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A B S T R A C T

The thesis is concerned with the position of women in Turkish society since the founding of the Republic in 1923, and the portrayal of these women in selected novels, short stories and plays of Turkish authors from 1922 until 1979. The thesis examines whether the subordination of women in society is ascribed in literary works to their supposed innate inferiority as women, or is shown to be a consequence of women's circumscribed position and limited possibilities. It investigates literary interpretations of the concept of honour and shame and the nature of female sexuality, as well as analysing the portrayals of women in their different roles: from familial and domestic to independent and revolutionary. The study illustrates the extent to which literature appears to reinforce old ideas and expectations about women, and how much it tends towards a deeper analysis of character and behaviour. It identifies works which deliberately set out to increase awareness of and sensitivity to the injustices suffered by women, and to show women in roles which enable them to gain fulfilment as individuals and independence as a group. It is apparent that the increasing participation of women in public life and their entry into paid employment in particular have posed a threat to the old order of female domesticity, and the fear of the disruption that this might cause in society and in the family is a recurrent theme in literature. On the other hand there are also striking portrayals of outstanding women leaders as well as characterisations of more ordinary women struggling to maintain their integrity.

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THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN
IN MODERN TURKISH LITERATURE

Barbara Janet Browning

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of Arts

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University of Durham
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Durham 1981



17 MAY 1984

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F O R E W O R D

The main part of this thesis derives from work carried out in my own home but with regular and frequent visits to the office of my supervisor and friend John Norton in the Turkish Department of the School of Oriental Studies in Durham. It is to John Norton that I owe the greatest debt of gratitude for his constant and kindly encouragement and assistance. There are many more friends in Durham, especially Turkish friends, with whom I had the benefit of discussing my choice of literary works and different aspects of women's position in society both in Turkey and elsewhere, and without whose assistance and interest my work would have been much more arduous. They are too numerous to name, but I must record my thanks to Judith Okely and Marie Johnson, both in the Anthropology Department in Durham, who kindly read parts of the thesis and whose constructive criticisms and comments helped to bring the thesis to its final form.

I was very fortunate in receiving a grant which enabled me to spend three weeks in Turkey in May 1979 in order to carry out interviews and obtain access to books and obtain new publications. I know I shall never be able to repay the hospitality shown to me by Zehra and Cahit Kavcar in Ankara and Suzan and Fikri Aydın and their family in Istanbul, and I am immensely grateful to them all. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to all those people - each prominent in her or his own field - who granted me an interview and who were, without exception, most generous with their time and interest. I am particularly grateful to GÜNGÖR Dilmen Kalyoncu whom, although he had

GLOSSARY OF TURKISH WORDS

ağa	lord, master; local big landowner
başlık	money paid by the bridegroom to the bride's family
çarşaf	women's outdoor overgarment
gecekondu	unauthorized construction set up in one night, squatter's house, shanty
imam	prayer leader; religious leader
kuma	second wife (of two)
lise	high school
mahalle	street; quarter; district
mevlûd	a religious meeting held in memory of a deceased person, in which the Mevlûd (poem written by Süleyman Çelebi depicting the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, sung only by special singers) is chanted
namaz	ritual worship; prayer
peçe	veil
şalvar	baggy trousers
şeriat	canonical law
vilayet	a province governed by a vali

(Definitions taken from New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary Istanbul, 1974).

once been resident in Durham, I did not meet until seeking him out at the Şehir Tiyatrosu in Istanbul in the Spring of 1979. It was G ng r Dilmel's play Kurban which inspired me to embark on a study of the portrayal of women in Turkish literature, and which has continued to inspire me throughout, and it was delightful to have the opportunity to discuss the play at length with its creator.

Finally, I should like to thank Z lk f Aydın, who has helped me from almost the first days when I was trying to learn Turkish; he has been a constant source of support and encouragement, correcting my translations of Turkish idioms, and some of my ideas. Without him to stimulate my occasionally flagging morale I could not have brought this study to a conclusion.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1 - THE NATURE OF THE RESEARCH

The subject of this study is the position of women in Turkish society since the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923, and the portrayal of these women in selected novels, short stories and plays of Turkish authors from 1922 until today.¹

I have taken literature as a medium through which to try to gain an insight into what the revolutionary formal changes wrought in the early years of the Republic have amounted to in practice, and what effect these changes have had on the daily domestic lives of men and women. While a study based on a severely limited number of literary works is doubly representational, its inherently representational nature can be given a more favourable interpretation, for literature can be said to "single out a pattern of experience that is sufficiently representative of our social structure, that recurs sufficiently often mutandis mutatis, for people to 'need a word for it' and adopt an attitude towards it."² Furthermore, there has been a conscious effort by many modern authors in Turkey to educate and to influence society's attitudes through their works. Professor of Sociology, Kemal Karpat, goes so far as to say that literature in Turkey plays an instrumental part in preparing the state of mind and emotional background for social evolution.³



Literary criticism cannot, of course, be a substitute for social history, but I should like to stress the importance of taking account of the social base from which literature arises, the kinds of human situation that literature reflects, and the ways in which it reflects them.⁴ Stories of violence and murder reported in the press all too often prove to be the eruption of underlying tensions and stress generated by the contradictions and ambiguities locked within society. Reports of such tragic events taken from real life have inspired the stories of contemporary Turkish authors such as Bekir Yıldız, Fakir Baykurt and Necati Cumalı.⁵

A number of people from different fields of study have commented on the portrayal of women in modern Turkish literature. Nermin Abadan-Unat, a leading figure in women's studies in Turkey, who is now a senator, wrote in 1967 her impression that the bulk of Turkish women conformed to the ideal of the submissive, obedient female, and were subject to old prejudices against women which denied them a personal identity; and yet they were nonetheless never completely under male domination, nor compelled to complete seclusion.⁶ She goes on to describe how the Turkish woman is usually portrayed in literature:

...she is a hard-working, ardent creature, full of good will, brave, resistant, proud, ready to sacrifice her interests for her family; yet she is sometimes misunderstood by her own family and society; although working outside the home she remains chaste; she frequently harbours idealistic sentiments; she displays endless patience; and she is able to stand up to her man.⁷

Although Abadan-Unat admits that this is a highly idealised picture, and not altogether appropriate to the Turkish women of the future, she nevertheless sees it as a model to be emulated by Turkish women.

Karpat, however, suggests that there is a clear discrepancy between the images of women in literature, who are always portrayed as second-class beings, quite apart from men and not participating in life on equal terms with men, and real women, who live in a world that is constantly changing and forcing both men and women into productive labour, who are able to govern their own and their family's lives by their own will, and who, in some areas, by showing themselves "as capable as men" in life's struggle, also take on the same responsibilities as men.⁸ The inconsistency in the impressions Abadan-Unat and Karpat have formulated on the portrayal of women in literature, while highlighting the inconsistency with which women are portrayed in the works of modern Turkish literature, also indicates the distortions inherent in literary representations as well as reminding one of the inevitable limitations of general statements.⁹

The aim of my research is not to try to find a universal ideal of woman in Turkish literature, but rather to discover how the realities of different aspects of women's lives are brought out, ignored or distorted in the fiction through the period. Inevitably, in works of literature, women will appear more as individuals than as a group, but while attention may therefore more readily focus on the plight of the individual woman in her struggle to achieve her full potential as a human being, to be able to express her personality and to be able to shape her own life, the wider question of women's struggle as a group to achieve social and economic equality must not be overlooked.

There are many people in Turkey whose lives are so hard that the daily struggle to satisfy basic human needs for food and shelter

leaves little possibility for the individual to pursue further ambitions; women restricted to such a life of hardship play just as important a part as the men in production for household needs. Even if the extent of their contribution is not acknowledged overtly either by themselves or by others, they nevertheless enjoy an identity wider than that which the totally familial roles of wife, mother, etc. can provide. The same holds true for professional women, who are, of course, much better placed to be able to realise more fully their potential through their many different roles.¹⁰

Given the strong Islamic tradition of male and female being different but complimentary, and leading separate lives, Turkish women may be better placed to see their emancipation in terms of "human rights for females too", rather than in terms of "equality" with men. Certainly the cry I often heard from Turkish women, "Biz de insanız!" ("We are people too!") in protest against unfair treatment by men, tends to support this view.¹¹

This study will investigate whether the subordination of women in society is ascribed in literary works to their supposed innate inferiority as women, or is shown to be a direct result of women's circumscribed position and consequently limited possibilities.¹²

