

A Study on the Representation of Turkish Women in an Early Republican Period: The Magazine *Aile Dostu* (1931), *Cumhuriyet Kadını* (1934), *Ana* (1938-1942)

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Abstract

Woman has become an indicator of civilization in the Republican Period. In this article, it is aimed to analyze how woman who is an indicator of civilization is reflected in women's magazines in the early republican period. Therefore, the magazines such as "Aile Dostu" (Family Friend) (1931), "Cumhuriyet Kadını" (Republican Woman) (1934) and "Ana" (Mother) (1938-1942) which were published in the early republican period are going to be discussed.

I. Introduction

Improving the status of Turkish woman and creating a new republican woman image turned out to be pivotal issues with the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Women's rights were seen as the indicators of the Turkish modernization, therefore were placed at the core of the agenda of the new republican regime.

The new modern woman image (westernized) was created in the republican period. Therefore, women took place in public area and the new woman was expected to be a more social woman; however, motherhood which has been her traditional role was her contemporary duty. Besides, woman's position within family started to become more explicit and woman started to have the right to speak as well as her husband. It was seen that changes occurred in women's magazines publishing following the proclamation of the republic, especially after alphabet reform.

In this article, a general analysis about the status of woman in the early republican period is going to be made primarily. Then, the women's magazine publishing in this period is going to be discussed and *Aile Dostu*, *Cumhuriyet Kadını* and *Ana* which are among the women's magazines that were started to be published with the adoption of the Latin alphabet are going to be analyzed. After indicating the format features of these magazines, their contents are going to be analyzed in detail.

II. The General Evaluation On Woman In An Early Republican Period

The reform movements which started with the proclamation of the republic brought about important changes in the status of women. The new Turkish Republic provided all Turkish women some equal right in the area of law, education and political life. Educational institutions were gathered together within one single system with the Law on the Unification of Education in 1924. Therefore women and men were provided equal educational opportunities. The dress code was accepted in 1925. Shariah laws were abolished and were provided the adoption of Swiss Civil Code in 1926. Polygamy was prohibited, both parties were given equal right to divorce and the supervision of children was given to both mother and father. Besides, the women subsequently acquired the right to participate in local elections in 1930, and in general elections 1934.¹

The rights given to women were not gained with a movement like the women's movement in Western Europe struggling for equal right to vote. These rights were given by the ruling cadre with the aim of achieving the Westernization and Civilization targets.² Besides, That woman rights were given by the government in Turkey brought about different comments. Deniz Kandiyoti argues that the woman policies followed in the republican period have a great symbolic and strategic importance.

¹ T.C. Başbakanlık, *National Action Plan Gender Equality 2008-2013*, (Ankara: Kadın Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü, 2008), p. 15; Ömer Çaha, *Sivil Kadın*, Unpublished book, pp. 284-292.

² Deniz Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler*, (İstanbul: Metis, 1997), pp. 67-70; Nermin Abadan Unat, "Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Kadını", *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, edited by Nermin Abadan Unat, (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1979), p. 14.

She states that the most important reform which underlies all other reforms is the secularism project. Kandiyoti who argues that the project broke loose from Islam and brought about the removal of the effect of religion on the public institutions of the Republic states that woman became one of the “pawns” of the Kemalist struggle directed to remove the theocratic residues of the Ottoman Empire.³ Fatmagül Berktaş states that the women’s rights given by the Kemalist leader cadre are the “means for achieving a specific aim”. The means mentioned here is the means for the emergence of the new national character of the Republican Turkey. She stated that the exclusion of women from public domain is an indicator of sharia and their equal legal status regarding citizenship is a distinctive indicator of the Republican period.⁴ Şirin Tekeli expressed that women have been used as a symbol of westernization since the Ottoman period. She stated that women started to be an important starting point in the war against the Islamic institutions and values during the establishment process of the secular-nation state in the Republican period. In addition, she interpreted the equal right to vote which was given to women in 1930s as a significant initiative launched by Atatürk in order to distinguish his single party regime from the European dictators of that period.⁵

