2:1), self-sacrificing (1947, 34:1) mothers of the nation; in the journal's words

The walls are made of mud, bed is a rush mat  
The poor want neither a chalet nor a pleasure house  
Comfortable cushion is not vouchsafed to the mother for a day  
She migrates from the world weeping <sup>45</sup>(Arna, 1947, 7: 6).

However, they are illiterate and should be immediately educated so that they might participate in society. The duty of the republican modern woman is to make a trip through the villages awaking the illiterate women for the improvement of the nation (1948, 83:1-2). The journal calls for the young people especially (1949, 123:7; 1949, 120:3) to go to Anatolian villages and enlighten the villagers teaching "their important identities" (1949, 125:3).

The journal proposes that the women have to work for the sake of the needy especially the orphans. It is the duty of all the mothers to protect the destitute children (1947, 23:1-7), to help them integrate into society (1947, 21:1; 1947, 16:3). Saving the children means saving the nation because the children form the nucleus of the nation (1948, 61:1; 1948, 60:1). For that reason, the women set up charity organizations. Among the most substantial of them is the Association of Benevolence (*Yardımsevenler Derneği*) whose honorary chief is Mevhibe İnönü, the wife of the second president. The

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<sup>45</sup> Çamurdur duvarları döşeği bir hasır, istemez zavallı ne bir köşk, ne bir kasır, nasip olmaz bir gün rahat minder anaya, göçer gider dünyadan ağlaya ağlaya.

target of the association is to reach out to the poor, the needy, and the destitute (Oruz, 1948d, 67:3), by supporting voluntarily nursing, educating young girls, preparing women for combat (1948, 67:1-3) and ensuring their integration in society. Step by step, they extended to many cities in Turkey such as İstanbul, Kütahya, Manisa, Malatya, Tekirdağ, Urfa, Zonguldak, and Trabzon. The association was founded on the anniversary of the Lausanne Treaty, the 24<sup>th</sup> of July. This was not by chance because it was believed that women represented peace and the Lausanne Treaty was the most eminent victory symbolizing peace (1947, 23:2). With the aim of spreading peace all over the country, the members of the union look for poor people and poor children in order to help meet their needs. For instance, the İzmir branch of the association distributes pants and shirts to the poor children of a primary school (Ağaoğlu, 1947b, 41:2).

The charitable hearts are the true blood of the Turks  
 This emotion is a present from our saintly ancestors  
 It is noble, hard-working and also brave and heroic  
 The Association of Benevolent resuscitates <sup>46</sup>  
 (Durgunoğlu, 1948, 69:2).

Another important union is the Turkish Women's Federation. It was established in 1923 but closed in 1934 because the state claimed that the foundation had completed its mission. The journal wanted the restoration (1947, 6:1) of the Turkish Women's Federation and this desire was realized in 1949. The union's aim becomes that of elevating women. More concretely, the union seeks the cultural improvement of the women, the protection of the given rights by the republican reforms, the development of the right-duty perception, and the presentation of the assistance to the needy (1949, 148:4).

The journal urges all women to wake up to the social events in the nation. The women are all encouraged to help their fellow citizens who are in difficulty because of floods (1948, 53:2; 1948, 65:1), burst (1949, 106:1), or fire (1948, 59:1). The journal also complains about societal problems such as corruption (Oruz, 1949a, 129, 2; Eksat, 1948a, 62:3), the black market (1948, 90:3), clumsy bureaucracy (Eksat, 1948c, 81:3; Oruz, 1948f, 58:1), and economic mistakes (Eksat, 1948b, 77:3; 1948, 75:3). In some

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<sup>46</sup>Yardımsseven gönüller Türkün öz kanıdır, Aziz ecdadımızdan bu duygu armağandır, asildir, çalışkandır hem mert hem kahramandır, Yardım sevenler Derneği canlara can katandır.

cases, the press is criticized for being obscene (Kür, 1949, 100:1) and degenerate (Nihal, 1949, 100:3). Indeed, the journal advises women to participate in the national struggle; they are mobilized to strive for the interests of the nation and motivated to be watchful of their leading roles and to be active in maintaining the stability and harmony of the nation.

As a conclusion, during this part, the functions of women during the consolidation period of the nation are demonstrated through the writings of a women's journal. As it is noted above, women are seen as active participants in the growth of the nation: they are not only biological creators of the population but also cultural transmitters of the republic, and they play their natural role in the best possible way by instilling in their children love of country and love of national values. Moreover, it is believed that women constitute the boundaries of ethnic and national differences of the Turkish nation by protecting the traditional sensibilities of the family. The honorable, virtuous, self-sacrificing, benevolent, thrifty, republican women symbolize the nation, Turkey. Essentially, it is shown that Turkish women are fighters in the national war, nurturers at the back of battleground and passionate supporters of national independence. According to the journal articles, although the women are invisible hands in the business life, they are essential determinants of the economic circumstances through balancing the income and expenses and avoiding expenditures on luxury. Politically, the writers of the journal invite all the women to participate in political life by following republican principles, they are all asked to be conscious about the political advantages of the nation and to work hand in hand with their countrymen. The journal is politically partial towards the existent regime which it believes best represents republicanism. For this reason, they support national causes such as the Cyprus issue, and advocate Americanism and anti-communism in foreign policy. Strikingly, that means the journal justifies women's involvement in the political arena not because of their individual rights but because of the benefit for the nation. Women should also be the defenders of the poor, the miserable and the orphaned because they have a mission to fight to save the needy through the women's federations.

All these investigations show that the journal tries to underline the fact that women play an enormous role in the continuation of national unity, and invites all women to participate in the consolidation of the republic. The observations of the

writers about Turkey inform the Turkish women so that they might pave the way for the joining of women in the national cause. Indeed, the motivations and mobilizations of the women for the sake of nation demonstrate the importance of *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1950) in shaping the ideal of republican womanhood. In the following chapter, I will depict the participation of the Turkish women in the national struggles and the influential relationship between “Turkish woman and nation” through another woman’s journal, *Kadın Sesi* from 1957 to 1960 according to the categories of Yuval Davis and Anthias.

## CHAPTER 5

### *KADIN SESİ*

In this chapter, I will examine the “female image” in *Kadın Sesi* between 1957 and 1960 under the light of Yuval Davis and Anthias’ theory. In view of their fivefold theory, I find it necessary to add another dimension: “women as participants of social struggles” because the journal depicts the women as active players in the social life, and sees them as mothers of the society who struggle for the sake of nation. In addition, I will offer some modifications according to the data presented in the journal.

#### *Women as biological reproducers*

*Kadın Sesi* expresses that the reproductive function of women is as their natural duty, for that reason the word woman a priori means mother. In many passages of the journal the word of “woman” and “mother” are used in the same sentences (1957, 5:1; 1959, 90:1; 1958, 44:1; 1957, 10:7; 1958, 23:8; 1959, 81:7). Despite the fact that the journal does not directly call on women to breed, the concept of “motherhood” is glorified. Motherhood is the most sacred and difficult duty in the world (1957, 7:1), it is also the ultimate (Göksel, 1959b, 72:1) and exalted rank women can attain (Gökmen, 1958f, 30:8; 1957, 1:3). One of the mottos of the journal found on the last page of each journal states that “God gives the most beautiful attributes to the mother among the women” (1957, 1:8). Moreover, the mothers are prominent supporters, fellows, confidants, and pioneers for the victories of nation such as the War of Independence (1959, 83:1). They are the most valuable individuals because they train the heroes for the nation and ensure the maturation of society (1959, 81:7). Sometimes women are considered as similar to the “sun” enlightening their children (1959, 113:1), sometimes they are considered as “protective angels” of the family (1959, 72:1). More radically the mother is considered to be “god” who spiritually and materially creates their children (Odyak, 1958, 25:3).

