

Gender Politics in Turkey and the Role of Women's Magazines: A Critical Outlook on the Early Republican Era *

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Abstract

As Fairclough and Wodak state, one of the basic assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis is that "discourse does ideological work" (1997, p. 275). The discourse of the media, and of women's magazines in particular, drew the attention of several critical discourse analysts such as Eggings and Iedema (1997), West, Lazar and Kramarae (2000), Talbot (1992), Caldas-Coulthard (1996), Osterman and Keller-Cohen (1998) who emphasized the normative function of women's magazines in the establishment of the appropriate forms of behavior on the one hand, and their role in maintaining traditional womanhood roles on the other. This study focuses on the representations of motherhood and wifehood, two basic themes of the women's magazines in the early years of the Turkish Republic (1923-1950) from a critical perspective with the aim of revealing the role of discourse in the construction of the ideal woman image. The discourse-historical approach to CDA, represented by Wodak (2000; 2004) and Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (2000) is used as the primary method of analysis. However, it is complemented by the approach of the English school, which formed its critical discourse method on the basis of Halliday's grammar. (Fairclough, 1992; 1996; Kress, 1989; Kress and Hodge, 1979; van Leeuwen, 1995; 1996). The database is composed of 10 articles written on motherhood and wifehood published in three women's magazines that had been in circulation during the years 1936-1950. The articles were selected according to purposive sampling. The findings suggest that women's magazines of the period function as sites where gender politics of the state is enacted. In fulfilling this function, the anti-feminist discourse in the wifehood and nationalist discourse in the motherhood are manipulatively used in the construction of the 'other-centered' mother and wife, in accordance with the needs of the newly founded Republic. As opposed to the variety of, and sometimes conflicting messages conveyed by modern women's magazines (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996; Eggings and Iedema, 1997), women's magazines of the early Republic create a one-dimensional, domestic world where women's identities are clearly delineated on domestic and national grounds.

Key words: Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis, gender, gender roles.

Öz

Fairclough and Wodak'ın de belirttiği gibi Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesinin temel varsayımlarından biri de "söylemin ideolojik olduğu"dur (1997, s. 275). Basın söylemi ve özellikle de kadın dergilerinin söylemi bir yandan toplumda kabul gören davranış normlarının oluşturulmasındaki

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rolleri, diğer yandan da toplumdaki geleneksel kadın rollerinin devam etmesine sağladıkları katkılardan dolayı Eggings ve Iedema (1997), West, Lazar ve Kramarae (2000), Talbot (1992), Caldas-Coulthard (1996), Osterman ve Keller-Cohen (1998) gibi Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi çalışan araştırmacıların ilgisini çeker olmuştur. Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kuruluş döneminde (1923-1950) kadın dergilerinin iki temel temasını oluşturan annelik ve eş temsillerini, söylemin ideal kadın imgesinin yaratılmasındaki rolünü ortaya koymak amacıyla eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla incelemektir. Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi yöntemi olarak Wodak (2000; 2004) ve Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl ve Liebhart (2000) tarafından temel ilkeleri belirlenmiş olan tarihi söylem çözümlemesi modeli kullanılmış, ancak Halliday dilbilgisinden yola çıkarak oluşturdukları eleştirel söylem çözümlemesi yöntemiyle İngiliz Okulu yaklaşımı da tamamlayıcı bir yöntem olarak kullanılmıştır (Fairclough, 1992; 1996; Kress, 1989; Kress ve Hodge, 1979; van Leeuwen, 1995; 1996). Veritabanı 1936-1950 yılları arasında yayımlanan üç kadın dergisinde çıkan annelik ve evlilik üzerine yazılmış on adet yazıdan oluşmuştur. Makalelerin seçimi amaçlı örneklemle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bulgular dönemin kadın dergilerinin, devletin cinsiyet politikasının yansıtıldığı yerler olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu işlevin gerçekleştirilmesinde, evlilik temsiline anti-feminist söylem, annelik temsiline de milliyetçi söylemlerin yeni kurulan genç cumhuriyetin ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda “öteki-odaklı” bir anne ve eş yaratılmasında kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Günümüz kadın dergilerinde yer alabilen bazen de birbiriyle çelişen kadınlık temsillerinin tersine (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996; Eggings ve Iedema, 1997), erken Cumhuriyet dönemi kadın dergilerinin kadın kimliğinin domestik ve ulusal bir çerçevede tanımlandığı tek boyutlu, domestik bir dünya yarattığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Söylem, Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi, toplumsal cinsiyet, cinsiyet rolleri.

Introduction

As products of mass culture, women's magazines have attracted the attention of social scientists. There seems to be a consensus among scholars in that these publications offer pleasurable and light reading to their readers on the one hand, and are value-laden in contrast to the commonsense conception of women's magazines as apolitical, ideology-free publications on the other. Walker (2000, p. vii) points out that women's magazines have various roles: for example, they are commercial enterprises and also give advice to their readers concerning their personal, family and social lives. They are sources of information and entertainment and the means of expressing editorial philosophies as well. She further adds that these magazines are designed in such a way that they conflate desire with consumerism and, since the meaning systems created in these magazines have proved successful, they are all continuations of the same tradition, and are likely to continue with the same design in coming centuries.