Arat argued that the Kemalist cadre used the rights given to Turkish women and the reforms creating some opportunities for them as a means for economic development and western type modernization. She states that life was initiated to be re-arranged with secular Western patriarchy instead of Islamic patriarchy thanks to Kemalist reforms. She argued that the effort of Kemalism, which takes the West as an example, to improve the lives of the Turkish women remained as an effort to attain the level of western societies where woman is still seen as “the second gender”. Moreover, she states that the Kemalist reforms aim at improving the contributions of the Turkish women to the Republican patriarchal order by equipping them with the training and skills that would make them a better wife and mother rather than liberalizing women or contributing to the development of women awareness and women identity. She stated that the education and the participation of women were used as a method for ensuring national development.⁶

Before the Republican reforms, the discussions regarding women focused on the approach which accepts women as a member of family unit and the object of the social projects. These features remained the same in the Republican period as well.⁷ With the new womanhood and manhood forms, some of the traditional gender identities were dispraised being considered “old” and some of them were praised being valued in a new context. New women became the symbols of the new Turkish society as a civilized society. That women became the symbols of the Turkish society brought about their participation in the change in social, political and economic fields as the missionaries of the national ideal. Especially women were charged with educating the nation, which means they were positioned as patriot citizens who were charged with being a teacher. In sum, it was aimed that women become the symbols of modernity and the tradition guards who undertake the responsibility for decelerating the rapid disintegration of the older social texture.⁸

The views of Atatürk about woman have a very important role in forming the “new woman” in the early Republican period. Atatürk encouraged women to get rid of the traditional links and enabled new women who had national ideal and morality to be brought forward with the speeches he made in the starting process of the reforms.

³ Deniz Kandiyoti, “Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliđinin Çözölmesine Yönelik Notlar”, *Kadın Bakış Açısından 1980’ler Türkiyesi’nde Kadın*, edited by Şirin Tekeli, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), pp. 301-302, Deniz Kandiyoti, “Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns?”, *Women-Nation-State*, edited by Nira-Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias, (Londra: The Macmillan Press, 1988), p. 92.

⁴ Fatmagül Berktaş, “Cumhuriyet’in 75 Yıllık Serüvenine Kadınlar açısından Bakmak”, *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, edited by Ayşe B. Hacımirazođlu, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p. 4.

⁵ Şirin Tekeli, “Türkiye’de Kadının Siyasal Hayattaki Yeri”, *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, edited by N. Abadan Unat, (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneđi, 1979), pp. 376-381.

⁶ Zehra Arat, “Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını”, *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, edited by Ayşe B. Hacımirazođlu, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), pp. 52-53, Besides look in more detail Ömer Çaha, *Sivil Kadın*, Unpublished book, p. 81.

⁷ Ayşe Kadiođlu, “Cinselliđin İnkârı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadını”, *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, edited by Ayşe B. Hacımirazođlu, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p. 93.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94; Ayşe Durakbaşı, “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kemalist Kadın Kimliđinin Oluşumu”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 51 (March 1988), p. 42; Ayşe Durakbaşı, *Halide Edip Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), pp. 119-125.

In the Kemalist nationalist view, gender equality was proposed as the equality between the male and female “descents” of the emerging Turkish nation who adopted the same ideals and responsibilities in the process of being a nation.⁹ The most important point in raising women has always been education. Atatürk gave two justifications while emphasizing the importance of educating women. The first one is the importance of women’s participation in every field of social life together with men in terms of social development. The second one is the fact that women have an important mission in raising the next generations as they are the first people who educate children. Atatürk explained the importance of equalizing the status of women to that of men in social life as follows:

“God created people as two different genders. They need each other and they cannot be separated... It is necessary to believe that everything we see on earth is the product of woman... If a society contents with the fact that only one of the genders forming the society (man-woman) fulfils the contemporary requirements, more than half of that society remain in weakness...

The biggest duty of a woman is motherhood. When it is though that the first place where schooling takes place is mother’s bosom, the importance of this duty can be duly understood. Our nation is determined to be a powerful nation. One of the requirements of today is to enable our women to improve in every field. Therefore our women are going to be intellectual and literate and they are going to receive education up to the same levels as men do. Then women are going to walk together with men in social life and help and support each other.”¹⁰