Mothers are also the creators of the nation (1958, 30:3; 1959, 81:7; 1957, 6:2), they are the symbols of altruism, generosity, patience, self-sacrifice, compassion and they symbolize the most momentous love, and the most estimable treasure (1959,

113:3). In that respect, if women desire to reach the summit of the womanhood and honor with pride, they should reproduce. In some passages, the importance of the children is overemphasized. The journal states that children are the sole source of merriment in a family and the hope of the nation (1959, 113:3). Each family should have children because the couples' first duty should be to have children (1959, 113:3). At appropriate times, a part in the column entitled "the Mother's Column" is allocated to give information about pregnancy (1959, 100:3), and children's health (1957, 1:3). The main message of these passages is to underline the importance of being mother and to show that motherhood does not bring material troubles or physical imperfections (1959, 86:4); in contrast, it contributes pride and nobility to women. One of the passages points out the issue as follows:

Mother's Day is the most pleasant undertaking; it is the most beautiful present of *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Federation). In a country, to esteem and to love the mother is the most obvious measurement showing the cultural level, the social training...of the people who live in that country...we are forever grateful to them...our children, youth should understand, recognize and learn the holy existence of their mothers<sup>47</sup> (Gökmen, 1959b, 83:1).

### ***Women as transmitters of the culture***

As it is indicated in another motto of the journal, the future of a nation is the children who are trained by the mothers (1957, 1:8)<sup>48</sup>. Here, it is believed that mothers have great potential power to shape and manipulate their children. In other words, the future of nation is commended to the mothers (Gökmen, 1959a, 67:1; 1958, 53:1). The training of the nation is under the control of the mothers (1958, 54:1); therefore the mothers are surrounded by many eminent duties.

First and foremost, the children should be educated according to the national facts, the national ideology (1959, 64:3). They should learn to love the nation (1958, 61:4), to be loyal to the country and to show their sincere esteem for the history of the republican ancestors (1958, 20:8) and religion (1959, 76:1). The mothers have to teach

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<sup>47</sup> Anneler Bayramı, Türk Kadınlar Birliğinin yaptığı en güzel iş, Türk cemiyetine verdiği en güzel hediyedir. Bir memleket anneye verilen değer anneye gösterilen sevgi ve saygı orada yaşayanların sevgisini, kültürünü, sosyal terbiye...bakımından gösteren en açık ölçüdür...Çocuklarımız, gençlerimiz, anneliğin kutsal varlığını anlayabilsin, tanıyabilsin, öğrenebilsin....

<sup>48</sup> Bir milletin istikbali anaların yetiştirecekleri çocuklardır.



them that the love of nation and flag is the most elevated emotion in the world (1958, 56:3); all children have to love their country more than their mothers and fathers (1958, 18:7). Mothers also have to indoctrinate the Turkish attributes into their souls of the children (1958, 58:1) and the children should learn the principle of “one Turk is worth the world” (1959, 80:4). Not surprisingly, it is proposed that children should know the value of their culture and their peculiarities. More radically, in some passages the significance of “blood” is stressed. According to the journal’s doctrine, the Turkish blood is noble and the children have to be aware of this “noble blood” circulating in their veins (1958, 58:7). Similarly, the Turkish race is exalted and it is argued that the Turkish children have to take pride in their noble race and they should memorize the idiom of “Happy is he who says I am a Turk” without putting foreigners on a pedestal.

Mothers are responsible for teaching the traditions of the society. The Turkish culture should be indoctrinated into the young minds. Mothers should explain the importance in Turkish culture of being charitable, self-sacrificing (1958, 36:1), idealistic (1958, 44:1; 1958, 33:3), well-behaved (1959, 86:1; 1959, 71:1), responsible (1958, 50:1) admiring of the nation (1958, 61:4), strong-willed (1959, 82:1), loving towards all of creation (1959, 86:4) and respectful of the individuals (1958,12:1). All these necessitate significant training of the children by their mothers. In some passages, the journal burdens mothers with extreme duties. When the children come from the school, their mothers should be at home (1959, 74:1). They should be mere giver without expecting any response (Pınar, 1957, 2:2). They are also the honorable maidservants (1958, 20:8); if they want to be “true mothers” of the nation (1959, 74:1), they should know their responsibilities and duties. In addition, some passages talk directly to their children in order to teach them how to behave; for instance:

Children, this week we are alone with you! Children there are various kinds of love. The most exalted one is the love of country and nation; after that the love of mother, father, friend, teacher and the others<sup>49</sup> (1958, 61:4).

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<sup>49</sup> Çocuklar bu hafta sizinle başbaşayız! Çocuklar çeşitli sevgiler vardır. Bunların en büyüğü vatan ve millet sevgisidir. Ondan sonra sırayla anne, baba, kardeş, öğretmen ve diğer sevgiler gelir...

***Women as reproducers of the boundaries***

According to the general view of the journal, Turkish women have certain peculiarities which represent the boundaries of the nation. It can be drawn from this doctrine that “ideal womanhood” reveals the Turkish boundaries. Above, as it is noted that a woman is first and foremost a “mother”. Motherhood is the primary component of the ideal Turkish woman, and then she is a “housewife” (1957, 7:1; 1957, 1:2; 1957, 5:3; 1959, 71:3), assistant (1958, 12:3) and close friend (1957, 2:2) for her husband, and nurturer and trainer of the children (1959, 97:1). Turkish woman should be educated (1958, 17:2), clever (1959, 71:3), self-sacrificing (1958, 71:3), cultured, healthy (1958, 41:1), proud and noble (1959, 11:1), plain, pure (1957, 5:3), idealistic and virtuous (1959, 65:4). The woman also should be advanced; “sublime women create a sublime nation” (1958, 14:8).

Of course, becoming lowness is not destiny of womanhood  
Of course, oppression of evil is not hope of angel  
Of course, the humanity declines  
When the woman becomes miserable<sup>50</sup>  
(Ersoy, 1957, 8:2)

Not surprisingly, the ideal woman should be responsible to form a family according to the journal. Therefore, the significance of the concept of “home and family” can be inferred from many passages. The home is sacred and it is the cradle of peace and safety (1959, 92:2). The only necessary condition for forming a family is a “legal marriage”, and the journal defends the position that state should take precautions to ensure permanent legal marriages (1959, 15:2). Connectedly, the form of legal marriage is described. Turks should marry Turks (1959, 68:3) because Turkish women are suitable for Turkish men (1957, 11:8). The nation needs “children” who have the Turkish blood, the Turkish spirit and Turkish essence (1958, 22:1). Because of the purity of Turkish blood, mixing with others cannot be tolerated. By extension, the hybrid Turkish soldier cannot be accepted (1957, 11:8) as a defender of the nation.

The Turkish woman is faithful and generous...she bears every kind of suffering for the sake of her children. In order to bring them up, she sacrifices her youth and her life, because she is a Turkish girl and a

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<sup>50</sup> Elbet değil nasibi mezellet kadınlığın, elbet değil melekliğin zulmü şer; elbet sefil olursa alçalır beşer !

Turkish mother. Her race, essence and spirit are Turkish...Turkish man who loves his country should marry a Turkish girl, that is a duty and at the same time an obligation of conscience<sup>51</sup> (Gökmen, 1958a, 22:1).