The literature on women's magazines has almost always been critical of these publications: women's magazines have been accused of providing their readers with restricted roles of traditional womanhood or of not coping with the changes in gender roles that have taken place in society. In the women's magazines published during the 1930s and 1950s, the period of pre-feminism, the focus of attention was on their continuation of traditional gender roles. While the 1970s witnessed the launch of the feminist movement in Europe and America, and women began to take part more in production and less in reproduction, the magazines of the 1980s (and the 1990s and 2000s as well) were criticized for underrepresenting these changes in the social roles and expectations of women.

The status and impact of women's magazines are all the more interesting for Turkey. Although the genre “women's magazine” is imported from American culture

and the content usually combines consumerism with the image of the western woman, during the Early Republican period, women's magazines served as sites where the ideal woman was constructed: a modern westerner, a Turkish mother and the teacher of the new generation.

This study attempts to analyze the linguistic representations of motherhood and wifehood, two basic themes of women's magazines in the early years of the Turkish Republic (1923-1950), through text-oriented critical discourse analysis with the aim of identifying the role of discourse in the construction of the image of an "ideal woman." This study is the first and only critical discourse analytic study conducted so far on early republican period women's magazines in Turkey. In this respect, it aims to bring about an interdisciplinary viewpoint to gender studies and history with its text-oriented and critical approach.

Ideological foundations of the Turkish Republic and Women's Movement

Kongar (2002a, p. 398-399) argues that the fundamental ideology of the Republic of Turkey is Republicanism, a political ideology of western origin. Kongar (2002b, p. 115) states that Kemalism, as an ideology, was shaped by the Republican People's Party especially after the 1927 party congress where Mustafa Kemal declared the principal characteristics of Kemalist ideology in his famous speech. The ideology of the new party was drawn around populism, secularism, nationalism and republicanism. By the year 1935, the six principles of Kemalism were integrated into the party policy during its 4th congress. The new ideology was symbolized by the six arrows of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and stood for statism, secularism, populism, reformism, republicanism and nationalism. Among the principles of Atatürk, state control (statism) and populism were the means of promoting the growth of capitalism. The Kemalist revolutions aimed at forming a state resembling to those in the western world after the industrial revolution. According to Kongar (2002b, p. 115, 123), the Kemalist revolution was executed against imperialism; however, Atatürk's anti-imperialist policy integrated westernization with the new national state.

According to Akşin (2001, p. 207), the Kemalist Reform is, first of all, a movement of enlightenment, traces of which date back to the 18th century when humanism, anti-dogmatism and democracy flourished in Europe. As a developmental model, the Kemalist Reform is based on westernization. However, Mustafa Kemal believed that the adoption of technology is never sufficient in the realization of this objective: Technology, philosophy, arts and science are all components of high civilization. In this respect, westernization requires the importation of arts, science, culture, philosophy and technology from western civilizations and these institutions must also be secured against religious, political or cultural dogmatism.

The first wave of women's movement among the Turkish women traces back to the end of the 19th century, 2nd Constitutional period when centralization, secularization and liberation of the Ottoman Empire were aspired. The feminist movement appeared in this period as part of this modernization process and was led by associations and publications established by Ottoman women. During this period, conferences were organized and associations formed in which Ottoman women had active roles. The first

women's magazine *Terakk-i Muhadderat* [Progress of Civilizations] was launched and up to the year 1928, over 40 magazines were published. These periodicals became forums where women spoke of their problems and expectations. *Kadınlar Dünyası* [Women's World] magazine, published by the Ottoman Association for the Protection of Women's Legal Rights, was published between the years 1913-1921 and espoused an explicitly feminist agenda. The association also advocated the employment of women in the civil service sector. As a result of activations and campaigning of these associations, the İstanbul telephone company began to employ women, and in 1914 the Women's University opened. The students of the university began the struggle for co-education and demonstrated for this right (Report of General Directorate on the Status and Problem of Women, 1999).

After women's own initiative on the status of the Ottoman women, the second wave of the women's movement appeared as a result of the considerable contributions of women and their participation in the War of Independence and today feminist scholars agree that the second wave of feminism among the Turkish women is no longer a struggle of women for their rights but the authorities' giving women their rights. Feminist scholars of today (Tekeli, 1982; Arat, 1998; Durakbaşa, 1998) think that during the constitutional period of the Turkish Republic, Kemalism served as feminism where women's role in society was delineated by the Kemalist ideology. According to the report of the General Directorate on the Status and Problem of Women (1999), the War of Independence became a turning point in the reallocation of gender roles in Turkish society. The Republican State implemented radical reforms for women with the legislation of Civil Law in 1926 and legal regulations which took place in 1934, during the period which Tekeli (1982) calls "state feminism." Until 1935, the women's movement was visible through the activities of the Turkish Women's Association who struggled for women's involvement in administration. After women's involvement in the administration process was secured, the Turkish Women Association was abolished on April 18, 1935. The women's movement in Turkey was integrated into the Republican ideology where women were defined as "defenders of Republican revolutions," not only by maintaining their function at home as "mother" and "wife," but also by acquiring a new identity as the "teachers" of the young Republic. As a result, the advocates of the women's movement in Turkey who became influential up to the 1970s were the advocates of Kemalist reformism who, enjoying the rights given by the male authorities, wanted to extend the emancipation process of Turkish women to the lower classes and rural areas.