While Atatürk was praising the Turkish women, he took the Anatolian woman model as a basis. Especially in the speech he made to Kızılay Woman’s Branch in Konya on 21 March 1923, he showed how this model accords with the civilized style and tried to express to Europe and other Western countries that the Turkish society is a modern and civilized society. In the same speech, Atatürk warned the “new modern woman” against imitating the flightiness of the western woman and defending her honour in her renewed appearance. Atatürk stated that the Turkish women “should obey the moral and ethical rules of our society” in order to take her place beside men. While the traditional clothes of men were prohibited by the Clothing Law in 1925, no regulation was made regarding women.¹¹ No significant change was made in the basic traditional moral norms for women, although the reforms were based on a modernist ideology.¹²

Iu. Woman Magazines in an Early Republican Era

While regulations regarding the presence of only men in social life were made in the Ottoman period, women started to equally benefit from education as men with the proclamation of the Republic, acquired the right to vote and to stand for election. In addition, while they could perform only certain professions in the earlier periods, they started to be able to work in various professions. All these developments gradually removed the requirement of women’s proving their identities by means of newspapers or magazines in order to acquire equal rights with men.¹³

These developments also caused differentiation in the numbers, periods, designs and contents of women’s magazines of the Republican Period. When especially the period following the proclamation of the Republic is analyzed, it is seen that the aim of most of the women’s magazines is to create a woman type which is convenient to the Republican woman definition.¹⁴ While some of the magazines aimed to realize this over make-up and hair, some of them chose clothes and others chose opinions. The magazines trying to create a modern woman type over make-up, hair and clothes generally took the European woman as an example and underlined that the Turkish woman should keep up with modernity with her appearance in their either cover pictures or the subjects they discuss.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 24-25; Leyla Kırpınar, “Türkiye’de Toplumsal Değişme Sürecinde Kadın”, *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, edited by Ayşe B. Hacımiraçoğlu, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), p. 16-17.

¹⁰ “İzmir’de Halk ile Konuşma (31.1.1923)”, *Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri (1906-1938)*, vol. II, (Ankara: Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1989), p. 89.

¹¹ “Konya Kadınları ile Konuşma (21.3.1923)”, pp. 150-157; Arat, (1998), pp. 58-59; Durakbaşa, (2000), p. 123.

¹² Durakbaşa, (2000), pp. 26-27.

¹³ Süheyla Kırca Schroeder, *Popüler Feminizm*, (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2007), p. 138.

¹⁴ Aşlı Davaz Mardin, *Hanımlar Alemi’nden Rosa’ya*, (İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi, 1998).

Following the establishment of the Republic, the number of women's magazines decreased between 1928 and 1940. In this period, 13 magazines were published.¹⁵ One of the biggest reasons for this may be the adoption of the Latin alphabet in 1928.

Iv. Analysing Of The Magazines Aile Dostu (1931), Cumhuriyet Kadını (1934) And Ana (1938-1942)

Iv. I. The Form Properties Of The Magazines

This article includes the magazines *Aile Dostu*, *Cumhuriyet Kadını* and *Ana*. These magazines were published after the adoption of the Latin alphabet in 1928. First of all, let us analyze the format features of the magazines we deal with.

The magazine *Aile Dostu* was published in 12 issues between 1931 and 1932. The magazine introduced itself as a family magazine. It was published each two months. The manager of the magazine was Kemal Salih. The same cover was used until the seventh issue. In the first issues of the magazine, the caption '*Aile Dostu*' was written at the top centre and man, woman and child pictures which symbolized that it was a family magazine were used in the cover. The texts in the inner pages were arranged in two columns. The page numbers were located at the top right of the magazine. The issue number was written on the left of it, and the name of the magazine is written at the centre. Titles were written in a plain way. The texts were supported by images in the magazine. While some of the images were small, some of them were large. Images took place within texts as well as the full page images. In addition, while the image on the cover of the magazine was coloured, the images in the magazine were colourless.

The magazine *Cumhuriyet Kadını* was published in 2 issues in 1934. The magazines were published each fifteen days. The publisher and the manager of the magazine was Latif Bey. The caption '*Cumhuriyet Kadını*' was written in a way to cover the centre of the cover and a woman picture which represents the modern woman were placed as well. In the inner cover, the name of the magazine was written in a decorated way and the picture of İsmet İnönü was placed within a frame in a way to cover the whole page. In the inner pages, the texts were arranged in two columns. Page numbers were located at the bottom right. The titles were written in different ways. While pictures were placed beside some of the titles, figures were placed beside some of the titles. The texts in some of the pages of the magazine were supported with pictures.