Moreover, the journal determines proper functions, certain manners and behaviors of the ideal “family keepers”. The ideal housewife should be respectful to her husband; she should be honorable (1959, 104:1) and loyal to the home (1957, 10:3). The journal reminds readers that if a woman wants to maintain a peaceful marriage, she should know to keep silent, because staying silent indicates nobility, and maturity (1958, 14:3). She should also be cheerful and smile a lot (1959, 91:2). In a way, woman should bring happiness to the family because happy families create happy nations (1958, 17:1). She has to get on well with her husband; she should pay attention to her husband’s health (1959, 107:5), and cook healthy foods for him (1958, 62:7; 1958, 51:2). An ideal woman should trust her husband (1959, 78:5), and let him go out with friends (1959, 112:3). Also the ideal woman has to pay attention to her behaviors and habits and should care for her appearance (1959, 65:1). She should be well-kept and beautiful without applying make-up (1957, 5:8) and should look elegant (1959, 83:3). For the appearance of women, the journal emphasizes the importance of doing sports (1959, 88:3; 1959, 108:8; 1958, 62:5) and encourages them to take part in such activities.

In addition to what women should do, the journal discusses “what an ideal woman should not do”. The ideal woman should not gamble (1957, 2:1), should not drink alcohol (1958, 14:8), and should not curse (1958, 29:2). She should not be materialistic (1958, 22:4) and should not be fond of luxury (1958, 24:1). The ideal woman should not be jealous (1959, 104:1); men may show interest in other women, and this should be tolerated (1959, 114:3). More radically, if a woman tries to seduce one’s husband, the responsibility is that of the wife. At that point, the wife should get her husband back and not to attempt to divorce him (1959, 79:4). There are plenty of radical sayings in the journal; from one description in the journal:

Ten conditions for happy marriage:...Do not make your husband angry, pay attention your husband’s food and drink, pay attention to his sleep, use his money economically, do not tell the secrets of your husband to

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<sup>51</sup>...Türk kadını vefakardır, fedakardır...Çocukları uğruna her türlü çileye katlanır. Onları yetiştirmek için gençliğini, hayatını feda eder. Çünkü Türk kızıdır, Türk anasıdır. Soyu, özü, ruhu Türk’tür...Yurdunu seven bir Türk erkeği için aynı zamanda bir vazife ve vicdan borcudur...

anyone, be friendly with the your husband's friends, be an enemy of your husband's enemies, move always by contemplating and reconciling, do not want many things from him, meet his desires, do not become extremely jealous<sup>52</sup> (1958, 22:7).

### *Woman as signifier of ethnic/national differences*

The ideal Turkish women are symbols of the nation on the condition that they possess certain attributes. The journal sincerely expresses the loyalty of the Turkish woman to her Ata. Mustafa Kemal resembles the fire, wind, and justice (1958, 56:5), he is considered to be immortal (1959, 109:2) and exalted as being a self-sacrificing hero (1957, 3:2). In some passages, the praise to Atatürk is exaggerated, "the Turk is important in the world and the most important Turk is Atatürk (1958, 56:7). Turkish people are proud of coming from the same race with him (1958, 57:1). Moreover, the women present their thanks (1957, 3:2) to Ata and take an oath to follow the republican path which is decorated with the proper principles, reforms and revolutions (Arpacıoğlu, 1957, 4:7; 1958, 21:1). It is actually believed that Atatürk has granted all rights to women (1957, 3:2). Freedom of speech for woman is provided through the laws, and the obstacles blocking women's path towards progress have been removed (1959, 107:1; 1958, 55.1). Therefore the women describe themselves as "decisive guards of the revolutions" (1958, 57:1). In the words of the journal:

He has given all political and cultural rights to our womanhood. He has made it possible for the Turkish woman to reach summit...the founder of our state, the loyal and selfless savior, the ideal, famous symbol of humanity, Great Atatürk, the Turkish women are grateful to you<sup>53</sup> (1957, 3:2).

The Turkish women cannot permit the destruction of any of the revolutions (1958, 27:1-8). Among the revolutions, secularism is prominently underlined; the passages in the journal fight against the veil (1959, 99:1), the veiled woman is seen as primitive (1958, 26:2). It is defended that honor is related to the conscience and spirit

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<sup>52</sup> Mesut bir evlenmenin on şartı: Kocanı sinirlendirme, kocanın yiyecek ve içeceğine dikkat et,uykusunu iyi almasına dikkat et, parasını iktisatla kullan,kocanın sırlarını kimseye söyleme, onun dostlarıyla dost ol, düşmanlarına karşı düşman, daima düşünerek ve uzlaştırıcı bir tarzda hareket et, ondan fazla şey isteme,onun isteklerini yerine getir, aşırı kıskanç olma...

<sup>53</sup>...Kadınlığımıza siyasi ve kültürel bütün hakları verdi.Türk kadını en yüksek mevkiye ulaştırdı... Devletimizin kurucusu, milletimizin sadık ve fedakar kurtarıcısı, insanlığın tanınmış ideal sembolü büyük Atatürk , Türk kadını sana minnettardır...

but not the veil (1959, 99:1). In addition, “begging at tombs” (1959, 116:3), being fanatical (1959, 113:2), following sects such as *Nur Movement* (1958, 32:1), applying isolation measures among women and men (*haremlik-selamlık*) (1958, 52:3; 1958, 99:1) are condemned. Sometimes society is warned that “reaction” (*irtica*) is raised and the people are urged not to lose sight of the true republican path (1959, 108:1). Indeed, education for woman is supported and showing the religion as a pretext for preventing education right is blamed (1959, 111:2). The following has been quoted from a passage:

Do not these women know how their grandmothers and mothers have suffered under the curtain of religion?...did they forget the women who were taken captive, were sold as commodities, and were thrown away as goods by the words of repudiation (*boş ol*)?...Recently, the *Nur* movement has begun to appear...which women are these?...The first deed is to save the illiterate women to be tools of the enemies of religion. This is our cause<sup>54</sup> (Gökmen, 1958b, 32:3).

Regarding the explanations given above, the journal shows how women symbolize the nation. However, the reverse is properly accepted; nation also symbolizes woman. Actually, the nation resembles a mother; the nation contributes to the lives to her people like mother does without expecting anything (Göksel, 1959b, 72:1). For that reason, respecting the motherland is considered as the same as respecting one’s mother (1959, 81:7). The journal also proposes that the motherland is compassionate; it protects the refugees (1959, 90:2). However, the motherland should also be defended by the people. In a way, people should consider the nation to be more holy than life itself (1958, 43:16).

### ***Women as participants in national-military, economic, political and social***

#### ***Participants of Nationalist and Military Struggles***

As many writings of the journal show, women’s feelings for the nation are of the highest level. The boastful lines advocate that being a Turk is a reason for pride (1958, 58:1). The love of Turkey is the greatest virtue (1958, 37:3), Turkey is very sacred, the Turk is very sacred, very beautiful, powerful (1959, 92:4) brave (1959, 116:4), and generous (1959, 92:3). The will of Turks can overcome anything in the world thanks to their miraculous blood and its magical fire (Gökmen, 1959c, 84:1). The Turks are the

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<sup>54</sup>...Bu kadınlar dinin perdesi altında, ninelerinin, annelerinin ne sıkıntılar çektiklerini...bilmiyorlar mı?...esir gibi kullanılan, bir meta gibi satılan, boş ol kelimesiyle bir eşya gibi atılan kadını unuttular mı?...son günlerde... Nurcular çıktı...Hangi hanımlar bunlar?...İlk yapılacak iş cahil kadını bu gibi din düşmanlarına alet olmaktan kurtarmaktır. Bu bizim davamızdır...

most honorable people in the world (1959, 104:3). Therefore the journal recommends that “we should look like us” (1957, 10:1). It also enthusiastically celebrate important days such 23<sup>rd</sup> of April (1959, 80:4), 9<sup>th</sup> September (1959, 100:1; 1958, 47:1; 1959, 101:4), 29<sup>th</sup> October (1959, 107:1). The historical victories of Mustafa Kemal are perceived as glorious (1959, 80:3), and magnificent days (1958, 47:1).