Following these arguments, the Early Republican period may be said to have a limited range of gender stereotypes for the Turkish women; those were identified by the Kemalist ideology. Durakbaşa (1998, p. 147) states that the Kemalist female identity is composed of sometimes conflicting images: an educated-professional woman at work, a socially active woman as a member of social clubs and associations, a biologically functioning woman in the family fulfilling reproductive responsibilities as a mother and wife, a feminine woman entertaining men at balls and parties. Durakbaşa (1998, p. 140) argues that although the official ideology of the Republic supported women's participation in education and profession, it did not change the basic cultural conservatism about male/female relationships and it maintained the patriarchal norms of morality. With the appearance of the third wave feminism after 1980s, "state feminism" of the Early Republican period became the subject of scholarly debates.

Method

Method of Data Collection

Following McCracken (1993), women’s magazines may be defined as light-reading periodicals featuring popular issues which are easily available to women in supermarkets and stores; they are either termed “glossy” due to their colorful and appealing appearance or “mainstream” because of their light-reading content.

By using the criterion “mainstream magazine,” magazines which addressed minority groups and those with a political commitment were excluded. Also, special interest publications, magazines published by occupational associations and fashion magazines, were excluded from the sampling. Another criterion concerned the consistent and regular publication of the magazines: periodicals that had been published for less than three years were excluded.

Davaz-Mardin’s (1998) bibliography on Turkish women’s periodicals played a crucial role in the identification of women’s magazines. The following is the list of magazines published in Turkey that agree with the above criteria (parentheses include the publication dates): *Ev-İş* [Home-Craft] (1936-52), *Türk Kadını* [Turkish Woman] (1944-48) and *Hanımeli* [Honeysuckle –literally “lady’s hand”] (1948-53).

5 articles on motherhood and 5 articles on wifehood were selected in accordance with purposive sampling. The selected articles are as follows:

1. “Yavrunuzun sağlığı” (The well-being of your little one), *Ev-İş*, April 1937, p. 12-13 (abbreviated as Eİ April 1937)
2. “Çocuk ve Harb” (The child and the war), *Türk Kadını*, March 1944, p. 4 (abbreviated as TK March 1944)
3. “Çocuk terbiyesinin on buyruğu” (Ten orders of child education), *Türk Kadını*, February 1946, p. 4-5 (abbreviated as TK Feb. 1946)
4. “Anneler: Dikkat edin kızınız uyanıyor” (Mothers: Watch out! Your daughter is awakening), *Hanımeli*, January 1948, p. 8 (abbreviated as H Jan. 1948)
5. “İyi evlât yetiştirmek sizin elinizdedir” [Raising a good child is in your hands]. *Hanımeli*, January 1950, p. 5 (abbreviated as H Jan. 1950)
6. “Bayanlar! Kocanızı tanıyor musunuz?” [Ladies! Do you know your husband?]. *Türk Kadını* December 1944, p. 13 (abbreviated as TK Dec. 1944)
7. “Yuvada mesut olmanın sırları” [The Secrets of a happy family home]. *Türk Kadını*, December 1944, p. 19-20 (abbreviated as TK Dec. 1944)
8. “Aman kocanı kaybediyorsun” [Heavens! You are losing your husband], *Hanımeli*, January 1948, p. 18 (abbreviated as H Jan. 1948)
9. “Kimler kiminle evlenmeli” [Who should marry to whom?], *Ev-İş*, May 1948, p. 3 (abbreviated as Eİ May 1948)
10. “Hayat arkadaşımızı seçerken nelere dikkat etmeliyiz?” [Things that should be paid attention while choosing our life mate]. *Hanımeli*, January 1950, p. 21. (abbreviated as H Jan. 1950)

Systematic sampling techniques were not appropriate in this study for two reasons: Some issues were not available in the National Library and some articles, (such as “How to breastfeed your child”), were simply informative and lacked any kind of mother image.

Method of Data Analysis

This study aims to utilize the principles, approaches and tools brought about by critical discourse analysis (henceforth, CDA), the branch of discourse analysis which particularly focuses on the implicit or explicit manifestation of ideology and power in texts. Since CDA does not provide the analyst with a single method of text analysis, a variety of approaches are integrated into the Discourse-Historical approach of the Vienna school (Wodak, 2000; 2004; Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart, 2000). In the following, the Discourse-Historical approach is explained together with other contributing approaches.