Also, are "feminine" characteristics in the fictional female characters presented as the inevitable character traits of women generally, or is there some indication that they are a product of the male-dominated system which denies women free expression of all aspects of their personality?¹³ After such rapid and extensive changes were enacted in the early years of the Republic in the laws affecting a

woman's rights in almost every aspect of her life a great gulf emerged between the ideal and the reality of women's lives. Is there an awareness of the consequent anomalies and contradictions in Turkish women's position in society in the literature?¹⁴ Are there works with which Turkish women can identify, and from which they can gain comfort and courage in the knowledge that the problems they face in their own lives are shared and understood?¹⁵ Are women ever portrayed as independent individuals, or are they always somehow portrayed within the limits of their relations with men? In Turkey, where women's lives are often segregated from those of their menfolk, a woman's relations with men may form only a small part of her life, and relations with other women a very important part. Are women shown in supportive and intimate relationships of friendship amongst themselves, or perhaps in violently antagonistic but nonetheless intense relationships amongst themselves?¹⁶

Finally, I shall be examining to what extent the literary figures of Turkey have taken upon themselves the task of educating their readers, or the role of champion of women's rights, criticising paternalistic oppression and the unjust exploitation of the economic and psychological dependence of women. While the effectiveness of any attempts in this direction will inevitably be limited by the small number of women who can be reached as readers, due to the high rate of illiteracy and the small number of women able to attend theatres, the broadcasting of news and fictional stories by word of mouth and by radio is an important and vital factor in semi-literate society, and should not be forgotten.¹⁷

In short, I shall be attempting to answer two main questions: is modern Turkish literature tending to reinforce old ideas and expectations about women or to act as an instrument for change? And is there evidence that literature is being used to bring about a greater awareness of the injustices suffered by women and to show women in all those roles - both familial and non-familial - in which they may gain fulfilment in their lives and independence as a group?

I have chosen this particular subject for research because, despite the extensive research and studies in progress and already available concerning the position of women in societies all over the world, there has as yet been very little research into the portrayal of women in the literature of countries which have recently undergone, and are still undergoing drastic changes within society. In Turkey the only such studies which have been carried out limit their scope to the pre-Republican period, and therefore are not concerned at all with the effects of the revolutionary changes wrought on the formal status of women following the establishment of the Republic, nor with the development of modern feminist thinking, which flourished in the forties and still enjoys considerable support, both popular and academic.¹⁸

Concerning the significance of my research, I hope that by careful study of selected works of the period, combined with the personal views of some of the authors of contemporary works, and through the application of sociological, anthropological and statistical material, I shall be able to indicate particular trends in the portrayal of women in Turkish literature and relate them to the reality.

Since my aim is to relate the social reality to its representation in literature, in addition to studying the literary works of the period I shall also be drawing on the many works available concerned both with Turkish society as a whole and with the position of women in particular. Personal interviews with a number of the authors whose works I include in the study yield a greater insight and understanding of their works in relation to their views concerning women's rights and how they see their role, as social commentators, educators **or even mentors.**

The materials which form the core of my research are, naturally, the works of the best known authors of the period, basing my selection on public opinion as expressed by contemporary literary historians. I have not, however, chosen only the most popular works of each of these authors, but rather I have tried to select those works which most clearly show a specific concern for, or interest in, the development of female characters and women's problems. As there is no convenient guide to works in which women play a significant **role, and** since practical considerations of availability or simply time preclude an exhaustive investigation of all the works of each author, in order to be able to select their most suitable works I have been guided in my choice by references from sociological or other academic works which have cited specific examples,¹⁹ and by studies of contemporary Turkish literature and drama such as those by Bruce Robson, Carole Rathbun, Kemal Karpat and Metin And.²⁰ For the most recent works, in the absence of other criteria, I have been influenced in my choice by factors such as the award of a literary prize,²¹ or by the popularity of a work as indicated by the number of printings made since its first

publication.²² In some cases the work has recommended itself by its title; in all cases my choice has been guided and endorsed by the advice and recommendations of people in the fields of women's studies, modern literature and drama, as well as writers themselves, both in Turkey and in England.²³

Since I am concerned with relating the portrayal of women in the modern literature of Turkey to their position in society, I have mainly concentrated on the "social realist" school. Yaşar Kemal, a prominent member of this school,²⁴ is reported as claiming that reportage is very much a branch of literature, and what is more, a branch which is still developing and which is most difficult to work in.²⁵ I have, however, also included some works from other schools, such as the works by Peyami Safa and Nezihe Meriç. In my choice of dramatic works I have taken examples from comedy and tragedy, selecting works which tend to be fairly straightforward, in order to avoid those which would probably only reach, and almost certainly only be meaningful to the sophisticated audiences of the big cities, because, as Metin And points out: "provincial audiences...respond emotionally rather than intellectually" to dramatic productions.²⁶

I have confined my study to the women of Turkey as defined by the national boundaries of Turkey today, and have taken as a convenient starting point the year preceding the declaration of the Republic. Although others have taken 1928, the year when the Arabic script was outlawed in favour of the Latin alphabet, as the real beginning of the literature of the Republic,²⁷ I prefer to take the earlier date in order to include the founding of the Republic which marks such a

crucial point in the process of the recognition of full legal, political, economic and educational rights to women. As the preceding fifteen years saw little literary activity,²⁸ due to the almost continual state of war, it would appear both logical and convenient not to take any earlier starting point. Confining the study to the years of the Republic, however, means that the early works of Halide Edip-Adıvar, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, as well as all the works of Ümer Seyfettin (considered by some to be one of the first authors to deal seriously with Turkey's social problems) are excluded from the study. However, the works of these writers and the attention which they devote specifically to women and women's problems in their works have been examined elsewhere, so I shall simply summarise briefly the findings of these existing studies along with studies relating to even earlier works and their treatment of women (see Chapter II).

Of course, it is quite impossible to isolate completely one period of history from what has gone before, and indeed I have included what I consider to be representative works of the above-mentioned early Republican writers, even though they may refer to the years immediately preceding the declaration of the Republic, in order to be able to form a more complete picture of the period.²⁹ Finally, there is one work in particular which simply cannot be excluded from any study concerned with the portrayal of women in modern Turkish literature: Çalılıkusu (literally "The Wren" but given the title "Autobiography of a Turkish Girl" in the English translation) by Reşat Nuri Güntekin. The great importance of this book lies not only in its immense and enduring popularity,³⁰ but also in the fact that it is considered to

be the first full-length character-study in Turkish literature,³¹ and furthermore the author has used first-person narrative to tell the story of a young city girl growing up and reaching maturity, undeterred by his personal gender identity.³² In order to include this work the exact starting point for the period to be covered by this study is 1922, one year before the founding of the Republic.

2 - GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION³³

The Republic of Turkey rose from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire after its defeat in the First World War and four years of tortuous struggle in the Independence War. Having emerged as a national hero of the First World War, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) led the Turkish people to victory in the Independence War and then set his goal to lead the new Turkish nation to become a "modern", "westernised" State. To this end he set about a programme of reforms, replacing many of the old Ottoman laws with civil, commercial and criminal codes based on European models, following a strict policy of secularisation of the State, and abolishing the Arabic script in favour of the Latin alphabet. He also instituted an extensive programme of reform and expansion in education, including the principle of equal opportunity for women. He did much to further the cause of women's rights, by legislation, speeches and personal example.

When the first official census was made in 1927 the population was about 13,600,000, but by 1970 it had risen to 35,700,000, the rate of growth having increased after the mid-1940s. According to the

1970 census three out of four people were under forty years of age at that time. In the early days of the Republic there were more females than males, according to the census, but since 1945 the trend has reversed and there are now slightly more males than females. Turkish society is almost 99 per cent Muslim and 92 per cent are recorded as speaking Turkish as their mother-tongue. Even today most of the population lives in villages and most villages are settlements of less than one thousand inhabitants. Only about twelve per cent of the population live in cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants, and more than half of these live in the three main centres: Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. The population increase has been more rapid in urban than in rural areas, although the urban birth-rate is considerably lower than that of the rural areas; the rapid increase is due to the heavy rural-urban migration. However, Turkey remains predominantly an agricultural country, more than 60 per cent of the workers being engaged in agriculture, 12 per cent in government, social and personal services, 10 per cent in industry and the rest employed in construction, commerce, communications, utilities and finance. Unemployment is currently reputed to be running at over 20 per cent.³⁴

Living standards vary according to the geographical area as well as the type of settlement. Many people in the coastal areas and big cities enjoy a standard of living comparable to that of the wealthy countries of western Europe, but in many rural areas in central and eastern Anatolia people live at subsistence level and many villages still lack any source of drinking water, electricity, sewage system, school or paved road. The conditions in the villages in the first years of the Republic are clearly indicated by the measures set out

in the Village Law which was passed less than six months after the declaration of the Republic. This law outlined a new way of life for the villagers: pools of standing water within village boundaries were to be eliminated, living quarters of a house were to be separated from the animals' section by a wall, a covered toilet should be built for each house as well as a general one for the village. It is evident that the need for improvement in the villages was recognised as being of extreme urgency, but in fact very little was done to enforce compliance with the law, and the government did not assume any financial responsibility for rural development.