Moreover, Turkish culture is glorified. *Kadın Sesi* promotes the teaching of traditions, traditional clothes (Göksel, 1959a, 106:2), customs such as folk songs (1959, 79:1; 1957, 10:1). It also supports the simplification of the Turkish language cleansed of Ottoman words (1959, 58:1-7) and expresses that both the national language, and the national culture should be protected (1959, 69:2). The journal believes in the superiority of the Turks among the other nations and defends that the Turks are as instructors of the world. For instance, pre-Ottoman ancestors’ of Turks taught the world “a promise is honor” (1959, 98:8). Some passages zealously claim their ancestor’s inheritances; “the Aegean is ours; we inherited it from our ancestors (Bozkurt, 1958, 58:3)”. Moreover, Turkish women are praised, the great ornament of Turkish women is their Turkishness. Turkish women are skillful and creative (1958, 49:1). No women can be more of a deity than the *Ayşes* and *Fatmas* (1958, 43:3) of Turkey. As an example, a nationalist remark from the journal is given below:

The greatest aim of Turkish nationalism is to increase the spiritual honor of the Turkish people; therefore, it is necessary to protect the Turkish women from every kind of dishonored doubt...Nowadays, tragically, we see that...some ladies make themselves feel ashamed changing their pretty traditions, clothes, manners, spirits for the sake of Americanization and Europeanization trends under the name of becoming modern...our greatest attribute and talent is becoming Turk...the most glorious thing is becoming part of the community of Turkish women...Do not forget who we are<sup>55</sup>(1957, 10:8).

In the journal, according to the writers, the military is home (1959, 65:4), and the school of the nation (1958, 53:4). For that reason, the journal published a column called the “Soldier Column” devoted to show the meaning of the military. This column

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<sup>55</sup> Türk milliyetçiliğinin en yüksek gayesi, Türk halkının manevi şerefini arttırmak, bunun için de Türk kadını her türlü lekeli şüphelerden korumaktır. Son günlerde...üzülerek görüyoruz...Amerikanlaşma modası, Avrupalılaşma modası modernlik isimleri altında, kendi güzel adetlerini, giyimlerini, görgülerini, ruhlarını değiştirerek Türk kadınlığı için utanılacak durumlara giriyor...En büyük hususiyetimiz, en büyük meziyetimiz Türk oluşumuzdur. En övünülecek şeyimiz Türk kadınının bir parçası oluşumuzdur...kim olduğumuzu unutmayalım...

speaks to soldiers and the relatives of soldiers (1958, 49:4) publishing the writings, reports, and memoirs of soldiers (1958, 47:1). Turkish soldiers referred to *Mehmetciks* are kind, merciful, great (1958, 50:8), brave (1958, 44:1; 1959, 65:4), intellectual (1958, 57:5), savior, hero (1959, 116:4), kindhearted, hardworking, and pure saviors (1958, 53:4). It is argued that they are the real children of the Turks and sometimes they resemble a hurricane, a thunderbolt, or the sun (1958, 53:4). The journal also believes that all the boys are trained for the military from the time they are in the cradle. Their mothers teach the importance of being heroic (1957, 6:2) to their children, and these children then grow up prepared to martyr themselves for the sake of the nation (1958, 57:4). Turkish soldiers have become famous around the world. For instance, in the Korean War, the Turks showed their bravery to the world (1958, 57:4).

The column also encourages Turkish girls to be soldiers (1958, 49:4; 1958, 53:4; 1958, 54:4). According to *Kadın Sesi* the Turkish girl has been a soldier since birth because of her race, lineage, and spirit (Gökmen, 1958d, 56:1). Important women soldiers such as Leman Bozkurt (1959, 79:5; 1958, 49:4) who was the first woman jet pilot are introduced as role models for girls to follow (1958, 47:7). In addition to this, related information about “women in military” is reported; for example, the application of the “women aviators” to the aviation school (1959, 105:4; 1959, 104), the success of the girls in that school (1958, 47:7), and women being called up to serve in the military under extraordinary circumstances such as mobilization (1957, 9:1; 1958, 16:1). Here, the journal recommends that women be prepared for military duties such as digging, sewing, health care, passive protection, agricultural work, postal service, and official duties (1957, 9:1).

I like my nation and flag more than I like myself. I am loyal to the past, my ancestors, their memoirs, and their traditions. The daughter of soldier does not cry...the daughter of soldier does not dread...While I am addressing you from the page of soldier fellows who are your colleague, I feel filled with one more piece of soldier spirit<sup>56</sup> (Gökmen, 1958, 49:4).

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<sup>56</sup> ...Vatanımı bayrağımı canımdan aziz tutuyorum. Maziye, atalarım, hatıralara, geleneklere bağlıyım. Asker kızı ağlamaz...asker kızı yılmaz...sana asker kardeşlerimin, meslektaşlarının sayfasından hitap ederken, bir parça daha asker ruhuyla doluğumu hissediyorum ...

### *Participant of Economic Struggles*

The woman is responsible for the economic cases of the nation (1958, 54:1; 1959, 74:8). Women's most important contribution to the nation's economic situation is being thrifty which means, of course, that she should avoid buying luxury goods (1958, 16:8; 1959, 116:3; 1958, 49:8; 1959, 69:3), and keep consumption in general to a minimal level (1959, 69:4). Actually, housewives should use domestic goods (1958, 18:2; 1959, 74:8; 1959, 115:2; 1958, 16:6) for the development of the country. In addition, Turkish women should avoid stocking and hoarding and they should give up the individualism for the sake of solidarity (1958, 42:1).

The woman who utilizes the domestic goods:...the country will be rich; the factories will produce at full capacity, and should be used<sup>57</sup> (Gürcan, 1958, 18:2).

Why we do not come together while our wealth flows like as a torrent towards foreign countries...why we do not believe that our productions can be satisfactory...why we become mad when we see fur coat...costume...a unique woman good in the shop window...the contentment of our hearts and our nation is always in the hands of our women. Being helpful for the improvement of country and society is the duty of the Turkish woman<sup>58</sup> (1959, 74:1).

Secondly, in order to help the budget of the family, and indirectly to the nation, women are encouraged to get job on the condition that their husbands permit them to work (1959, 113:2). In that respect, a column called "Asking for workers" is published in order to make getting a job easier for women. The journal aims at finding jobs for needy women (1957, 1:3; 1957, 1:7), and to decrease the number of destitute women (1957, 6:7). To help in this respect, suitable jobs for needy women are announced each week. According to the "job announcements", the required ones are being a teacher (1958, 40:7; 1959,114:7; 1959,97:7), cashier (1958, 40:7; 1958,38:7; 1959,72:7), manicurist (1958,40:7), pedicurist (1958,40:7), officer (1958, 40:7; 1959,114:7; 1958,18:7), secretary (1959,112:7), servant who irons (1959, 64:7; 1958,60:7; 1959,81:7; 1958,18:7), nurse (1958,26:7), shop assistant (1958,43:7), governess

<sup>57</sup> ...Yerli malını değerlendiren kadın:...Memleket zengin olacak, fabrikalar dolacak, yerli malı, yerli malı, yerli malı kullanmalı...