The magazine *Ana* was published in 50 issues between 1938 and 1942. The magazine introduced itself with the slogan "Monthly family magazine". The magazine was published each month. The publisher of the magazine was Dr. Fuat Umay and the manager of the magazine was Gayur Bleda. The caption "Ana" was located at the top centre of the cover of the magazine. Moreover, different pictures were used on the cover of the magazine each month. While woman pictures were used in some covers, child pictures were used in some of them and sometimes a picture convenient to the importance of the month was used. Since the seventeenth issue of the magazine, a table of contents had been placed in the inner cover of the magazine. In the inner pages, the texts were arranged in three columns. Page numbers were placed at the bottom left. The titles were written in different styles. The texts in the pages were supported with coloured pictures.

Iv. Ii. The Aim Of Magazines

When the first issues of the magazines are analyzed, we can see that they announced to their readers why they were published. The magazine *Aile Dostu* spared a part of the latest page of its first issue for this subject. They stated that the aim of publishing the magazine was to discuss all the subjects regarding all the events and the situations which may arise within family, in life, youth, senility. In addition, the magazine aimed at both informing and entertaining women.

In the magazine *Cumhuriyet Kadını*, it was primarily stated that it was published due to the lack of a women's magazine. In addition, they added that it was going to be a magazine from which women who became multi-dimensional with the proclamation of the Republic could obtain information about business life, social life and domestic life. It was going to be a magazine which includes the needs of a fully modern woman who reads, learns, works, care for herself namely dresses up, keep up with the fashion without separating her from maternity. The magazine *Ana* was a magazine which was published by the Society for the Protection of children.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 15.

The magazine was addressed to family in which children spend their first ages and to mother who deals with housekeeping so that children were thought to be protected. The historical and literary works were gathered within the body of the magazine.

Iv. Iii. The Content Properties Of Magazines

Iv. Iii. I. The Literary Texts Related To Women

When we analyze the literary texts of the three magazines, we can see that the stories and the articles which discuss the subject of woman are present. However, the number of the poem in the magazines was very limited. While there was no poem in the magazine *Aile Dostu*, only one poem was published in the 2nd issue of the magazine *Cumhuriyet Kadını*. In the magazine *Ana*, poems were generally published in the introduction parts of some issues. The subjects of the poems in the magazine *Ana* were not only women. The subjects such as seasons, yearning and death were used in the poems.

In the stories which deal with the subject of woman, the themes were generally beautiful woman portraits, cheating, break up, mother compassion. When the articles are analyzed, we can see that they are not dealing with the literature. For example; it is seen that the magazine *Ana* generally gave information about the subjects such as bringing up, good manners, child health, general health matters, women's rights and the renewed legal issues regarding women. While in the articles published in the magazine *Cumhuriyet Kadını*, the development of the Turkish women was discussed, articles about women's rights, health information, fashion and imitation, literature and beauty were published in the magazine *Aile Dostu*.

Iv. Iii. Ii. The Good Form (Adab-I Muaşeret) Instruction To Women

In the each issue of the magazine *Aile Dostu*, women were generally told how they should behave under the title of "Forms of Politeness". These can be exemplified as follows:¹⁶

Do not talk at length to an acquaintance that you meet walking on the road while you are with a woman.
Do not swallow making a sound while you are drinking soup, coffee or tea! Do not try to blow on the hot things to cool it down, wait until they get cold.

It is a shame for women to put on make-up and powder at the table or in public streets.
You should not try to clean or clip your nails and you should never stick any object like a toothpick into your ear in a restaurant or a casino.

In the magazine *Ana*, the behaviours that women should not perform were shown with pictures. For example; women were warned not to keep the cigarette in mouth while talking, not to blow their nose loudly when they catch flu and to close their mouths while yawning. It was also stated that these behaviours make women too banal.¹⁷ In addition, how women should behave was shown by means of caricatures. Both the correct and the wrong behaviours were shown, and the women were left to distinguish the correct one.¹⁸

Iv. Iii. Iii. The Marital And Family Life

There are many scripts about family and marriage in the magazine *Ana*. The rights and the responsibilities of woman in the Family Unity stated in the Civil Code were explained in detail by the Judge Advocate. It was stated that the law requires work sharing in marriage. In this work sharing, the woman is responsible for the issues inside the house and the man is responsible for the issues outside. It is stated that family rejoice is ensured by the law hereby.¹⁹

In another issue of the magazine, the legal provisions regarding marriage and getting engaged were discussed.²⁰ In addition, the subject "The status of woman in marriage" was discussed in an issue of the magazine. Under this title, it was stated that the older marriages were realized with the pressure of family elders rather than the opinions of the spouses.