The “Discourse-Historical approach” of the Vienna school involves three layers of analysis:

(1) Content: Content is defined as the theme of discourse in Wodak’s studies (Wodak, 2000; 2004; Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart, 2000). The same idea may be expressed by a variety of terms such as “topic of discourse” or “discourse subject.” In her analyses, Wodak focuses on the rather explicit “content” of the discourse as it is revealed in the text. In this respect, she adopts a qualitative approach and what she refers to as “content” is usually what the text gives away at first sight. In this study, however, the content is identified by quantitative techniques which make it a content analytic endeavor. Following Krippendorff (1980), syntactic units are taken as the basis of content; over-recurring and over-lexicalized items are counted and identified on the basis of absolute frequency. The identification of recurring units was made on morphological level. That is to say, derivatives of a single stem were taken as a single unit. For example the derivatives of the lexeme “temiz” (clean) like “temizlik” (hygiene) and “temizlemek” (to clean) are counted as a single unit. In the same way, synonymous words such as “doktor/hekim” (physician), “sağlıklı/sihhatli” (healthy) were counted as single units. Another criterion was the elimination of functional words (conjunctions, numerals, pronouns). Only lexical words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) were taken into account.

There are several advantages of a quantitative approach. Firstly, it can be taken as a precaution against the subjectivity of the qualitative approach. It rejects any judgmental conclusion drawn by hasty generalizations. Secondly, quantitative analysis goes beyond the expectations of the researcher revealing unforeseen and unexpected results concerning the content of the article. Thirdly, a quantitative content reveals the associations that are made between participants or concepts in the text. For example, the higher recurrence of lexemes referring to difficulties and strains in an article about motherhood suggests that motherhood is conceptualized as a burdensome task.

(2) Strategies: Wodak (2000, p. 44-45) defines “strategy” as “the intentional plan of discursive practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or

linguistic aim.” Although Wodak (2000) identifies five strategies, only two of them, namely “referential strategies” and “predicational strategies” are found to be most relevant and basic to this research. In the following, only these two strategies are explained.

Referential (or Nomination) strategies are used in the construction and representation of social actors through naming, addressing and referencing. In other words, referential strategies are the way actors are referred to in texts. Almost every text includes actors (or participants) referred to in the text in some way or another: sometimes simply by proper names (Mary), or pronouns (she) or phrases (her mother), etc. In CDA, the way actors represented bears ideological significance.

Van Leeuwen (1996), a representative of the English school of CDA, elaborated Wodak’s referential strategies, using Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar. What van Leeuwen proposed was a taxonomy of referential strategies in relation to their grammatical features. In order to find referential strategies, the social actors represented in the text are identified and all the nominal expressions used in the representation are defined along with the classification. The following are the commonest referential strategies defined by van Leeuwen (1996). The examples are from the database of this study:

Abstraction: When social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them, they are somehow abstracted and reduced to that feature. When women are referred to as “beauty,” abstraction strategy is at work.

Association: Association refers to the representation of social actors as groups, usually by “and” conjunction or parataxis. “Mother and father” is an example of association. If the group is resolved and participants are represented separately, the representation becomes *dissociation* (see below).

Assimilation: Assimilation is reference to participants as groups. In assimilation, individual differences are discarded; similarities are foregrounded. The category “women” is a case of assimilation since the reference is based on similarity of sex. The opposite strategy is *individualization* (see below).

Categorization: Categorization is reference to social actors in terms of their identities and functions they share with others. The phrase “married women” includes categorization strategy.

Classification: Classification is reference to social actors in terms of their social class. In the database, the classification strategy “women of the rural class” was used.

Collectivization: Collectivization is a type of assimilation. In collectivization, social actors are referred to collectively through deictics (they, we) and collectives (nation).

De-possessivization: It is reference to social actors in terms of their lack of possessions, for example, “the poor.”

Dissociation: Dissociation is seen after association. When associations are unformed, dissociation takes place. ‘Mother and father’ form an association. When each actor is referred to separately, dissociation strategy is fulfilled.

Enaging: Enaging is reference to social actors in terms of their age such as the youth, the old, girl, etc. The expressions referring to age are named *gerontonyms*. Enaging is a somatization strategy (for somatization, see below).

Engendering: As a form of somatization (see below), engendering is reference to social actors through their biological sex. References like “girl,” “guy” are examples of engendering. Words that fulfill engendering strategy are named *genderonyms*.

Functionalization: Functionalization is reference to social actors in terms of an activity; i.e. something they do. The expressions “working women” or “women who look after their children” involve functionalization strategy.

Impersonalization: *Impersonalization* occurs when social actors are represented by abstract or concrete nouns whose meaning does not include the semantic feature “human.” There are two kinds of impersonalization: *abstraction* and *objectivation*.

Indetermination: Indetermination occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, anonymous individuals or groups. It is typically realized by indefinite pronouns such as “somebody,” “some people,” Turkish “bazı.”