The large cities too, unable to absorb the influx of rural migrants, are surrounded by gecekondur (shanty towns) where sanitation is often poor and there may be no electricity supply or other public utilities. Indeed, the cities themselves are undergoing an intolerable strain on public utilities and services as a result of overcrowding. Ever-increasing inflation³⁵ has meant that urban dwellers have been faced with considerable hardship, and urban women are being forced out of the home into the paid labour market because of inflationary pressures. Also, as a result of these factors, there has been a steady outflow of Turkish workers to Germany, and other western European countries. While there are significant numbers of women among the migrants there are even greater numbers of women left behind in Turkey with sole and total responsibility for the welfare of their children and other dependent relatives, although some may receive financial assistance from their husbands working in Germany, either regularly or intermittently.

3 - WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION IN TURKEY

Until the establishment of the new Republic, the Seriat, (i.e. Islamic canonical law) formed the basis of Ottoman law, and many of the traditions affecting women's lives (their dependence on male economic support, legal inferiority, style of dress and so on), as well as attitudes towards women as vehicles for the sexual pleasure of men and as child-bearers, were based on Koranic teaching.³⁶ In contrast to most Arab countries, in Turkey the adoption of the Islamic faith did not improve the position of women, rather the reverse, for there is convincing evidence in sources such as The Book of Dede Korkut³⁷ to show that the women of pre-Islamic Turkey enjoyed a great deal of independence and respect in society.³⁸ Indeed, at the turn of the century, sociologist, historian and poet Ziya Gökalp based his argument for the emancipation of women on their pre-Islamic high status.

It has been suggested that the erosion of women's rights and independence can be partly explained by the ethos of the conquering bands of ghazis in the early Middle Ages. Şerif Mardin claims that these bands were organised in a very special social structure as "men's societies" and their attitude towards women was that of "suspicion that love had a potentially disruptive influence on war making". In support of his theory Mardin cites the early interdiction of marriage for janissaries.³⁹ Fatima Mernissi suggests that such an opposition to love between a man and a woman is evident within the Islamic tradition and stems from the threat which a man's emotional attachment to a woman poses for his

total allegiance to Allah: "What is feared is the growth of the involvement between a man and a woman into an all-encompassing love, satisfying the sexual, emotional and intellectual needs of both partners" which would prevent the "unconditional investment of all the man's energies, thoughts and feelings in his God".⁴⁰ Certainly the lack of expectation, or the absence, of love in marriage does much to explain the strict controls imposed on women's social behaviour and freedom.⁴¹

Nermin Abadan-Unat suggests that some more liberal pre-Islamic customs did continue after the adoption of Islam, but were lost once the caliphate was taken from the Abbasids by Sultan Selim I who then became empowered to legislate on all aspects of the daily lives of Ottoman women. Women were at various times forbidden to enter dairy shops, go to picnic places, be on the streets more than four days a week, walk in the streets or be in the same carriage with their fathers or sons. Abadan-Unat concludes that "Islamic public law constantly moved in the direction of prohibitive rules" (with regard to women).⁴²

The legal dependence of women upon men in the Islamic faith is most clearly evident in the facts that women were not allowed custodianship of their own children, and that men were privileged in the questions of marriage and divorce. These were the questions that became the focal point for women's demands during the period of reforms known as the Tanzimat, which began in 1839.

There were three separate ideological approaches current during this

period: Westernisation, Turkism, and Pan-Islamism. With regard to women's rights the Westernisers made demands for monogamy for the Sultan and "suppression" of his harem, the free choice of feminine garments (there were frequent regulations passed governing any detail of female dress), the non-intervention of police and "alien personalities" into the affairs of honest women, freedom of choice in marriage (without intermediary agents), and the abolition of veiling, polygamy and divorce by repudiation. The Turkists also deplored veiling, polygamy and divorce by repudiation, while the Pan-Islamists wanted women to continue to wear the veil but supported their rights to dispose of their own property, to enjoy freedom of movement in the street, and to attend primary and secondary schools and women's organisations' meetings.⁴³

Despite these aspirations of the intellectuals, and the continuing struggle of small numbers of women themselves to gain acceptance in public life by entering the professions and through the publication of magazines produced for and by women during the last quarter of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries⁴⁴ little real advancement was made,⁴⁵ and right up to the end of Abdülhamid's reign women were still veiled in the cities and were likely to be arrested by the police if they ventured into the streets without a male guard.⁴⁶ Selma Ekrem, a granddaughter of the nineteenth century playwright Namık Kemal, describes her feelings as a young girl growing up during the repressive reign of Abdülhamid, but educated at an American college for girls in Istanbul, and thus made aware of the possibility of a different kind of existence for girls in society; she is horrified by the inevitability of having to wear the çarşaf

when she reaches puberty:

Millions of women had worn it before me. And to my eyes came these women in thick clusters, wrapped in blackness, their faces covered. These millions of black bundles of resignation smothered me.⁴⁷

On the subject of divorce and polygamy, even as late as 1908 one Musa Kâzım was writing that "conditions such as pregnancy and menstruation entitle men to polygamy...the tendency to variety and multiplicity is a natural instinct (in men)", and that "women are temperamental", and so if they had the right to divorce they would all be rushing to court and family intimacy would be destroyed.⁴⁸ However, following the revolution of 1908 and the reinstatement of the constitution, Abdullah Cevdet, a publisher, opened a campaign against the veil and seclusion, and later a campaign against the Şeriat's permission of polygamy. These were the first campaigns to be launched publicly for the reform of traditions concerning women and marriage.⁴⁹

Şerif Mardin suggests that one of the major themes emerging from the Turkish defeat in the Balkan War (1912) was that children were growing up "without the moral fibre that the Turkish social mobilizers expected from them" because of the ignorance of their mothers, and that the prevailing conditions of women "simply did not fit the needs of modernisation".⁵⁰ Despite the fact that this call for emancipation was in fact aimed only at making women into better mothers for the benefit of their (male) children, and was in no way a call for women to seek self-fulfilment in a role other than mother, nevertheless, it paved the way for the principle of the emancipation of women (which had won some acceptance among the upper classes since the second half of the nineteenth century) to gain the blessing of the new political

Élite: the Young Turks. Thus it was that after 1908 the government began to show an increasing reluctance to interfere in or constrain women's activities. Although there was a definite move to increase the number of schools for girls⁵¹ these were aimed broadly at improving the traditionally feminine skills. So, day and evening courses in cooking, sewing and child-care were opened and the first girls' lise was opened in 1911; courses for women to become nurses began in 1913, and finally girls were admitted to secretarial and commercial courses. The First World War brought thousands of women into industry (mainly in textiles and tobacco) and special training courses were opened for women primary school teachers to replace the men called to war. However, women still did not go to restaurants, even if accompanied by their husbands; streetcars and ferry boats continued to have partitioned sections for women; men could not greet a female acquaintance in the street, and lectures, concerts and plays had to be repeated for all-female audiences. During the years of the First World War girls were allowed to enter the University in Istanbul, and other institutes of higher education, but they either had to sit behind a curtain drawn across the classroom or attend separate sessions. As Niyazi Berkas points out, it was the non-Muslim and foreign women who mostly took advantage of the new freedom.⁵² Regulations regarding dress persisted, and although women were beginning to contribute to work in public offices they were still liable to be sent home by the police if their long black skirts were shorter than the officially prescribed length.⁵³ But women had by now begun to organise themselves: the İslam Kadınlarını Çalıştırma Derneği (Society for the Employment of Muslim Women) founded in 1916 states that "Our aim is to afford protection to women through finding them work and through showing them

how to earn their living honourably, and to mediate in their marriage." Within a month and a half of the society's formation more than 14,000 women had applied in order to find work, and the society did in fact place 7,915 women in work, mostly as industrial workers.⁵⁴

And yet the Committee of Union and Progress which formed the government in the years of the First World War halted its hesitantly progressive tendencies with regard to women once it became clear that the Ottoman Empire was under severe external threat.⁵⁵ Selma Ekrem describes the narrowness of the lives of upper class Turkish women during the war years:

...the restrictions piled on the Turkish women irritated me. Women could not go anywhere. They had to sit in their houses and not be able to shake off the gloom of the war with some distraction. An Austrian company had come to town and gave musical comedies. But the Turkish women were barred from the representations. Two Turkish girls had gone wearing hats. The police dragged them away.... Women could not work, if they belonged to the higher classes, women could not enjoy themselves, women could not live. Their fate was to sit behind lattices and curtains and peer at life with a sigh.⁵⁶