<sup>58</sup> ...Servetlerimiz bir sel gibi dışarı akarken biz kadınlar neden elbirliği olmuyoruz, neden kendi mamullerimizin bizleri tatmin edeceğine inanmıyoruz...Kürk manto...kıyafet...vitrinlerde gördüğümüz nadide bir kadın eşyası için deli divane oluyoruz...Gönlümüzün memleketimizin ferahlığı daima...hanımlarımızın ellerindedir. Memleketin cemiyetin kalkınmasına yardımcı olmak da Türk kadınının vazifesidir.



(1958,60:7), maidservant (1958,60:7; 1959,67:7), cook (1958,63:7; 1958,35:7), midwife (1958,33:7), accountant's assistant (1958,33:7; 1958,28:7), hostess (1958,38:7; 1958,35:7), and hairdresser (1958,22:7). This list makes it clear that, the jobs do not require intensive energy or advanced qualifications. That means woman can select an idealistic job like teaching for the sake of nation, or they are forced to choose from among the lower status occupations.

### *Participant of Political Struggles*

Despite the fact that the journal maintains its intention to avoid politics, the approaches of the writers about certain issues show that they do not always succeed in this intention. Indeed, the journal does not attempt to criticize the government and governmental policies, does not prefer to give information about the governmental policies, and surprisingly does not mention the name of the prime minister and president of the period. However, occasionally, the deputy of the Democratic Party, Nuriye Pınar (İzmir) contributes to the journal (1957, 1:1). In some cases, the journal announces news of Pınar going abroad in order to attend conferences (1959, 110:1; 1959, 102:1), or of Pınar participating in a Mother's Day celebration (1958, 31:1). In order to justify this, the journal emphasizes that Nuriye Pınar does not show her partisanship by expressing her identity as a Democrat but behaves as a deputy of the nation (1958, 36:4). While the journal refrains from touching upon domestic politics, it is concerned with the issue of the state in Cyprus. They state that in the territories of Cyprus, their Turkish ancestors are buried. Therefore, the hands of the enemies are bent but not broken because the Turks believe in the principle of "peace at the home, peace in the world" (1958, 38:1). They also assert that the motherland supports Cyprus and that the Turks desire "either death or partition" (1958, 36:1). The Turks march hand in hand with the Turkish Cypriots (1958, 36:1) for the great Cyprus cause. Also, some passages mention the main mobilizers of "Cyprus cause" such as Fazıl Küçük (1958, 43:1), Rauf Denktaş (1959, 98:1) appreciate their struggle in the defense of Cyprus. The journal's support of the Turkish Cypriots can be exemplified with the following passage:

The Turkish woman in Cyprus! Your cause is our cause, your sorrow is our sorrow; you are not lonely in the great cause. All womanhood in the motherland is near you, all hearts are beating for you as a one heart...You are... from the race of mother who trains her boy with

difficulties and willingly sacrifices herself for the sake of the country... the Turkish woman in Cyprus, you are from the race of the woman who carries weapons on her back to the front on cold winter days...nothing can make you retreat<sup>59</sup> (1958, 36:1).

Furthermore, in the journal, there are rare but meaningful complaints about inequality (1959, 68:1; 1958, 49:3) between men and women. The Turkish woman should practice the rights given her by the republican founders (1958, 34:1) and they should make their presence felt in the political sphere (1958, 54:1). However, they should never forget their reconciling position and role as both woman, and mother. On the one hand, the journal states that the equality between women and men does not mean the equality between them on authority (1959, 112:2), and it does not mean women have limitless rights<sup>60</sup> (1958, 48:3). On the other hand, the journal makes it clear that rude and shameful behaviors towards woman in her public or private life are not acceptable (1958, 44:6). The woman cannot be beaten (1958, 23:3); beating a woman is akin to beating the nation (1959, 81:7). She cannot be sold as a commodity (1958, 61:3); cannot be raped (1959, 94:1), and she cannot be harassed (1958, 48:3; 1958, 49:3; 1959, 86:2). The journal's opinion of "beating" can be exemplified as follows:

In the twentieth century, while we are proud of our civilized position in this day, to witness the despotic people who still beat women is very tragic! ...how and when will the mentality of using the woman as property be extracted from the old-fashioned minds. Are the women beaten? They are mothers, they are creators... The rough hands which are raised to beat women should be broken<sup>61</sup> (1958, 23:3).

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<sup>59</sup> Kıbrıs'taki Türk kadını! Davanız davamız, derdiniz derdimizdir. Büyük davada yalnız değilsin. Ana vatandaki bütün kadınlık seninle beraber, bütün kalpler bir tek kalp halinde senin için çarpıyor...Sen ki...oğlunu...bin bir emek vererek yetiştirdikten sonra memleket uğruna seve seve feda eden ananın, Türk kadınının soyundansın. Kıbrıs'taki Türk kadını, sen soğuk kış günlerinde cepheye sırtında mermi taşıyan kadınlığın soyundansın, seni hiçbir şey yıldırılmaz.

<sup>60</sup> Here it should be stated that women in journal believe that although men and women have equal rights, they cannot use these rights in the same way; women should always think their "womanhood". Therefore, the women do not desire radical positive applications for themselves, except in one situation, the positive discrimination for working woman is demanded, because it is claimed that they get tired both outside and inside of the house (1959, 112:1).

<sup>61</sup>...Yirminci asırda medeniliğimizle övündüğümüz bu günde, hala kadını döven zorbaların varlığına şahit olmak ne acı!...Kadını bir eşya gibi kullanmak zihniyeti bu örümcekli kafalardan ne zaman ve nasıl çıkacak? Dövülür mü kadın? Anadır o, yaratandır... kadına kalkan bu hoyrat eller kırılın...

### *Participants of Social Struggles*

As indicated before, *Kadın Sesi*'s main aim is to encourage women to strive for the improvement of the country and to solve certain national problems such as “women’s unemployment”, “desolate children”, “poor, deprived women”, and “uneducated, Anatolian woman”. The guiding principle is “do not expect everything from the state and mobilize” (1957, 2:24; 1959, 80:1; 1959, 65:1; 1958, 25:7; 1958, 25:1). Therefore they support the women’s organizations. The most important federations are listed in the journal and membership in these organizations for the benefit of the society is encouraged. One of the largest unions is the Turkish Women’s Federation which was established in İzmir by the benevolent women. The aim of the Federation is to elevate the Turkish women (1958, 21:1), to make them cultured, and educated (1958, 55:1), in terms of the republican principles. It also aims to facilitate communication between Turkish women and the other women of the world (1957, 1:8). It fights against primitive practices such as wearing the veil (1959, 65:1; 1957, 10:1; 1959, 65:1; 1958, 25:1) and organizes courses for the development of the women. There are many branches of the federation such as the Sakarya Women’s Federation (1959, 65:1; 1959, 113:1; 1958, 60:1), the Van Women’s Federation (1958, 31; 1), the Ödemiş Women’s Federation (1957, 10:1), the Kars Women’s Federation (1959, 81:1). The journal calls upon women to join hand in hand with each other under the roof of these Women’s Federations; in the journal’s words:

It is necessary to be hand in hand, unity destroys every kind of obstacle. Love, respect and understanding are the foundation of success.... Everybody should erect a sapling in this garden of nation. Each intellectual should illuminate the night of ignorance. The Turkish Women’s Federation started a great war. Fellow! Immediately learn and teach “reading and writing”<sup>62</sup> (1959, 79:7).