Militarization: Militarization is reference to actors through military terms like “warrior,” “soldier,” “army.”

Nationalization: As a *politicization* strategy (see below), nationalization is used to describe social actors in terms of their national affiliation. Typical examples from the text include “Turkish woman” and “Turks.”

Objectivation: As an *impersonalization* strategy, where social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated with them.

Physical identification: Physical identification is reference to social actors by means of their physical characteristics. “Blonde” is a typical example for this strategy.

Politicization: Politicization is a cover strategy that may be realized in the forms of *nationalization*, *classification*, *political actionalization*, *organizationalization*, *temporalization*, etc. It refers to any reference to social actors in terms their qualities pertaining to some political, sociological affiliation. Words like “leftist,” “working class,” “Turkish” involve politicalization strategy.

Possessivization: It is the reference to social actors in terms of their possession. Adjectives and anthroponyms such as “rich,” “owner” and “proprietor” realize possessivation strategy.

Professionalization: As part of the more general strategy of economization, *professionalization* is reference to social actors with reference to their profession (Wodak, 2000, p. 50). Lexemes that realize this strategy such as “worker,” “policeman,” “clerk,” etc. are named professionym.

Reference in terms of state of health: It is a *somatization* strategy (see below), which defines social actors with reference to their health condition as in “a healthy man” or “the sick.”

Relational identification: It is the reference to social actors in terms of their personal, kinship or work relations with each other. “Daughter,” “spouse” are all examples of relational identification.

Somatization: It is the linguistic construction of social actors by a part or characteristic of their body: that is to say, by referring to a person on the basis of a metonymic semantic relationship. In her classification, strategy of somatization is realized through several sub-strategies, some of them are as follows: *racialization* (the Jews), *engaging* (the young, old man), *engendering* (man, woman), *reference in terms of state of health* (the sick boy), *reference in terms of mental deficiency* (psychopath), etc.

Spatialization: It is reference to social actors in terms of the place where they live. In the expression ‘the ones living in other countries’ spatialization strategy is realized.

Predicational strategies, on the other hand, refer to “any kind of evaluation, attribution and predication upon the social actors” (Wodak, 2000, p. 45). In her discourse-historical CDA studies (e.g. Wodak, 2000; 2004) predicational strategies appear as a notional concept, based on pragmatic inferences rather than on textual characteristics. In order to provide this study with a textual orientation in the analysis of predicational strategies, the sentences in which women were involved as social actors were investigated in terms of transitivity (Halliday, 1986), metaphors, metonymies, lexicalization and modality. With such linguistic (or micro) analysis of texts, the researcher aimed to find what attributions had been made on participants, both implicitly and explicitly. In the analysis, however, a predicational strategy is mentioned only if it recurred repeatedly; or, to put it another way, if it is used in more than one article.

(3) Linguistic means of realization: Micro linguistic structures used in the making of referential and predicational strategies, such as nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, adjectives, metaphors, metonymies, conjunctions, pluralization, lexico-graphic features such as punctuation, etc., all constitute linguistic means of realization.

Analyses and Findings

The findings will be discussed in terms of “motherhood” and “wifehood” representations separately.

The Discursive Construction of Motherhood

(1) Content

In content analysis, each text was analyzed with respect to recurring lexemes. The minimum number of recurrence is three. Table 1 below shows the recurring lexemes and how many times they were seen in the database. The lexemes that were observed in only one text were disregarded. Table 1 shows only the lexemes recurring in at least two texts.

Table 1. The recurring lexemes and the number of their occurrence in articles on 'motherhood'

Lexemes	Eİ Apr '37	TK Mar '44	TK Feb '46	H Jan '48	H Jan '50
Baby/child	21	42	57	7	27
Hygiene	13	6			
Mother	6	6	8	4	9
Health	3	7	3	5	3
Personality		4	7		
Education		5	8		10
Nationality	3	5			
Birth	5	8	4		3
Duty	3	6	5		
Knowledge	3	4			

Three lexemes are shared by all the articles: baby/child (çocuk, evlat, yavru, bebek), mother (anne, ana, annelik) and health (sıhhatli, sağlıklı, sağlık, gürbüz, sağlam). Lexemes with similar connotations were also shared by the majority of articles: education (terbiye, eğitim), birth (doğmak, doğan, doğum) and duty (vazife, görev). Lexemes referring to hygiene (temiz, temizlemek, temizlik), personality (seciye, karakter, kişilik), nationality (millet, Türk) and knowledge (bilgi, bilmek) were detected in two of the articles.

In Wodak's discourse-historical approach, texts produced during a specific period of time are said to form a single discourse. Following discourse-historical approach, our supposition is that these five articles constitute a single discourse. Thus, observing the discourse of motherhood of the early Republican period in terms of the content analytic viewpoint, the following presuppositions and associations can be drawn (listed from the strongest associations to the weakest ones):

- i) The discourse of motherhood is formed around the child and his/her health.
- ii) The father is excluded in childcare and the responsibility is attributed to the mother.
- iii) There is a common concern over the child's education and personality, as well his/her health.
- iv) Motherhood is somehow associated with national identity.
- v) Motherhood is also associated with "mission" (a sacred mission for her country).