In 1917, as a result of earlier impetus, the Law of Family Rights at last recognised the right of women to initiate divorce on certain grounds; for example, if the husband wanted to take a second wife, or if such a right was stipulated in the marriage contract of the couple concerned. A bride-to-be could also now stipulate in the marriage contract that her husband could not enter into a polygamous marriage. But these new measures had very little effect practically, because they were introduced during the war years, and too many other problems were demanding attention.⁵⁷ The law was abolished by the Sultan's government in 1919.⁵⁸

In 1918, when the country was invaded and threatened with annihilation, it was the women who played the greater part in feeding, clothing and carrying munitions to the soldiers. After the military victory the women were determined to continue to play their part and take their share in the new nation which was to take its proud place in the "western world". After evolving slowly through the Tanzimat period until 1908, and then gaining greater momentum in the years of war leading up to the founding of the Republic, the progress of women towards taking their rightful place in society and in the life of the nation had now reached the stage when a much more extensive recognition of their rights could be put off no longer.⁵⁹

Halide Edip Adivar, who herself played an active part in the Independence War, summarises the processes leading to the situation enjoyed by women at the end of the war:

The ideal of the Tanzimat to elevate women to the status of man (sic), at least educationally and socially, made women go through a long preparatory period between 1839 and 1908 The change in woman's life up to 1908 was personal and abstract. There was very little activity on her side in the practical and national fields.... (Ziya Gökalp) tied the social movement to an idealized past and saved it from becoming a mere imitation of the Western World in its externals. He tried to prove that woman was an essentially active figure in Turkish society. Therefore woman had to be trained...if the Turkish nation was to survive. And it was the woman of the lower classes who threw herself into the general educational and economic activities. A normal time might have brought about a strong opposition. The constant menace of war, revolution and national disaster averted the public attention to other fields. The very nature of the critical times up to 1922 accepted woman's service in progress as a necessity.⁶⁰

Atatürk, as President of the Republic, and a military hero, paid tribute to the contribution made by the women in the salvation of the country:

No-one can deny that in this war, and in the wars before, it is the women who have kept the nation going. Working the plough, planting the seed, cutting and carrying wood from the forest, taking produce to the market to sell, keeping the home fires burning and, on top of all this, rain or shine, carrying munitions to the front, on her back, in a wagon with a baby at her breast, were our wonderful, self-sacrificing, blessed Anatolian women...⁶¹

With the benefit of a long historical perspective Ülker Gürkan draws the conclusion that women failed to capitalise on the efforts they made and the successes they enjoyed during and immediately after the long war years to a sufficient degree, and that the view of women's natural and sole duty being that of serving their families was still predominant until the Republican period.⁶²

In the new constitution that was adopted in 1924 great importance was attached to the question of equality for women and men. The Civil Code, which replaced the Şeriat, was put into effect on 4th October 1926, just six months after its publication. This Code outlawed polygamy, divorce by repudiation and marriage without the consent of the parties concerned; divorce was now obtainable equally by both partners, through application to a court of law. The validity of the religious marriage ceremony was abrogated and replaced by the requirement for a civil ceremony in an attempt to hinder further polygamous or forced marriages. Women now enjoyed equal inheritance rights with male heirs (Islamic inheritance regulations are discriminatory against women), they had the right to equal pay for equal work and the right to own and dispose of their own property. Political rights were granted later, but by 1935 women had equal rights with men to vote in municipal and national elections and to stand for election. On the

subject of women's dress, after years of Imperial edicts governing every aspect of female attire, Atatürk was circumspect in his efforts to effect the disappearance of the veil.⁶³ He made speeches and travelled the country with his "modern" wife and the female members of his entourage unveiled, but he was reluctant to enact national legislation. However, there were instances of over-zealous gendarmes taking the law into their own hands and forcibly making women uncover their heads,⁶⁴ despite the absence of state legislation.

The fact that women's rights in Turkey were granted rather than won after long years of hard struggle and bitter suffering such as the English suffragette movement endured, may partially explain the extent to which the changes have remained written in the statute books, and not changed the lives of the bulk of Turkish women outside urban centres.⁶⁵ Women continue to meet with opposition in their struggle to assert these rights in everyday life, and recognition of their rights continues to meet with reluctance.

Despite the fact that during the Turkish War of Independence women played such a crucial role in the nation's victory, and were rewarded with a number of radical reforms to improve their legal, political, economic and educational position, there still remain many anomalies and discriminatory practices against women.⁶⁶

4 - AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF TURKISH LITERATURE

The main feature of Ottoman literature was its sharp division into three components: divan literature (the classical literature of the palaces and intellectual elite), tekke literature (belonging to the religious and mystical centres of learning) and folk literature, the most widespread of the three, but almost totally oral, due to the extremely low level of literacy among the ordinary people.

Divan literature was characterised by heavy use of Persian and Arabic words and grammatical structures, and the strong influence of classical Persian style. It mostly took the form of poetry, and in the words of J. R. Walsh it was very much "the product of dilettantism, sustained by the caprices of patronage".⁶⁷ Until the middle of the nineteenth century, with the beginnings of journalism, there was no viable economic basis for a literary career, and so the profession of letters as such did not exist. Owing to the poor communications at the time there was never enough news to fill the newspapers, and so feature writers and columnists emerged to fill the gap (as they still do today), and novels were serialised in the papers for the same reason, as well as in order to encourage the readers' sustained interest (another characteristic that persists today). The system suited the novelists, as literacy remained so limited that authors could not rely on an adequate income from direct publication of their novels, whereas serialisation not only guaranteed an initial return but also stimulated interest to boost sales when the work was eventually published in book form. However, the technique of writing in

order to maintain the readers' interest from one instalment to the next meant that novels tended to consist of a series of contrived episodes and to lack **any** descriptive or interpretive passages, or thorough characterisation. The novel became "peopled with stereotypes and caricatures".⁶⁸

The first bookshops opened in İstanbul in the 1870s, selling mainly translations from French, which were described as halk romanı (folk romances) and serüven romanları (adventure stories).⁶⁹ The first novels of the period were Şemsettin Sami's Taassuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat (1872), Ahmet Midhat's Hasen Mellah (1874) and Namık Kemal's İntibah (1876). According to Gündüz Akıncı even among these first novels a divergence of opinion as to the purpose of literature can be discerned. On the one hand there are stories of a **didactic** nature, generally a sort of compromise between a short story and a novel, which are reminiscent of the old folk tales (Ahmet Midhat was the pioneer in this field), and on the other hand there were writers such as Namık Kemal who were more concerned with art (for society's sake but somewhat subordinating content to style), resulting in heavier language and a more tiring style.⁷⁰ Şerif Mardin finds the great majority of Ottoman novels fall into the first category, being romans à thèses, taking up explicitly the problems raised by social and political changes, especially the place of women in society and the westernisation of upper class men.⁷¹

The trend begun by Ahmet Midhat, drawing on the tradition of the old public story-tellers known as meddah was taken considerably further by Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar who, in his novels and short stories,

depicted various aspects of the life of the common people. This was a theme which the Ottoman literati had disregarded, since their readers, being almost totally comprised of the urban educated elite, had little interest in or appreciation of the life of the Anatolian peasant.⁷²

By the end of the nineteenth century there were a number of patriotic works, and the years following the Young Turk revolution in 1908 saw the flourishing of the Milli Edebiyat (National Literature).⁷³ Thus it can be said that a close concern with the fate of society only became an important feature of Turkish literature from the end of the nineteenth century.

In the theatre, however, western influence prevailed and the majority of plays performed in the theatres of Istanbul in the nineteenth century were translations of western authors such as Shakespeare and Molière, or adaptations of western works. Metin And, in his study of the theatre and popular entertainment in Turkey, states that there could have been "little incentive to be original when audiences seemed to make no distinction between translations and new works, and even seemed at times to prefer the former to the latter".⁷⁴ But some original plays were written, and the first is said to be the one-act comedy by İbrahim Şinasi, called Sair Evlenmesi (1859), which ridicules the social conventions of the time, especially marriage.⁷⁵ Namık Kemal's famous play Vatan Yahut Silistre (1873) was considered by Sultan Abdülaziz to be a rallying cry for dissenting groups within the Ottoman Empire and so the author was exiled to Cyprus and the play was banned.⁷⁶ The severity of censorship became even worse during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid, so that until he was dethroned in 1908 almost no Turkish plays were written or produced. Even then, because

of the wars, progress continued to be slow, and the first municipal theatre was not opened until 1916, in Istanbul. In 1921 the city council finally decided that Muslim women should be allowed on stage⁷⁷ but prejudice persisted and most women's parts continued to be played by actresses from the non-Muslim minorities, especially Armenians. Following the establishment of the Republic there was official government approbation and support for the theatre in Turkey, and audiences soon increased.⁷⁸ There are now several private theatres and during the summer months many of these, as well as the Turkish State Theatre and amateur university drama groups, tour the countryside extensively.