Moreover, another organization, the Association of Benevolence (1958, 13:1) aims to save desolate children (1957, 5:1) who should be integrated into society (1958, 13:1; 1958, 35:1) should be protected (1958, 35:1; 1959, 79:1) and should be made happy (1958, 18:1). The journal encourages and helps desolate children to advance their education (1958, 63:1). It must not be forgotten that each poor child who is saved from

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<sup>62</sup>...El ele vermek gerek, birlik yıkar her engeli. Sevgi saygı anlayış başarının temeli...Herkes bir fidan dıksin bu vatan bahçesine. Her aydın ışık tutsun cehalet gecesine. Türk kadınlar Birliği açtı büyük bir savaş, okuma yazma öğren öğret çabuk arkadaş.

the street will be a member of the country (1959, 80:1). In addition, the association organizes “courses for being a voluntary nurse” (1958, 53:1; 1959, 109:1; 1959, 93:1; 1958, 26:1) so that more women can help the nation (1959, 92:1). Women are also motivated to donate blood and to join the health team (1959, 105:1) to support the nation.

Voluntary nurses will know how to cure the sick in their homes and neighborhoods...when it is necessary and on catastrophic days, they will be beneficial for both society and nation...we acknowledge that the courses of voluntary nurses are a social solidarity cause<sup>63</sup> (1959, 79:1).

Besides these organizations, the journal invites the civilized women gathering to save the other needy category, “the Anatolian women” who should be saved (1958, 49:6; 1958, 47:6; 1958, 54:7; 1958, 49:7; 1957, 2:24; 1959, 15:2) for the sake of nation; and should be awoken in order to hinder the difference between the Anatolian women and modern women (1958, 31:1). Although the journal praises the peasant women by stating that they are hardworking, self-sacrificing (1958, 49:6), virtuous, strong, patient (1957, 1:6), fighter (1957, 3:5), the journal indicates that they are backward, uneducated and shy. For that reason, the journal warns the Anatolian women to know their qualifications and teaches the necessity of training “good children” for the future of nation. It is also justified that every Anatolian woman is the most responsible one for the protection of the forests because they should indoctrinate their children the love of tree (1957, 1:6) and forest. Moreover, the “mobile courses” (1959, 15:7) which are organized by the state for the elevation of Anatolian women are welcomed (1959, 85:1). In these courses, the villagers’ standard of living is improved as they learn various skills, from sewing-embroidery, management of the house, and nurturing of children (1959, 85:1), to being loyal to the republican principles such as secularism (1957,7:2). Essentially, the aim of the journal is to elevate the “villager women” with the help of the modern women:

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<sup>63</sup> Gönüllü hemşireler kendi evlerinde, yakınlarında olan hastalara bakmasını bilecekler...lüzumunda ve felaket günlerinde cemiyete, millete de büyük faydalar sağlayacaktır... Sosyal tesanüt davası olarak kabul ettiğimiz Gönüllü hemşirelik kursu...

This womanhood speaks to you. It will help you to make your home comfortable and to raise well-educated children...to save you from the influence of superstitions<sup>64</sup> (1957, 1:6).

In addition, the writers support the social unification by criticizing the “social imperfections”. On the one hand, the journal recommends continuation of traditions (1959, 66:1), acting with solidarity (1959, 75:3; 1959, 79:1), loving, respecting, showing mercy (1959, 104:1; 1959, 96:1), protecting morality of society (1959, 89:1; 1959, 94:3) and reading books (1959, 93:1; 1959, 84:5) for the advantage of the nation. On the other hand, it condemns “material ambitions” (1959, 101:1; 1958, 60:1; 1959, 104:1; 1959, 87:2), individual ambitions (1958,43:1; 1959,97:8; 1959,73:1; 1959,79:3) ostentation (1959, 102:1; 1959,95:2), bureaucratic cumbersomeness (1958, 44:3), exhibitionism of press (1959, 110:1;1959,70:1), expensiveness (1959, 75:1), and degeneration of youth (1959, 115:3; 1959, 100:3; 1959,78:1;1958,40:1; 1959,115:3).

Overall, during the research we can see that the writers of the journal consider “women” to be extremely significant because they are potential mothers who are the creators of the nation. The expressions on biological roles of womanhood are rarely mentioned not because they are unimportant but because of the association of “womanhood” with “motherhood”. Mothers are the primary instructors and trainers of children; they are responsible for every kind of failure. Their main aim should be teaching love of country, love of flag and love of ancestors. More talented mothers create more talented children and that directly contributes to the improvement of the nation. Therefore, the mothers should be well educated, virtuous, powerful, intelligent, honorable, elegant and modern. The term modern refers to being loyal to the reforms and principles of the republican regime. Modernity requires that women be unveiled, open-minded and cultured. The features of modernity make the woman “ideal”. Moreover, the ideal woman should protect the Turkish traditional components. She should be a skillful housewife who is happy to serve her husband and nurture her children. The continuity of the family depends on her abilities and capacities. Therefore, the woman should be thrifty and avoid wasting money on luxuries so as not to be short of money. We must not forget that the duty of women is to create happy families because a strong nation can be created if the families are happy. In addition, the journal

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<sup>64</sup>...Bu kadınlık sana sesleniyor. Ocağının rahatını sağlayabilmek, daha iyi evlat yetiştirmek...batıl itikatların tesirinden kurtulmak için sana yardım edecek...

supports women's participation in the national struggles, participation in the military by nurturing soldiers or by bearing arms. Also the writers of the journal are fierce supporters of the nation and Turkish nationalism. They are the ones who are most excited on national days. Although no systematic criticism of the state is attempted in the journal, the political desires of women to have equal rights with men demonstrate that they are aware of their position. The writers believe that the "rights" are theoretically given to the women by the republican laws but they think that the application of those laws is not sufficient to bring them equal opportunities in practice. Therefore, they tend to show their faces in the social organizations, they strongly recommend that all Turkish women should attend these types of charity unions in order to save the needy women, poor people and destitute children and invest the future of the next generation.

As can be drawn from these arguments, the position of women is extremely influential. The writers of the journal are aware of women's importance and try to mobilize the women to wake up. In order to give meaning to *Kadın Sesi's* arguments, the type of woman's discourse should be analyzed in the environment in which it is nourished and formed. For that reason, in the following chapter, with regard to two essential women's journals *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1950) and *Kadın Sesi* (1957-1960), I will analyze the substantial data on women's discourse and compare the framework of the "female image" in the journals.

## CHAPTER 6

### LOOKING AT *KADIN GAZETESİ* AND *KADIN SESİ* THROUGH ANALYTICAL LENSES

This chapter aims to analyze the data we obtained from the long-lived influential publications, *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi* and to present the concise messages of the journals following the fivefold theoretical approach. As it is noted, although these journals emerge in very different contexts, they draw a similar picture regarding the view of women, and the ways of women's participation into the national causes. On the following pages, I will analyze the differences and similarities between the journals and question the ways women participate in the national struggles in both women journals from the perspective of Yuval Davis and Anthias' theory. The aim is to show to what extent their fivefold theory is suitable for explaining the position of women in *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi*.