¹⁶ "Muaşeret", *Aile Dostu*, no. 1, (February 1931), p. 10 and "Muaşeret", *Aile Dostu*, no. 2, (April 1931), p. 28.

¹⁷ "Size Yakışmayan Hareketler", *Ana*, no. 47, (1941), p. 7.

¹⁸ "İyi ve Fena", *Ana*, no. 47, (1941), p. 13.

¹⁹ Orhan Doğaner, "Türk Medeni Kanununa göre Evlilik Birliğinde Kadının Hak ve Vazifeleri", *Ana*, no. 13, (February 1939), pp. 23-24.

²⁰ Orhan Doğaner, "Evlenme ve Nişanlanma", *Ana*, no. 14, (February 1939), p. 18.

It was also stated that woman is provided with many status by the new Civil Code. In this issue of the magazine, what kinds of rights woman was provided with was discussed in detail.²¹ Moreover, the imam marriage which had been performed before the new Civil Code was mentioned and it was emphasized that women should be aware of the fact that this is not the correct way in the thirty seventh issues of the magazine.²²

The subject “marriage is a national issue” was discussed by Dr. Muzaffer Sezer. According to Sezer, each Turkish Man and Woman should marry a person from his or her own nationality for the future of their children. They should not risk the future of their children marrying a person from another nationality.²³

In the magazine *Ana*, the institution of family was cared about too much. Under the title of “Raising mothers and fathers”, it was stated that parents need a preparation for raising a child.²⁴ Suat Konuk defined family and the distribution of roles within a family under the title of “Family”. Mr. Konuk gave both the sociological and legal definitions of family. According to him, family is the community consisting of the people who are attached to it by privacy and who live under the roof of it in social terms. In legal terms, it is the small community which consists of a man and a woman who are attached to each other in order to live together as long as they live and to unite all of their vital interests. He stated that the requirement of family is respect and loyalty. Man is the leader of the family. If the man becomes father, the mother also has this status. In addition, he mentioned that the way of life and vital needs of a family in a city are different from those of a family living in a village. He stated that we need both types of family for the development of the Turkish nation.²⁵

S. Saygıl stated in his article that “Family is the largest national economic organization”. In this article, S. Saygıl stated that “Family is the largest reliance point of both love and national economy. People find the taste of working in their family. They find the joy of living in their family as well. They think about the future in their family and they find the biggest warranty for their future in the calm environment of the family.”²⁶

Yaşar Nabi stated that impairments occur in family unity in the course of events under the title of the “durability of family unity”. He emphasized that the family structure has more durable basis despite the outdated religious laws and expressed what women should do for their family rejoice. For example, he stated that it is wrong for women not to do anything at home employing a servant due to their gentleness and he added that the lack of loyalty of man to the family is the result of this negligence of the woman.²⁷

Ragıp Şevki who wrote many articles in the magazine *Ana* told how a couple who were going to be divorced were reconciled by their children under the title of “Child, Mother and Father”.²⁸

Iv. Iii. Iv. The Women Rights And Women’s Place In Society

In the first issue of the magazine *Aile Dostu*, an article titled “Women’s rights” was published. In this article, Selim Sırrı stated that women were created from the bone of men and the duties they should undertake in life are separated in nature. He emphasized that a woman cannot be a soldier and a man cannot care for a baby. In addition, it was stated that women will be down in the dumps if they are given the works of men as well as their house works. He stated that there is a difference between the rights of men and women. According to him, the Republic provided women with many rights; however, women should never forget that their essential duty is their home. Woman is primarily a mother.²⁹

The women’s movements started after the half of the 19th century were reproached in the article by Suat Derviş titled “Let us stay as a woman” in the magazine *Cumhuriyet Kadını*. It was emphasized that women do not need to resemble men in order to acquire their civil rights. It was stated that, today, women can do everything without needing a man and they should never sacrifice anything from womanhood.³⁰

²¹ Nurhan Norman, “Türk Kadınının Adli Hakları, Evlenmede Kadının Mevkii”, *Ana*, no. 16, (May 1939), pp. 1-2.