Altogether, the revolution of 1908, the Balkan wars, the First World War, and finally the Turkish Independence War, followed by the Kemalist programme of reforms, all profoundly affected the development of modern drama and literature, and it was quite natural for the Republic in its efforts to divorce itself from its Ottoman past to turn, for the foundation of its new national culture, to the folklore which coloured the lives of the Anatolian peasants, the new "masters" of the young Republic.⁷⁹ However, a national literary culture which was, like the Republic itself, to be of the people and for the people, would have to be understandable by the people, and so the time seemed right at last for a radical reform of the Turkish language. There had been several calls for simplification and reform of the language during the nineteenth century, and during the Young Turk period the demands had become a part of nationalist ideals. The reform which Atatürk instituted in 1928 comprised two basic elements: the elimination as far as possible of Arabic and Persian words and syntax,

and the adoption of the Latin alphabet to replace the Arabic script. The Arabic script was singularly ill-suited to the Turkish language, since it created great discrepancies between spelling and pronunciation, and caused inaccuracies in the representation of some Turkish sounds. An extensive programme of adult literacy classes restored the nation quickly to its pre-reform level of literacy, and combined with the introduction of universal education and the greater ease in teaching children the new, simplified and virtually phonetic language, there soon resulted a significant increase in literacy rates. The effects of these reforms and the efforts of societies such as the Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Society), Türk Tarih Kurumu (Turkish Historical Society) and other learned organisations, the increased and more careful translations of imported foreign works, as well as the new interest in Turkish origins and folklore, all contributed, in the words of Kerim Key, to a "cultural rebirth".⁸⁰

There was a great deal of discussion about the content and language of the new national literature that was to be created. The general consensus was that the subject matter should be drawn from every layer of Turkish society, with both urban and rural backgrounds, and that it should describe life in all its economic and cultural aspects as objectively and artistically as possible.⁸¹ According to Kemal Karpat these ideas were not only a reaction to Ottoman literature, which had ignored rural themes and settings, but they were also a reaction to the works current at that time, which tended to regard Anatolia and the village as no more than "part of a setting in which some sensitive soul from the city took refuge or played the last act of some drama".⁸²

So the new national literature was to "reflect the spirit and problems of the country in a natural and artistic way", but the discussion continued regarding the social purpose of literature: the "rightists" saw in social realism a disguise for "leftism".⁸³ But the idea that literature had a social role to play won the endorsement of Atatürk in his statement that the aim of literature should be "to teach the child something of the world and of humanity, to develop in him an ability for analysis and synthesis, to enable him to do work on his own, and educate him to use all these abilities for developing his own society."⁸⁴

5 - PRESENTATION AND ORGANISATION OF THE MATERIAL

In order to be able to study the material in relation to the social conditions of the time, but at the same time wishing to avoid a strictly chronological approach, I have divided the period into three. The first period, one of great political activity and many reforms (including the granting of full political and legal rights to women) is the early Republican period of the 1920s and 1930s, when literature was dominated by authors such as Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Reşat Nuri Güntekin (all born between 1884 and 1892) as well as Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar who was born earlier (in 1864) but was still writing well into the twentieth century.⁸⁵ The second period covers the decades of the 1940s and 1950s, when the optimism aroused by the birth of the Republic had been eroded by the lack of progress, and was replaced by bitter disappointment. The nation's great leader was now dead, the threat of war was very real

and was causing great hardship, and there was growing discontent in many circles. The writers who were productive during this period were of a generation that had grown up in the troubled years before the birth of the Republic and whose ties with the Ottoman cultural heritage were weak.⁸⁶ The third period comprises the 1960s and 1970s, and in literary terms is dominated by the writers born in the period, roughly, of the 1920s and 1930s.⁸⁷ These writers, never having experienced the optimism of the post-war years were not victims of the awful disillusion that followed when the social ills just could not be cured. They were free to take up the struggle anew, and indeed there are many fighters in this generation, such as Fakir Baykurt, Yaşar Kemal (both born in the 1920s) and some who started with the preceding generation but "matured and developed their final stature" with the new generation, like Orhan Kemal and Aziz Nesin.⁸⁸

The expansion of democratic institutions, increased literacy, and the emergence of provincial and rural literary figures have done much in this last period, the 1960s and 1970s, to reduce the domination of the urban influence on literature. The lack of political stability and the continuing corruption in government have increased the demands for social justice, and have also resulted in a situation of little public security. In the world of fiction this period sees the emergence of a number of woman authors, but in contrast to the new wave of male authors from the villages and provinces educated at the Village Institutes in their early years, who bring with them a concern for the exploited and oppressed peasants and workers they grew up with, the women authors, without exception, are products of the urban educated classes. Thus it would be quite meaningless to attempt to ascribe

differences between the works of male and female authors to gender, as there are also questions of class, educational or political background to be taken into account.

While structuring my analysis according to the time periods set out above, the primary organisation of my study is on the basis of specific themes which emerge in the literature which I have tried to relate to the social reality of the time. The first of these themes is the character of women as portrayed in literature, and the way in which the portrayal reinforces or counters the requirements in society at the time for such qualities and characteristics in women. The second is the question of female sexuality and the concept of honour and shame as represented in literature and as they affect the day to day life in society through the period. The third concerns relationships and familial roles: the institutions of motherhood and marriage, the roles of women as sweethearts, wives and mothers, and their relations with husbands, children, friends and relatives. The portrayal of women as independent, autonomous members of society constitutes the fourth theme.

The arrangement of the material in this way means that references are made to some of the works considered many times under different headings. This may give the impression of repetitiveness, but I hope that close examination will show that the repetitiveness is more apparent than real.

NOTES

1. I have not included in my study any poetic works (although a number of authors whose prose or dramatic works have been included are also poets). This is not because of any less significance in poetic works to the subject of the study, but simply because poetry constitutes such a special literary genre, and the selection and inclusion of poetic works in sufficient number to validate such a study would extend the scope of the work beyond practical limits.
2. Kenneth Burke, "Literature as Equipment for Living" in Modern Criticism Theory and Practice, Walter Sutton and Richard Foster (eds.) (1963), p. 246.
3. Kemal Karpaz, "Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature" in Middle East Journal, (Winter & Spring 1960), p. 165.
4. Writing about contemporary Turkish prose in 1960 Kemal Karpaz claims that the works stress "objectivity in writing, personal experience, and direct expression of emotion", and suggests that they constitute valuable sociological material for analysis of Turkish society and the transformation it is undergoing, in "Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature" in Middle East Journal (Winter 1960), p. 43. A similar view is also expressed by Kerim Key in "Trends in Modern Turkish Literature" in The Muslim World, XLVI, No. 4 (October 1957), p. 328.
5. For example, Mine by Necati Cumalı was inspired by an actual murder case in a small town near Ankara in 1949, according to Kemal Karpaz in "Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature" in Middle East Journal, (Spring 1960), p. 169.
6. Nermin Abadan (Unat), "Turkey" in Women in the Modern World, Raphael Patai (ed.), (1967), p. 99.
7. Ibid., p. 104.
8. Kemal Karpaz, Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatında Sosyal Konular, (1971), pp. 21-22.
9. Inconsistency in the portrayal of women in English literature has been well described by Virginia Woolf, who wrote in 1929 that women in fiction were a very strange phenomenon: "Imaginatively she is of the highest importance; practically she is completely insignificant.... Some of the most inspired words, some of the most profound thoughts in literature fall from her lips; in real life she could hardly read, could hardly spell, and was the property of her husband", in A Room of One's Own (1959), p. 66.