(2) *Strategies*

Referential strategies that have been identified for mothers are as follows:

- *Relational identification*: anne/ana “mother/mom” (seen in all the texts)
- *Somatization/Engendering and Enaging*: kadın “woman” (Eİ April 1937, TK March 1944, H Jan. 1950)
- *Assimilation/Collectivization*: kadınlar “women,” kadınlarımız “our women,” anneler “mothers” (Eİ April 1937, TK March 1944, TK March 1944, H Jan. 1950)
- *Association*: anne-baba/anne ve baba “mother and father” (TK March 1944)
- *Politicization/Nationalization*: Türk kadını “Turkish woman,” Türk annesi “Turkish mother” (Eİ April 1937, TK March 1944)
- *Politicization/Classification*: köylü sınıfı “rural class” (TK March 1944, H Jan. 1950)
- *Spatialization*: başka ülkelerdekiler “the ones in other countries” (H Jan. 1950)
- *Economization/Possessivization and de-possesivization*: zengin “rich,” fakir “poor” (TK March 1944)

Referential strategies will be evaluated together with predicational strategies below.

As with the predicational strategies for mothers, the following attributions have been identified (the linguistic means of realization are given in parentheses):

Strategy 1. Activation of mothers through child care, usually as a “national duty”: This strategy appears as the implication of mothers’ being activated in material processes where the child is in beneficiary role. As the commonest strategy of all, it is observed in every text. Linguistic means of realization include: role allocation (activation of mothers in material processes), imperative and obligatory moods, frequent use of the lexeme “görev” (duty). The following examples illustrate the way mothers are activated in material processes:

- The perfect fulfillment of these duties that women take on as mothers is the biggest issue and concern of the society; Take the little baby, put him in warm, soft clothes. (Eİ April 1937)
- Never, but never stop watching her steps; A clever mother looks after her children herself. (H Jan. 1948)
- Do not give the responsibility of your child’s education to others, you must take care of him as much as possible!; No matter in peace or in war, the happy mother who gives birth to a child and keeps him alive is doing her part in military service. (TK March 1944)

Strategy 2. Praising motherhood as a blessed/superhuman condition: Three out of five articles in the database included this strategy which conceptualized motherhood as a divine state rather than a biological phenomenon. The linguistic means of realization include adjectives modifying mothers like “holy,” “blessed”; superlative constructions attributed to mothers and the metaphor LIFE IS A CARPET WOVEN BY WOMEN. Examples include the following:

- In the life of humanity, it is the woman who constantly and delicately weaves the past to future eternity, the great past to eternal future; Mothers, the greatest possession of a nation...; your (i.e. mothers’) honorable place on the earth. (Eİ April 1937)
- Yes, the blessed mother...(H January 1948)
- Holy Turkish mother...(TK March 1944)

Strategy 3. Ascribing national importance to motherhood and its militarization: In three out of five articles again, motherhood is attributed a national duty and represented as equal to military service. The linguistic means of realization include the referential strategy of nationalization, military terms like “arm,” “army,” “soldier,” etc, equative clauses and WAR metaphor:

- Turkish mothers! Get armed with the latest knowledge to protect your honorable place in the future, just as you did in the past (Eİ April 1937)
- Turkish mother, if only you can keep your baby alive, you deserve to be as respectable and admirable as the one who fights at the front and sacrifices his life. (TK March 1944)
- Thank god, we have many women in our country who give birth several times. (H Jan. 1950)

Strategy 4 Identification of womanhood with motherhood: This is quite an implicit strategy revealed by an intricate microanalysis. As it can be seen in the following examples, the lexemes “woman” and “mother” are used interchangeably which, eventually, reduced the meaning of “woman” to that of “mother.” The strategy was seen in three articles:

- Futures of nations are determined according to women’s succeeding at this big issue (i.e. surviving their children). (Eİ April 1937)
- No one can deny that the Turkish woman is productive; Giving birth, thus contributing a new entity into the flow of life is the greatest wish of every Turkish woman. (TK March 1944)
- Thank god, we have many women in our country who give birth several times. (H Jan. 1950)

As far as the content is concerned, “national identity” and “occupation with children” seem to be two important aspects of the motherhood image in the construction of the mother. The mother turns out to be a collective identity rather than a personal choice, as suggested by content and the referential strategies. The motherhood images

projected in these magazine articles are other-centered: motherhood as an individual experience is never mentioned. Referential strategies used in the articles also emphasize the difference between “us” and “them” on national grounds. Motherhood is militarized and placed in an international arena of competition. In the representation of women, there seems to be class consciousness, where women are denoted with respect to their being poor, rich, urbanite or villager. On the other hand, in these articles, motherhood turns out to be a blessed category where “being a mother” is equated with “being a soldier.” The words “mother” and “woman” have been used interchangeably, which suggests that motherhood is a taken-for-granted property of Turkish women: it is not a matter of free will, but an obligation like military service. In this way, motherhood is represented in a way to minimize the “female” to “mother.” There is no contradiction in the motherhood images for this period: As represented by few referential strategies, the only stereotype for mothers is the holy mother, whether she dwells in the city or in the countryside, whether poor or rich.