*Kadın Gazetesi* which I have reviewed for the three years from 1947 to 1950 reflects the environment that existed at that time. The discourse on "democracy", "modernization" and "Americanization" can mainly be inferred from the journal. The moderation, and democratic attempts of İnönü make the environment free and the winds of democracy motivate the woman press to propose their wants and desires more loudly. Under the so called democratic showroom, the writers support democracy and democratic exhibitions. The journal invites women to use their democratic rights by voting and to internalize democracy by teaching their children. In addition, the writings in the journal motivate women to be modernized by supporting the republican reforms and innovations. The writers believe that the republican reforms bring the women all the necessary rights for the sake of their modernization. According to the journal, women are saved from the Dark Age traditions; they are unveiled by the help of republican founders. Hence, the republican women have to follow the modernization path and thank the fathers of Turkey Atatürk and İnönü. As I have already noted, the writers of the journal sincerely reveal their loyalty to the founding fathers; they enthusiastically celebrate the RPP's program. They also defend the American attitudes against the communist ideology, as they believe that America tries to emancipate the world, and, that Turkey should be hand in hand with America for the sake of its national, political

and economic advantages. On the other hand, *Kadın Sesi* from 1957 to 1960 shows the features of its own period. The authoritarian atmosphere of the DP's era of decay strongly shapes the writing style of the women's journal. The pressure on the journal forces the writers to avoid touching on political issues, although they imply their political desires between the lines. Indeed, the journal warns readers not to mention governmental problems. In addition, they do not pronounce the name of president, Celal Bayar, the Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes et cetera. The fear of the journal being shut down makes the writers more prudent. They never forget how sensitive the tightrope they are walking is. While *Kadın Gazetesi* talks about their government with pride, *Kadın Sesi* does not mention it at all. While *Kadın Gazetesi* supports efforts made by the government, *Kadın Sesi* is silent concerning their actions taken by the government. The different contextual pictures reveal that both journals are products of their environments and they are under the impressions of their contextual changes.

However, two remarkable journals show important parallelisms. Firstly, the general views of both journals are similar to each other. Both journals respond to the question of how the ideal Turkish woman can participate in the national struggles following the path of modernization without defying their traditional roles. The journals devote themselves to educating illiterate women and to saving the needy people for national case. Apart from this, there are shared deficiencies in both journals; for instance, honor killings, domestic violence, and sexuality are absent. Interestingly, the popular defenders of women such as Nezihe Muhittin<sup>65</sup> or Sabiha Sertel<sup>66</sup> who are prominently important in analyzing the participation of woman in nation building process are not mentioned in either journal.

Secondly, the writers of both journals resemble each other. The editor of *Kadın Gazetesi*, İffet Halim Oruz contributes not only opinion writings but also literary writings such as stories, to the journal. The owner of *Kadın Sesi*, Melahat Gökmen is also both the opinion-writer and literature writer for the journal. More interestingly,

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<sup>65</sup> For a good start to study Nezihe Muhittin, it should be looked at Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Bir Osmanlı Türk Kadın Hakları Savunucusu: Nezihe Muhittin* (1999, 183:132-139).

<sup>66</sup> For a detailed study about Sabiha Sertel, it should be looked at Ayça Bulut (2002), *Kemalist Dönemde Toplumsal Cinsiyet Politikası ve Kadın Hareketi Çerçevesinde Sabiha Sertel üzerine bir inceleme*. Ankara: Institute of Social Sciences. M.A. Hacettepe University.



when Oruz justifies her thoughts under the name of “Through a Woman’s Eye”, Gökmen proposes her arguments under the column of “Through a Friend’s Eye”. In a similar way, the writers and the staff of both journals are passionate defenders of the woman’s functions in protecting the national values, economic, political and military benefit of the nation. They are also self confident women. They believe their role is more important and difficult than the men; therefore, they motivate women to strive for the benefit of the nation. Both journals’ writers are also aware of the fact that they are different from “the other types of women” who are illiterate, ignorant, passive and aimless. They aim to improve all types of parasitic women and motivate them for the sake of the improvement of the nation. For that reason, in the columns of the journals, women are called on to be unity in the direction of given rights. Actually, the staff of both journals believes that Atatürk gave the Turkish women what is necessary for their lives. They were equal to men in every aspect of life. The women are active players in their nation, not only in social life but also in its political and economic life. Hence, the aim of journals should be to teach women how to use these given rights in their daily lives. It can be drawn from the attitudes of the writers of both journals that they overload mission onto themselves awaking the women and dedicate themselves saving the nation by the unification of whole womanhood.

The most important parallel between the two journals is that the findings of both can be partially explained through the fivefold theoretical foundation of Yuval Davis and Anthias. On the one hand, the Turkish women act as members of nation, they actively participate in the national struggles; on the other hand, they receive the special attention of the state as an “ideal woman category” limited to specific roles and by specific rules. More specifically, the ideal Turkish women are actively participants in national struggles. They are creators of their nation, they reproduce children for their nation, and that provides population power for the country. The ideal woman as mother also constitutes the boundaries of the nation as it is stated in theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias. Both journals justify that the ideal woman does not have illegal sexual relations but prefers legal marriage with a Turkish man for the sake of a pure nation. The ideal woman is also a nurturer, keeper, and arranger. She takes care of the home as well as her husband and children. As it is also mentioned in the theory, the Turkish woman is the transmitter of the culture. She is the teacher and educator of her children; she teaches love of country, flag and national tastes and indoctrinates the children to

sacrifice their lives and their property for the sake of the nation. Each Turkish child is a soldier from birth, for that reason he has to be trained according to his creation. Moreover, the ideal woman knows how to protect her children from the harms of immorality by teaching them Turkish moral values and national doctrines. She works to save the children from radical, deviant thoughts, principles or sects. Moreover, the woman is the signifier of the nation; the ideal Turkish woman should be modern, educated, trained, and talented if they want to live in a developed country. Unforgettably, the ideal of improvement of the nation is dependent on the woman. If the woman advances, the nation advances. The ideal Turkish woman is also a participant in the nation's economic struggles. Not only is she ready to go onto the battlefield for the sake of nation but she also cares for the injured people behind the lines and cares for their families and their children in times of war. She also contributes to the economy of the nation by working outside the home or avoiding luxury expenditures.

It should also be emphasized that although there is not any category concerning the "social participation of woman" in the national struggles in the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias, I add a new category with the heading of "women as participants of social relations". Ignoring such a kind of category can be incomplete; we can say that the lack of this category is the first weakness of the fivefold theory. Our journals, *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi* repeatedly indicate social roles of the women and show them as active savors of the society. Both journals assert that with the help of women's organizations such as Turkish Women's Federation, illiterate women can become knowledgeable; the needy women will be able to be satisfied not only materially but also spiritually. Essentially, the aim of the writers in *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi* is to continue "the great development movement" which was started by the founders of the Turkish Republic. Women from every corner of the country have to participate in this development project. Anatolian women in particular should try to pursue learning in order to become a "civilized woman". Although it is believed that Anatolian women are the cornerstone of Turkish and they are good examples of honor, virtue, industriousness, they absolutely need the help of more modern and civilized women. The civilized women are encouraged to go to the villages to participate in the "education mobilization". Courses are arranged to train the women-villagers in different aspects of life such as sewing, gardening, reading, writing and child caring. The courses explain that the women peasants have to educate themselves not for personal gain but for the

sake of the national. This picture shows that the writers of the both journals argue for making the “other women” mobilize to join the national struggles for the advantages of the nation.

As it can be inferred from the five categories of Yuval Davis and Anthias, the women are active participants in both their family and their nation. However, the theory does not elaborate the concept of “family” and does not show family as a nucleus of nation. This lack is also the second deficiency of the Yuval Davis and Anthias’ theory. The theoretical assertion from “family to nation” can clarify the responsibilities of women in both family and nation. *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi* indicate that women are active participants of their family and their nation. According to the Turkish ideal, women are squeezed between two mottos “the female bird makes the nest” and “advanced woman creates advanced nation”; and they are idealized through these ways. From this, it is clearly understood that women are considered as “active” in performing their duties. The writers of the journals do not indoctrinate the women to question their rights; they merely focus on “how the ideal woman can do her duties in the best way”. While the duty-oriented writings imposed on women make them believe how they are essential to maintain the family, these writings do not teach them how they are suppressed for the sake of their family. Hence, when the women believe that they are essentially important, they are motivated to strive hard for their family and nation. Actually, the fivefold theoretical framework partially explains the shape of “an ideal Turkish womanhood” and partially shows the ways of being ideal woman in Turkish case.