10. Writing in America at a time when motherhood became subject to wildly ambivalent attitudes, Betty Friedan describes how the women, denied opportunities for an identity other than that of wife and mother, and whose needs beyond the need for love and sexual satisfaction (besides the physiological needs) were not recognised, not only had to suffer the tangible effects of discrimination against women which permeated all but the very highest levels of society, but also the intangible effects of having no personal purpose in life, no sense of their own beings; in The Feminine Mystique, (1972), pp. 272-273, (first published in the U.S.A. in 1963).
11. I do not wish to suggest that such an approach has been neglected in the West; indeed, the simple title "Women are People Too!" of an article by Betty Friedan, which appeared in the American women's magazine Good Housekeeping in 1960 elicited an intensely emotional and positive response, cited in Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, (1972), p. 332.
12. For example, Simone de Beauvoir quotes George Bernard Shaw to illustrate the situation of women by reference to the example of the American white who relegates the black to the rank of shoe-shine boy and then concludes from this that the black is good for nothing but shining shoes; in The Second Sex (first published in French in 1949), (1972), p. 24.
13. See de Beauvoir, who lays the blame for many of the faults which are criticised in women (mediocrity, frivolity, servility, dissimulation and such like) on their closed horizons, and the fact that they are victims of "paternalistic oppression", in The Second Sex, (1972), pp. 614 & 627.
14. Jenni Calder, in her study of women and marriage in Victorian fiction, covers the period in England when improvements in the legal position of women, with regard to the custody of small children and divorce, diminished the legal authority of the husband and father (though divorced women were still social outcasts). She claims that the greater awareness among women of the anomalies of their position, even if they still accepted them, could be detected in the fiction of the time; in Women and Marriage in Victorian Fiction, (1976), p. 120.
15. Calder describes how the women of Victorian England felt that George Eliot "wrote just for them, that she illuminated their special problems, that she understood their lives with uncanny exactitude". She suggests that the reason for such a reaction to Eliot's works in the nineteenth century was that thousands of her readers were women who were vaguely aware of the frustration of their lives, despite the fact that they were told that they had everything they wanted, and were afraid of confessing even to themselves that they were not satisfied; in Women and Marriage in Victorian Fiction, (1976), p. 129.

16. Woolf points out the absurdity of portraying women always in their relation to men, in the context of English literature, when in fact a woman's relations with men form only a small part of her life. She considers the distortion which would be expected if "men were only represented in literature as the lovers of women, and were never the friends of men, soldiers, thinkers, dreamers", in A Room of One's Own, (1959), pp. 124-125.
17. An appendix is attached, listing works included in this study which have been serialised in newspapers or reproduced on radio, **and as cinema films (Appendix I)**.
18. The works of Simone de Beauvoir are widely sold in Turkish translation and there is a steady stream of serious works being published relating to women's studies.
19. For example, Teneke by Yaşar Kemal, which sociologist Mübeccel Kıray cites as a realistic novel with an impressive portrayal of a female character, in "The New Role of Mothers: Changing Intra-Familial Relationships in a Small Town in Turkey" in Mediterranean Family Structures, J. G. Peristiany (ed.), (1976), p. 261.
20. Metin And, A History of the Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey, (1963-64); Kemal Karpaz, "Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature" in Middle East Journal (Winter and Spring 1960); Carole Rathbun, The Village in the Turkish Novel and Short Story, 1920-1955, (1972), and Bruce Robson, The Drum Beats Nightly, (1976).
21. For example, Çıkmaz Korsanı by Nezihe Meriç, which won the Türk Dil Kurumu novel prize in 1962.
22. For example, Parasız Yatılı by Fûruzan, which was first published in February 1971 and was in its fourth printing in March 1973.
23. I have not included works by authors such as Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar (1883-1963); although he is an important literary figure of the period, he is rather an anachronistic remnant of the Ottoman intelligentsia. His novels, such as Fahim Bey ve Biz (1941), draw a picture of the Ottoman intellectual's life in the current age of transition, but the heroes have no real preoccupations or problems nor any appreciation of the need for change, (see Kemal Karpaz, "Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature" in Middle East Journal (Spring 1960), p. 162.) There seems to be little in such works that would be relevant to the purposes of this study. For the same reason I have tried to avoid contemporary works which describe earlier historical periods, though I do not wish to imply that such works have no relevance to the present society, or that they have no significance to the Turkish women of today. After due consideration I decided that I should include in my study representative works of popular sentimental fiction by two prolific writers: Kerime Nadir and Esat Mahmut Karakurt. These authors' works have been widely read, especially by women, and although they are shallow romantic escapism, in the genre of romances by western authors such as Barbara Cartland (whose works,

- incidentally, sell extremely well in Turkish translation), they cannot be ignored, simply in view of the mass popularity they enjoy.
24. J. R. Walsh attributes Yaşar Kemal's success as an author as much to "the way in which (his) descriptions of the hardships of Anatolian life have pricked the conscience of the reading public of İstanbul and Ankara" as to any artistic merit; in "Turkish Literature", in Guide to Eastern Literatures, D. M. Lang (ed.), (1971), p. 161.
 25. Cited in Kemal Karpat, Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatında Sosyal Konular, (1971), p. 45.
 26. Metin And, A History of the Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey, (1963-64), p. 98.
 27. MÖjgan Cunbur, Türk Kadın Yazarların Eserleri, (1955), p. 5.
 28. Mustafa Nihat Özön, "Türk Romanı Üzerine" in Türk Dili, XIII No. 154, (1964), p. 590.
 29. For example, I have included Halide Edip Adıvar's Vurun Kahpeye! (1926), for although the story is set in the years of the Turkish Independence War, preceding the establishment of the Republic, the heroine is clearly a model for the post-war Turkish woman of the Republic. Similarly, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's Yaban, though written in 1932, is set in the years of the Independence War, but has continued to be such an important work in modern Turkish literature that I could not exclude it. On the other hand I have not included Kiralık Konak, an earlier work by the same author, despite its popularity, as it clearly takes the form of an historical novel. The same can be said of Halide Edip Adıvar's most popular work Sinekli Bakkal which I have not included either.
 30. Bekir Sıtkı Kunt wrote of Çalılıkusu in 1957 that for each of the fifteen years elapsed since its first publication it was the most read and most sought after book of the year, and it was the most printed and most read novel in Turkey. (Cited in Varlık, No. 445, January 1957).
 31. This opinion is attributed to Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, who cites two further reasons for Çalılıkusu's importance: that it forms a bridge between old and new Turkish literature, and that it brought the first "shivering draughts" of Anatolia's air, (cited in Cahit Kavcar, Çalılıkusu ve Türk Eğitimindeki Yeri, (1970), p. 167.
 32. Martha Masinton and Charles G. Masinton suggest that first-person narrative is a strategy which female feminist novelists today deliberately adopt in order to allow them to endow the heroine with a consciousness capable of commenting on and to a certain extent transcending the confined and confining circumstances of her life; in "Second-class Citizenship: The Status of Women in Contemporary American Fiction" in What Manner of Women, M. Springer, (ed.), (1978), p. 308.

33. Except where otherwise indicated the data for this section have been taken from Richard F. Myrop et al, Area Handbook for the Republic of Turkey, (1973).
34. Financial Times, 18th February 1980
35. Food prices rose sharply through the 1970s, and in 1979 consumer prices rose by 80 per cent, (Financial Times, 18th February 1980).
36. See Appendix II for the main passages from the Koran concerning women.
37. The Book of Dede Korkut is a collection of twelve stories set in the heroic age of the Oghuz Turks. Although reduced to their present form probably after the beginning of the thirteenth century, the stories are much older, combining elements of pre-Islamic nomadic society with later Islamic culture, (see the Introduction in Geoffrey Lewis's translation, (1974), pp. 9-12). The following chapter gives a brief account of MÜjgan Cunbur's study of the portrayal of women's social position in The Book of Dede Korkut, "Dede Korkut Oğuznamelerinde Kadının Sosyal Durumu" in Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu - Aylık Konferanslar 1953-1964, (1967).
38. See also Aytunç Altındel, Türkiye'de Kadın - Marxist bir Yaklaşım, (1975).
39. Serif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 434.
40. Fatima Mernissi, Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society, (1975), p. viii. In the same passage Mernissi concludes that what is at issue in Morocco is not "an ideology of female inferiority" but rather "a set of laws and customs which insure that women's status remains one of subjugation - prime among these are the family laws based on male authority", (p. ix).
41. Sabine Dirks comes to a similar conclusion when she states that the Muslim conception of marriage is, above all, "carnal" and is opposed to the idea of equality between spouses; in La famille Musulmane Turque: Son Evolution au 20e. Siècle, (1969), p. 20.
42. Nermin Abadan (Unat), Social Change and Turkish Women, (1963), pp. 3-4.
43. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
44. İffet Halim Oruz claims that the first women to defend women's rights in Turkey were the "Kıbrıslı Hemşireler" in the time of Abdülhamit II. In the same period two newspapers were published which took up the cause of defending women's rights: Muhadderat için Gazete (1869) and Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete (1895), in her criticism of Beria Onger's Atatürk Devrimi ve Kadınlarımız (1965) (published in the same volume), p. 88.