The Discursive Construction of Wifehood:

(1) Content

The content analysis shows the following inferences and presuppositions about the conceptualization of marriage in early Republican period women’s magazines:

- i) The discourse of marriage is constructed upon the “husband.” No lexeme was seen more frequently than the word “husband.”
- ii) Marriage is mostly associated with “home” and “happiness.”
- iii) Romanticism is absent in the content which suggests a rather rational conceptualization of marriage. Besides, lexemes referring to “love” are not overwhelmingly used.

Table 2. The recurring lexemes and the number of their occurrence in articles on “marriage”

Lexemes	TK Dec. '44	TK Dec. '44	H Jan. '48	Eİ May '48	H Jan. '50
Husband	19	22	15	5	5
Woman	9	20	6	6	4
Happy/ness	7	6		5	3
To love	6	10			
Life	12			8	
To know	12	5			
To envy		6	6		
Home		21	3	6	
Joy		5	3		

(2) Strategies

Referential strategies for wives:

- *Somatization/Engendering and Enaging*: kadın/bayan/hanım “woman/lady” (TK Dec. 1944, TK Dec. 1944, H Jan. 1948, Eİ May 1948, H Jan. 1950)
- *Assimilation/Collectivization*: (kadınlar/ bayanlar/ hanımlar “women/ ladies/ wives,” siz/ sizler “you (pl.),” eşler “spouses/ mates,” kızlarımız “our girls” (TK Dec. 1944, TK Dec. 1944, Eİ May 1948, H Jan. 1950)
- *Relational Identification*: eş “spouse,” karı “wife” (TK Dec. 1944, H Jan. 1948, Eİ May 1948, H Jan. 1950)
- *Categorization*: evli kadın “married woman,” harika bir evkadını “a perfect housewife” (TK Dec. 1944)
- *Politicization/Nationalization*: Türk kadını “Turkish woman” (TK Dec. 1944)
- *Individualization*: bayan/hanım “a lady,” bu hanım “this lady,” bir kız “a girl” (TK Dec. 1944)
- *Objectivation*: çiçek “flower,” buz çiçeği “flower of ice” (TK Dec. 1944)
- *Abstraction*: güzellik “beauty,” suni güzellik “artificial beauty” (TK Dec. 1944)
- *Functionalization*: yuva hırsızı “husband stealer,” liseyi bitirmiş bir kız “(a) girl who finished high school,” üniforma ve şerefe vurulmuş bu kız “this girl who fell in love with the uniform and honour,” evine çekilmiş bir kız “(a) girl who keeps to the home” (TK Dec. 1944, Eİ May 1948)

Predicational strategies for married women are as follows:

Strategy 1 Emphasis on self-denial and husband-centeredness for women: The analysis of transitivity revealed that in three out of five articles women were represented as in charge of their husbands' well being. In doing so, women usually ignore their own feelings and focus on their husbands'. The linguistic means of realization include role allocation where women are activated in mental and material processes, imperative and interrogative modes and obligatory mood.

- Ladies! If you want to be happy, get to know your husband; Try to also see the positive aspects of him; Is your husband tense?...Did he break your heart today? Pay attention to the tiredness on his face. Were you with him in his work place today? Do you know the things he bore for you and your children's comfort?; If your husband consumes alcohol, whether much or not, set his table with your own hands; moreover, you should bring fun and joy to the table. (TK Dec. 1944);
- You are losing your husband because when he expects love and affection from you after a hard day at work, you dare to talk about your problems; Women's attitudes should be to prove that she wears make-up and dresses of finery for her husband only. (H Jan 1948);

- If you want your husband be faithful to the family, care for him and never complain about him; Were you with him in his work place?; Do you have an idea about what difficulties he has faced to make you and your children comfortable? (TK Oct. 1944)

Strategy 2 Negative Representation of Women: In two articles, women were represented as mean, malicious and selfish which suggests a highly anti-feminist or macho discourse. Linguistic means of realization includes negation, presupposition, lexemes and role allocation in which men are represented as “patients.” The following are examples:

- You are destroying your natural beauty with your artificial make-up and you are conceited about your beauty which is destined to fade away as you approach middle age; it is not right to be conceited and to ignore your husband; There are times you don’t want to welcome your husband who comes home from work exhausted, wishing to share his daily joys or problems; besides, you avoid mending his clothes in order to protect your nails from breaking and remain beautiful; Don’t see him as weak and helpless. (TK Oct. 1944)
- You are losing him because you don’t welcome him during lunchtime at the table that you prepared carefully and gladly. (H Jan 1948)