²² Rebia Şakir, “İmam Nikahı”, *Ana*, no. 37, (February 1941), p. 3.

²³ Dr. Muzaffer Sezer, “Evlenmede Milliyet Meselesi”, *Ana*, no. 15, (February 1939), p. 7.

²⁴ Hasip Aytuna, “Anneler ve Babalar Yetiştirmek”, *Ana*, no. 13, (February 1939), pp. 3-5.

²⁵ Suat Konuk, “Aile”, *Ana*, no. 15, (February 1939), pp. 17-18.

²⁶ S. Saygıl, “Aile, En Büyük Milli Ekonomi Müessesesi”, *Ana*, no. 23, (1939), p. 5.

²⁷ Yaşar Nabi, “Aile Yuvasının Sağlamlığı”, *Ana*, no. 18, (July 1939), pp. 19-20.

²⁸ Ragıp Şevki, “Çocuk, Anne ve Baba”, *Ana*, no. 19, (Agust 1939), p. 10.

²⁹ Selim Sırrı, “Kadın Hakkı”, *Aile Dostu*, no. 1, (February 1931), pp. 6-7.

³⁰ Suat Derviş, “Kadın Kalalım”, *Cumhuriyet Kadını*, no. 2, (April 1934), pp. 2-3.

In the magazine *Ana*, it was stated that a society which neglects woman is condemned to collapse under the title of “Role of Woman in Society”. It was stated that the relationship between women and the society starts at home. One of the most obscure duties that improve the importance of women in society is motherhood. Kemalizm decarcerated the women who had been condemned to live behind a cage.³¹ In another issue, while the revolutions that the Republic provided for women were praised, it was also emphasized that the Europeans did not believe that the Turkish women developed to such an extent within a very short period like 15 years.³² In the article titled “The Turkish Women and the Broken Captivity Chain”, it was stated that the status that woman deserves was given by the Turkish Revolution.

Iv. Iu. V. The Political Rights Of Women

The political rights of women were analyzed in many articles together with their status in society. It was frequently emphasized in these articles that the Republic provided women with the right to be free, to receive education, to work and the political rights.

Iv. Iu. Vi. The Education Of Women

One of the subjects that the magazine *Ana* cares for is education. In almost each issue, a school was visited. These schools were expressed as the beneficial institutions of the Revolution which raise the Turkish girls about motherhood. It was stated that women were not going to need to go to a tailor anymore and they were going to manage the house ideally thanks to these schools. It was also stated that the Turkish society is going to develop when the Turkish women are raised acquiring all the modern knowledge. In addition, the articles talk about the exhibitions and the competitions organized by these schools. For example, it was stated that women should be fit and healthy giving a picture from the sports competitions in the schools in the seventeenth issue.³³

Iv. Iu. Vu. The Working Life Of Women

While expressing the status of women in the magazine *Ana*, it was stated that women cannot work without receiving the consent of their husband. In addition, it was stated that women should only work for the development of the nation and the country.³⁴ In another issue, the questionnaire that the “Posta” newspaper administered to the women in universities was interpreted under the title of “What should be the ideal of the Turkish women?” In this questionnaire the students were asked whether the Turkish women should prefer business life or her home. The majority of the answers given stated that they should prefer their home and when necessary business life can be preferred.³⁵ In the article titled “the Social Role of Woman”, charity works were suggested to the women especially who are bored sitting at home.³⁶ Moreover, how the woman working at the magazine should care for herself was presented in a program.³⁷

Iv. Iu. Vuu. The Fashion And The Exercise

There were many articles about clothes, trendy dresses, shoes and gloves etc. in each issue of the magazine. In addition, there were also some articles about the latest-fashion furniture for the design of houses and the exercise movements for the physical beauty of women. These articles were supported with pictures. Furthermore, there were also some articles about the dressing style of women before the Republican period. For example, women were expressed to be kept in cages.

Iv. Iu. Ix. The Health

There was a section about health in each issue of the magazines. In this section, information about the diseases of that period and the methods of prevention was given by doctors. For example, an article titled “How should we protect ourselves against flu?” was published in the magazine *Aile Dostu*.³⁸ There were articles about flu, birth, children vaccines and dental health in the magazine *Ana* as well.