45. Nermin Abadan (Unat), Social Change and Turkish Women, (1963), p. 6.
46. Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey, (1964), p. 386.
47. Selma Ekrem, Unveiled, (1931), p. 155.
48. Cited in Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey, (1964), p. 390.
49. Ibid., p. 385.
50. Şerif Mardin, "Superwesternization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 438.
51. Vocational schooling for girls began in 1864 when Midhat Paşa founded a girls' home institute in Ruşçuk; in 1869 a similar institution was opened in Istanbul. (Nermin Abadan (Unat), Social Change and Turkish Women, (1963), p. 13).
52. Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey, (1964), pp. 387-388.
53. Nermin Abadan, Social Change and Turkish Women, (1963), p. 5.
54. Füsün Tayanç & Tunç Tayanç, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), pp. 112 & 115.
55. Enver Paşa even sacked an army commander because he had seen his daughters sunbathing, and as late as 1917 a committee was set up to discuss the correct length of women's skirts as a matter of public policy, in Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), pp. 433-434.
56. Selma Ekrem, Unveiled, (1931), p. 231.
57. Sabine Dirks, La Famille Musulmane Turque - Son Evolution au 20e. Siècle, (1969), p. 34.
58. I do not wish to suggest that the law passed unnoticed: Hüseyin Rahmi's story Kocasını Boşayan Hürmüz Hanım about a woman who divorces her husband was published in the İkdam newspaper while the law was still in force. (Ülker Gürkan, "Kadın Emeğinin Değeri ve Evli Kadının Çalışmasının Kocanın İznine Bağlı Olmasının Yaratıldığı Sosyal ve Hukuki Sorunlar" in Hacettepe Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi IIX, No. 1-2, (March-October 1976), p. 122.)
59. Betty Friedan reminds us that "whenever, wherever in the world there has been an upsurge of human freedom, women have won a share of it for themselves.... When the idea of human freedom moves the

- minds of men, it also moves the minds of women", in The Feminine Mystique, (1972), p. 75.
60. Halide Edip (Adivar), "Woman's Part in Turkey's Progress" in The Opencourt, (1932), pp. 356-357.
61. Cited in Kemal Savcı, Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Kadını, (1973), p. 69.
62. Ülker Gürkan, "Kadın Emeğinin Değeri ve Evli Kadının Çalışmasının Kocanın İznine Bağlı Olmasının Yarattığı Sosyal ve Hukuki Sorunlar" in Hacettepe Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi IIX, No. 1-2, (March-October 1976), pp. 122-123.
63. It is not clear whether Atatürk expected the main opposition to come from the women or the men, for legislation was passed, and sometimes harshly enforced, to prevent the wearing of the fez which was equally symbolic of adherence to the Islamic faith.
64. This was a personal communication from an old woman living in the Southeast region of Turkey.
65. Şirin Tekeli stresses the fact that women's rights were granted to them, and points out the political significance of this fact: the rights were granted at a time when they could play an important strategic role against the political and ideological (especially the religious) basis of the Ottoman State; reported by Deniz Kandiyoti, in "Women in Turkish Society: Seminar Report" (16-19 May 1978), p. 37.
66. A similar situation is described by Barbara Ward who makes the point that in South and Southeast Asia the picture with regard to women's social role is one of revolutionary change de jure, but is not so clear when it comes to evaluating the meaning of the change de facto; in Women in the New Asia: The Changing Social Roles of Men and Women in South and South-East Asia, (1964), p. 15.
67. J. R. Walsh, "Turkish Literature" in Guide to Eastern Literatures, D. M. Lang (ed.), (1971), p. 159.
68. Ibid., pp. 159-160.
69. Mustafa Nihat, "Türk Romanı Üzerine" in Türk Dili XIII, No. 154, (1964), pp. 580-581.
70. Gündüz Akıncı, Türk Romanında Köye Doğru, (1961), p. 11.
71. Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), p. 403.
72. Kerim Key, "Trends in Modern Turkish Literature" in The Muslim World XLVI, No. 4, (October 1957), p. 321.

73. Kerim Key, "Trends in Modern Turkish Literature" in The Muslim World XLVI, No. 4, (October 1957), p. 322.
74. Metin And, A History of the Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey, (1963-4), p. 87.
75. Ibid., p. 78.
76. Ibid., p. 82.
77. Ibid., p. 91.
78. From 30,400 in the 1927-28 season audiences rose to 305,200 in the 1961-62 season at the Istanbul Şehir Theatre (originally the Darülbedayi Conservatory founded in 1927), ibid., p. 93.
79. Atatürk's oft repeated words state: "Türkiye'nin asıl sahibi ve efendisi gerçek müstahsil olan köylüdür", cited in K. Atatürk Diyor Ki (1954), p. 85.
80. Kerim Key, "Trends in Modern Turkish Literature" in The Muslim World XLVI, No. 4, (October 1957), p. 325.
81. Kemal Karpat, "Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature" in Middle East Journal, (Winter & Spring 1960), pp. 35-36.
82. Ibid., p. 36.
83. Ibid., p. 36.
84. Cited in ibid. p. 35.
85. Andreas Tietze also includes Peyami Safa in this period, although he was born rather later, in 1899; in "The Generation Rhythm in the Literature of Republican Turkey" in Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi II, (1974), p. 118. However, the work which I have selected by Peyami Safa is one of his later works, and I have included it in the appropriate period.
86. Andreas Tietze, "The Generation Rhythm in the Literature of Republican Turkey" in Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi II, (1974), p. 119.
87. Andreas Tietze calls this generation the "liberated" generation, in that they are liberated from the burden of the past; ibid., p. 120.

88. Andreas Tietze, "The Generation Rhythm in the Literature of Republican Turkey" in Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi II, (1974), p. 120.

C H A P T E R I I

A SURVEY OF EXISTING STUDIES OF THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN IN TURKISH LITERATURE

The earliest literary works to be the subject of an analysis of this kind are The Book of Dede Korkut and the works of Fuzuli, both in studies by MÜjgan Cunbur. The Book of Dede Korkut provides a rich source of information on the social life of the Oğuz Turks, dating from the eighth century, before the influence of Islam had permeated through the society.¹

Cunbur finds that two qualities in particular are sought in the women of the nomadic tribes described in The Book of Dede Korkut: heroism and motherhood (kahramanlık and analık).² She relates the importance attached to heroism to the way of life of the tribes: they were constantly facing danger from outside and struggling with the forces of nature. The women had to be as alert and ready to face the enemy or cope with an emergency as the men were. Motherhood, the second quality desired, brought great respect, and mothers were described as very close to and loyal to their sons.³ Childless women became the subject of jokes, and yet, however much men may have berated their wives for not producing children they did not marry more than one wife. Among all the stories there is only one exception to the general rule of monogamy, where the husband had married the woman he had been betrothed to as a child as well as the daughter of the man who

had released him from captivity. Furthermore, although boys were preferred to girls, in order to continue the lineage, prayers were said as much for girls to be born as for boys.⁴ Women participated in social life although ceremonies and weddings were celebrated in separate tents for men and women, and it was the women who ensured order in the house, and both in family life and social life a woman's word was valued.⁵ A woman at this time was not considered as a vehicle for a man's pleasure, neither is there any mention of romantic love between men and women, but instead a deep bond of cordial affection between husband and wife.⁶

By the time we come to Divan Literature in the sixteenth century women are rarely featured, but when they are they are generally referred to in negative terms, such as mel'une (accursed), kaşık düşmanı (the implication here being "parasite"), saçı uzun, aklı kısa (long on hair, short on brains), hilekâr (cheat), vefasız (fickle) and yalancı (deceiver), and are likened to owls (a symbol of ill-omen), scorpions and snakes; they are counted as wicked creatures, made to torment men.⁷ The women of this period were treated as goods to trade in, and were clearly second-class citizens. At a time when it was considered degrading even to mention women in literature, Fuzuli's sympathetic and extensive treatment of them is exceptional.⁸ He is the first poet to show the courage to address women and to write of romantic love.⁹ His famous story of the lovers Leylâ and Mecnun tells of the love which grows between two children who come together at school. However, their love is doomed when Leylâ's father promises her to a rich man, against her wishes. When her husband eventually dies Leylâ sets off to find her lover, but by the time she

finds him his love has reached such a point that he has absorbed her presence within him, and can no longer recognise her separate existence. In places Fuzuli touches on women's feelings of motherhood, the concept of honour, and especially the love to be felt for a woman and by a woman.¹⁰

Whereas these early works are analysed by Cunbur as true social documents of the period they describe, when we come to the works of the Tanzimat and later periods we find ideals being given expression, and new aims for society are being set out.