Strategy 3 Emphasis on rationality and control of feelings: There always seems to be an emphasis on women’s feelings, especially towards their husbands and this emphasis could be observed in all five cases. Women are dictated how to feel and when to be happy. Controlling of emotions is fulfilled by the use of imperative mode and adverbs. The following illustrates the point:

- Do envy (your husband)...; A woman is so happy if she made her husband and child taste the love and joy, and stirred an excitement with her devotion to family and the affection she gave to them. (TK Oct. 1944)
- Always greet him cheerfully when he comes home; You are losing your husband because you don’t get up before him, set the breakfast table and wait on him cheerfully. (H Jan. 1948)
- Get to know your husband with whom you have lived together for years and love him again. (TK Jan. 1944)
- The couples who should get married are the ones who are compatible with each other in every respect. (Eİ, April 1937);
- While choosing our husbands ..., being careful, conscious and clever is both our right and duty. (H, Jan. 1950)

Articles on marriage are constructed around the man (husband), the family and happiness. Romanticism does not appear as a common theme; rather, there are references to physical, educational and social compatibility between the couples. In terms of referential strategies, unlike motherhood images, a variety of strategies are used in the identification

of stereotypes. Through collectivization and individualization, women are represented both collectively and individually. Referential strategies such as abstraction, objectivation, functionalization and categorization are helpful in constructing the stereotypical images of the “wife.” While these referential strategies form different stereotypes (a frigid woman, a husband stealer, a girl from the high class, etc), they also increase the rhetorical impact of the texts. In terms of predications, the most dominant strategy seems to be the portrayal of woman as husband-centered, with an emphasis on self-denial, where women are advised to ignore their own feelings and focus on their husbands’. All the articles share a common predicational strategy: the negative presentation of women. Women are represented as the only source of dispute in the family, being selfish, rude, apathetic and not devoted. This is partly due to men’s status as breadwinners, which brings him superiority over women and partly due to the biased male views overwhelmingly seen in printed press.

Conclusion

It can be argued that the women’s magazines of the 1930s reflect the following discourses: i) The nationalist discourse of the Republic, due to potential foreign threat, economic strains, post-war social structure and national solidarity. As noted earlier, one of the six principles underlying the ideology of the new Republic was nationalism (Kongar, 2002a). In addition, anti-imperialism appears to be an outstanding factor in the constitution of the state (Kongar, 2002b). In such a patriotic atmosphere, women’s magazines appear to have a role in the construction of the ideal identity of the Turkish woman. Womanhood/motherhood representations are drawn from a nationalist perspective in which motherhood is not questioned, but taken for granted as an indispensable identity of womanhood, in accordance with the needs of the new state. ii) Anti-feminist, traditional male discourse, characterized by negative representation of women, positive representation of men and depiction of women as other-centered and devoted. In addition, women are told “how to feel” towards their husband. However, in each article the degree of explicitness differs. Although some articles offer equal and symmetrical relationships between the husband and wife on a surface reading, the anti-feminist discourse is related implicitly through processes and textual devices. In terms of the relationship between spouses, the early period of Turkish women’s magazines seem to reveal neither egalitarian nor feminist discourses. Although some feminist social researchers (Tekeli, 1982; Zihnioğlu, 2003) argue that Turkish women’s own initiative toward an egalitarian and liberal society was systematically ignored and suppressed by the state, which delineated the women’s movement in accordance with its own conceptions of a new society, it seems that the absence of an egalitarian approach to the relationship between the sexes stems from the absence of educated women working in the magazine press as writers and editors. Davaz-Mardin’s (1998) bibliography shows that between the years 1929-1950, 29 women’s magazines were published, among which only one was owned and edited by a woman, and four of them were owned by men but edited by women. The first women’s magazine edited by a woman was *Hanumeli*, launched in 1948. In addition to this factor, it must also be noted that feminism was not one of the primary issues handled in the magazines press in Turkey, nor in the international arena.

The findings of this study are in accordance with the studies of social scientists such as Arat (1998), Durakbaşı (1998), Kongar (2002a; 2002b) and this parallelism suggests that the gender politics and the ideology of the Turkish Republic can be seen in the form of popular press; namely women's magazines. In this respect, despite the commonsense belief about their being light-reading, entertaining publications, women's magazines of the Republican period appear to be the ideological tools of the newly founded Republic. Unlike their counterparts in the pre-Republican period, women's magazines of the early Republican era are devoid of feminist agenda. Moreover, the motherhood and wifehood representations projected in these magazines reflect "male" point of view.

As noted several times, the general impression people have about women's magazines is that their being light reading and entertaining publications, devoid of a political ideology. However, women's magazines of the early Republican period seem to function as sites where the ideology of the newly founded Republic is projected either with implicit or explicit means. As an imported genre which symbolizes "modernity," Turkish women's magazines merge the image of the modern westerner with the patriotic Turkish woman.

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