³¹ “Cemiyette Kadının Rolü”, *Ana*, no. 14, (February 1939), p. 4.

³² Nurhan Norman, “Cumhuriyet Devrinde Türk Kadınlığının Tekâmülü”, *Ana*, no. 15, (February 1939), pp. 11-12.

³³ Ankaralı, “Ben bu ay neler gördüm?”, *Ana*, no. 17, (June 1939), p. 22-23.

³⁴ Nurhan Norman, “Türk Kadının Adli Hakları, Evlenmede Kadının Mevkii”, *Ana*, no. 16, (May 1939), pp. 1-2.

³⁵ Yaşar Nabi, “Türk kadının ideali ne olmalıdır?”, *Ana*, no. 17, (June 1939), p. 13.

³⁶ Yaşar Nabi, “Kadının İçtimai Rolü”, *Ana*, no. 20, (September 1939), p. 3.

³⁷ “Çalışan Kadının Tuvalet Programı”, *Ana*, no. 24, (December 1940), p. 15.

³⁸ Dr. Osman Şerafettin, “Gripten nasıl korunmalı?”, *Aile Dostu*, no. 1 (February 1931), pp. 8-9.

Iv. Iii. X. Cinema

In the magazines *Cumhuriyet Kadını* and *Aile Dostu*, there was a section for cinema. A foreign artist was introduced in each issue of the magazine *Aile Dostu*. In the magazine *Cumhuriyet Kadını*, foreign movie artists were introduced similarly and some information about the contents of the foreign films on cinema at that time.

Iv. Iii. Xi. The Child Care And Discipline

In the magazine *Ana*, families' awareness of child care and discipline was tried to be raised. Some articles were published by experts. It was stated that children should be disciplined in a way that they would become individuals befitting their nation and environment and educated mothers had a great role in this process.³⁹ In an article, it was emphasized that parents should never tell even a little lie when they are with their children.⁴⁰ In addition, it was stated that children should not be left unsupervised, and community centres and sports centres where they will spend their leisure time should be opened.⁴¹ Moreover, it was stated that stories can be used in child discipline.⁴² Information about the diseases of that period was given in the child care section. For example, the vaccination times of children were given and summer diarrhea was explained.

Iv. Iii. Xu. The Domestic Affairs

All of the magazines have a section related to house works. Women were given cooking recipes, knitting, lace and dress models. In addition, practical cooking recipes and some tips for kitchen were emphasized.

V. Conclusion

In all of the three magazines that we analyzed, a regime table which severs all ties with the past and aims at "raising a modern woman" in line with the principles of the Republic was drawn. It is seen that women are not the type of people who have no right to speak in closed houses in the early 20th century. It is seen that women are also present in the formation in social life. Women who necessarily take part in life more than they did in the past started to care for her and to make an effort to have a modern appearance. Therefore, a lot of information about fashion, health and beauty was given in the magazines.

However, it was seen that the new women were subjected to some certain restrictions although they were enabled to participate in social and economic life. These restrictions are related to the motherhood duty, wife duty and housewifery. In various articles, it was frequently emphasized that the most important duty of woman is motherhood. Women should work but should not forget their home. They should be educated and use this education in raising disciplined children and contributing the nation. In other words, women should never draw the table of "Woman with a beard" resembling men. Although a change was experienced with the reforms, we can see that the traditional patriarchal structure is still present.

Consequently, as stated by Ayşe Durakbaşa, there are a few woman images which contradict each other. On one hand women are educated and took their places in social life, on the other hand they are secondary both as a mother and wife.⁴³

³⁹ Dr. Remzi Gönenç, "Annelik ve Ödevi", *Ana*, no. 13, (February 1939), p. 30-31.

⁴⁰ Benal Arman, "Çocuk Terbiyesi", *Ana*, no. 13, (February 1939), p. 20.

⁴¹ R. G. Arkın, "Çocuğun Terbiyesinde İctimai Muhitin Rolü", *Ana*, no. 15, (February 1939), pp. 15-16.

⁴² R. G. Arkın, "Çocuk Hikâyelerinin Terbiyedeki Rolü", *Ana*, no. 16, (1939), p. 23.

⁴³ Ayşe Durakbaşa, "Kemalism as identity politics in Turkey", *Deconstructing images of Turkish women*, edited by Zehra Arat, (New York: St. Martin press, 1998), p. 147.

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