This ideal image of women does not make the women emancipated actors in the family and nation. When the ideal women are invited to be more educated, knowledgeable, and talented for the nation, that does not mean the “personal desires”, “personal aims” of women are given an opportunity. The ideal woman should be advanced for the sake of collective benefits. In other words, the individuality of woman is sacrificed for the sake of “collectivity”. Moreover, when the ideal woman becomes signifier of the collectivity, she shoulders the burdens of representation and she is stereotyped as an “active donor” who devotes herself to nation and family completely. Thus when the one wing of the family (woman) is overloaded with duties, the other wing (man) is privileged and exempted from the burdens of representation.

Overall, the scheme drawn from both journals exemplifies the five categories of Yuval Davis and Anthias indicating the ways of participating in the national process such as being “biological reproducers”, “reproducers of boundaries”, “transmitters of culture”, “signifiers of national differences” and participants of economic, political and national struggles”. That means the fivefold theory is necessary to see the relation between women and nation in Turkish case but it is not sufficient to understand the whole picture. It ignores social participation of the women in the national causes and it does not emphasize the concept of family to clarify the responsibilities of woman in the nation. In order to give best explanation about the position of women in *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi* we should enrich the theory and stress the importance of the path from family to the nation, from the motto “female bird makes the nest” to “advanced womanhood creates advanced nation”.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

Throughout my research, I have aimed to present a comprehensive study analyzing the relationship between woman and nation based on the five-fold theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias. The basic intention of this study has been to determine whether the Turkish women are actively participants in national struggles being biological reproducers, reproducers of the boundaries, transmitters of culture, signifiers of national differences and participants of national struggles from the eyes of women's journals *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1950) and *Kadın Sesi* (1957-1960). It should be emphasized that I have categorized the findings of the journals under the suitable subheadings of Yuval Davis and Anthias after the whole research. Then I have contributed some additions according to the circumstances in both journals.

To reiterate, this study examines the proper theoretical foundation in the first chapter of the study by responding the questions of “what the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias states”, “why this theory is a significant tool to analyze the relationship between woman and nation”, and “in what sense the theory is valuable for defining the role of woman in Turkish case”. In addition, to display the significance of the theoretical analysis, the literature review about the theory of Yuval Davis and Anthias is scrutinized. While the first chapter demonstrates the theoretical foundation, the second chapter reveals the contextual analysis about the journals, *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947-1950) and *Kadın Sesi* (1957-1960). This part firstly examines the atmosphere during the periods the magazines were published and elaborates the position of women according to the social, political and economic circumstances. Then it shows brief explanations about the women's journals. Roughly, this section aims to release the readers from the strict chains of the textual findings and ensure more analytical lenses to protect the balance between text and context.

Moreover, the third part investigates *Kadın Gazetesi* under the light of Yuval Davis and Anthias' five categories in order to demonstrate how the women of the period are included in the national struggles. Here, it is encountered that ideal women are participants of the nation such as being reproducers of the limitations, transmitters of

the national culture, indicators of the national differences and the participants of military, economic, political and also social struggles. For the journal, being a mother is extremely important and a woman is first and foremost mother. Therefore, all women are encouraged to have more children. When the women reproduce, the nation becomes powerful: more children mean more power against the enemies of Turkey. In addition to their reproductive role, the Turkish serve as the teachers and trainers of their children; they should teach their children to love their nation, flag, the Turkish anthem, Turkish culture, the traditions and customs. The children should learn to love the national values at a young age and they should be proud of their unique race. *Kadın Gazetesi* states that the women have many responsibilities and duties apart from being a mother. They should try to be virtuous and loyal women for their husbands. Their manners constitute the limitations of the nation; therefore the women should be very careful about how they behave. According to the *Kadın Gazetesi*, Turkish women should choose their partners very carefully, they should support the legal marriages and they should marry Turkish men in order to protect the purity of the Turkish blood. Nevertheless, the mothers are seen as the symbolizers of the republican regime and modernity. The ideal Turkish women admire the founding fathers and obey the rules and principles of the republic. For that reason, the women show their loyalty by exalting the republican regime and the founders, Atatürk and İnönü. The journal teaches that women should be unveiled, modern, educated, and illuminated; they should never deviate from the republican principles. With a sincere loyalty to the system, *Kadın Gazetesi* glorifies the İnönü period and the practices of İnönü. For instance, the attempts of democracy such as the transition to a multiparty system are exalted and all the women are invited to use their democratic rights by the writers in the journal. In addition, women are motivated to join the military struggles; the military, the rank of martyr and the idea of sacrificing of everything for the sake of nation are encouraged. Moreover, the journal states that the women are the main responsible for the national economy. The ideal Turkish women should pay attention to the expenditures; they should avoid luxury and be thrifty. In some cases, they should mend their families' clothes or sew their clothes to avoid paying for the services of tailors. Besides the economic cause, the journal supports women's participation in the political struggles and they should use their given rights. Here, it is believed that women have also been given all their necessary rights by the republic and now it is time to put them into practice. The loyalty to the system prevents criticisms against government, but some behaviors in society such as the beating or

raping of women are condemned in the columns of the journal. Given the relative liberal atmosphere of the time, the journal can justify their desires, wants, and recommendations to the women more loudly. In addition, the journal supports the social contributions of women to the nation. Women are called on to help the needy people, poor women and motherless children throughout the country. Organizations and associations have been established to save people. This salvation operation is also for saving the illiterate, uneducated Anatolian women. The journal proposes that all women should strive hand in hand to improve the Anatolian women. When the Anatolian women become modern, the nation can easily be modernized. The overall picture contributes to women becoming active participants of the nation. Moreover, it can certainly be asserted that *Kadın Sesi* which is analyzed (1957-1960) in the fourth chapter of this study advocates similar ways for the participation of woman in the national struggles. In other words, despite the fact that the periods of the journals are different from each other, there is a continuum between both journals in this respect.

Chapter five involves the analysis of the both journals, *Kadın Gazetesi* and *Kadın Sesi* through analytical lenses. It is argued that both journals expose the ways women participate in the national process such as being “biological reproducers”, “reproducers of boundaries”, “transmitters of culture”, “signifiers of national differences” and “participants of economic, political and national struggles” such as the paths leading to being an ideal Turkish woman. Both journals also propose the principle of the “female bird makes the nest”. That means the women as house-keepers are responsible for the constitution and continuation of the family. When families are destroyed, women are considered to be the main guilty party for not creating harmony in the home. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that both journals justify the motto of “advanced women create an advanced nation”. Another important point in this chapter is to show that the categories of Yuval Davis and Anthias are necessary to understand the interrelation between women and nation in Turkish case but they are not sufficient. Firstly, the theory is incomplete because it ignores the participation of women in the society and the social responsibilities of women in the nation. Secondly, the theory is weak because it does not underline the concept of “family” and does not follow the path, “from the specific to the general”, “from the family to the nation” to clarify the responsibilities of women in both family and nation.

Overall, during the research, we see that the exaggeration of women's duties prevents the development of their individuality. When the journals defend that the women should not forget their symbolic role for the nation, the journals also underline the importance of collectivity to justify killing of "personality". The victimizing of individuality squeezes the woman between the "family and nation", and it does not allow women to wake up and question the essential positions of them. What can be perceived from this analysis is that the ways of women are shown to contribute to the national struggles in both women's journals depict the ideal Turkish woman who is overloaded with duties not only in the family but also in the nation. Thus the image of the ideal woman as a "voluntary maid of the family and the nation" has become rooted in Turkish society.



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