According to Şerif Mardin publications taking up the theme of the emancipation of women within the Ottoman élite began to appear quite early in the Tanzimat. Only twenty years after the passing of the edict of reforms the poet İbrahim Şinasi was making fun of pre-arranged marriage in his play Şair Evlenmesi (1859), and the novels of Ahmet Midhat (1844-1913) clearly indicate the serious concern the author felt for the place of women in Ottoman society.¹¹

Niyazi Berkes, who credits Ahmet Midhat with originating the modern Turkish novel, describes his novels as "instruments" designed to "show the readers the wrong and weak sides of their culture..." He made bold claims for the equal education of women and even predicted that the day would come when women would enter into every profession. Recurrent themes are women's low status, and the misfortunes and suffering which result from women not having equal rights with men. He also criticised the custom of arranged marriage and the practice of marrying without the bride and groom even having seen each other.¹²

Perev Naili Boratav points out that Ahmet Midhat also concerned himself with society's unjust condemnation of prostitutes. In his novel entitled Henüz On Yedi Yaşında the basis of his thesis is that society should first try to save the woman from "falling", and this would be possible if society gave women the right to determine their own futures, instead of regarding them as slaves or servants or saleable merchandise; however, once she has "fallen" society should take the woman by her hand and raise her up again, and not condemn her for the rest of her life.¹³ Although in many of his novels Ahmet Midhat dwells on the weakness and oppression of women, in his fantasy Felsefe-i Zenan he creates an educated, intelligent heroine who boycotts men and is determined not to marry: she eats her meals in restaurants and has her laundry done for her in order not to waste the time which she has set aside for study. The adopted daughter of this woman decides to give up her mother's philosophy and way of life, and marries, but the treachery of her no-good husband makes her become ill and she dies; the implication of the story is therefore that women fare better when they keep control of their lives in their own hands.¹⁴

Despite the rather extreme nature of the novel Felsefe-i Zenan, Mardin suggests that in general Ahmet Midhat's works indicate that he only believed that a certain type of emancipation was necessary for women: they should be educated and should be treated humanely, (he himself had two wives and was very happy with them). Furthermore, his approach takes on the nature of affectivity, a characteristic shared with authors such as Namık Kemal and Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, whose works also evince a dislike for women who are "less than autonomous human beings".¹⁵

Emel Sönmez has made perhaps the most extensive study of women, the family, feminism, and women's rights in Turkish literature, concentrating on the works of Namık Kemal, Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar and Halide Edip Adivar as they relate to the pre-Republican situation. Sönmez finds that the female characters of Namık Kemal's works fall clearly into two categories: the progressive-minded and the conservative, the former being presented as the author's models for future society.¹⁶ Although Namık Kemal believed that art should represent the truth as far as possible, and tried to draw his examples from life, he nevertheless departed from this ideal whenever the need arose to be didactic through the actions or feelings of his characters in order to put his message across.¹⁷ In his works he criticises the patriarchal family structure for the power it gives to the male head, resulting in the conditioning of other members of the family to obedience in the face of discipline and authority.¹⁸ In his famous play Vatan Yahut Silistre, in which the heroine disguises herself as a man in order to join her sweetheart at the battlefield, Sönmez finds expression of the author's belief that a family not based on equality between men and women cannot have strong bonds, and that children growing up in such a family cannot develop their personalities properly.¹⁹ In Kara Belâ, a later play published after the turn of the century, in an attempt to demonstrate the pressure of public opinion on women Namık Kemal relates the story of a woman who commits suicide rather than face the criticism of society after being raped.²⁰ Amongst others, the play Zavallı Çocuk deals with another social ill which was fairly common practice at the time: the sale of young girls to rich men old enough to be their fathers, by parents seeking to improve their economic situation.²¹

It is evident from many of his works that Namık Kemal saw education as a means of changing the patriarchal nature of society, and that he also realised that unless opportunities were opened for women to be able to **earn their own living honourably** education would not be sufficient to save them from being dependent on a man's protection.²² Sönmez states that nowhere in literature could she find a work concerned with the situation of a woman without any male relative able to give her financial support; if such a woman had no inheritance then she was even more badly off. The fear of being abandoned by her husband, or being left alone by the death of her father, sons or brothers, created such a feeling of inferiority in a woman that rather than face the possibility of divorce, which was so easy for the man, she would do everything possible to make her husband happy, and for the same reasons would even prefer polygamy to divorce.²³ In view of all these considerations the validity of Namık Kemal's insistence on economic independence either through work, or through inheritance (the inheritance laws discriminated severely against women), as well as equal education for women, gains an enormous significance. However, he still saw the benefit of equal education for women largely in terms of making women into better wives and mothers, and creating greater harmony in married life,²⁴ and he really only urged women towards economic independence as a security in case domestic misfortune might leave her without a father or husband to support her. His attitude is nevertheless somewhat ambivalent, as he had a personal preference for independent, autonomous types, as stated previously.

By 1908, despite the number of works produced and public interest in the problems these writers were illustrating, there had still been no

significant changes taking place in society. In literature, the debate and discussion continued into the Second Constitutional period. Cahit Kavcar identifies four subjects relating to married life which are often discussed in the works of this period. These were: arranged marriage, age difference in marriage, polygamy and mixed marriage.²⁵ Kavcar makes the claim that the first steps towards women gaining importance and appreciation as individual social beings were taken in the literary works of the Servet-i Fünun (**The Treasure of Science**) period which preceded the revolution of 1908, and this trend continued and intensified in the Second Constitutional period in the works of writers such as the poet Tevfik Fikret, who strongly desired that women should be awakened to the knowledge of their civil rights and should attain these rights.²⁶ It was during this period (1908-1923) that writers and poets such as Mehmet Akif and woman playwright Nigar Hanım began to criticise polygamy and its harmful effects in society.²⁷ It was in this period, too, that sociologist and poet Ziya Gökalp was defending women's rights and women's value and worthiness of respect in his poems, especially the poem Aile in which he makes a claim for women to have the same rights as men in matters of marriage, divorce and inheritance in particular.²⁸ Tevfik Fikret, Ziya Gökalp and Mehmet Akif are all found to be strongly opposed to women being regarded as a commodity.²⁹

Another author who deals with male-female inequalities in some of his works is Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920). Sati Erişenler, who has made a short study of the women in Ömer Seyfettin's works, does not count this author among the foremost of literary champions of women (these he names as Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, Namık Kemal and Tevfik Fikret),

and he points out that Ömer Seyfettin deals with women's problems from the viewpoint of happiness, not political rights.³⁰ Erişenler finds Ömer Seyfettin opposed to the common image of women as a source of pleasure, and against arranged marriage, seclusion of women and veiling.³¹ Ömer Seyfettin was very much in favour of mixed entertainments, a very novel idea at the time, but was still very conservative in matters of sexual purity. Any "fallen" women or mistresses that he introduces are foreign, while girls allowing infringements on their honour, or women deceiving their husbands do not appear in any of his stories.³² Women in his stories are depicted as consumers, not producers, (although women started to work in public offices during the years of the First World War) except as workers in the sewing trade, an area of production which became very important during the war years. Their prime function, and the one which is depicted as being satisfying and fulfilling for them, is motherhood.³³

The works of Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, published between 1894 and 1924, include short stories which describe oppressed women working as servants, maids, cooks and nurses in the mansions and villas of Istanbul, defeated by their hard lives, as well as novels which mostly describe upper-class ladies whose main virtue is chastity, frivolous women whose ambition is to marry well, and romantic, sad and sensitive young ladies.³⁴ Unfortunately, however, no study of his works with regard to their treatment of women has yet been published.

Following Ömer Seyfettin and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil are authors who began writing in the years of the first World War and continued writing well into the Republican period. The most famous of these are

Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, Halide Edip Adivar and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. Mardin identifies the first emancipated femme fatale of Ottoman literature as the heroine of Yakup Kadri's novel Kiralık Konak (1922), which is set in the years immediately preceding the First World War.³⁵ He explains how Yakup Kadri approached the problem of women's emancipation at the beginning of the twentieth century by examining the pressures of lower class values on womanhood, and by criticising popular attitudes towards love,³⁶ but in the story Bir Kadın Meselesi published in 1913 he does deal directly with women's rights.³⁷

Hüseyin Rahmi's main preoccupations are identified by Mediha Berkes as the causes of the breakdown of marriage and the effects which the social reforms had on women. In a study of female characters in the novels of Hüseyin Rahmi, Berkes describes how one can see, through his works, the phases passed through from the time when women first began to be educated until they started to participate in social life: "He related the problems and struggles in which they were often defeated and so were drawn towards an immoral life or suicide; and he showed how sometimes, with fortuitous help or by their own will-power, they would redeem themselves and become useful members of society".³⁸

Sönmez compares Hüseyin Rahmi's approach to women's problems in society with that of Namık Kemal: both thought the causes lay in women's illiteracy and their consequent ignorance, and in their entire dependence on men; both drew examples of "catastrophic effects" from society in order to reveal the disastrous consequences of the existing lack of opportunities and economic dependence of women.³⁹ Hüseyin Rahmi created heroines of purity, innocence, chastity and honour: qualities which he claimed as the national inheritance of Turkish

women. Alternatively he would "rescue" his socially outcast heroine from her loneliness and destitution, and then fit her into a suitable occupation, thereby enabling her to render some service to the nation instead of leaving her as a source of social evil; he also criticised the purposelessness of an education which could not be turned to account when necessary.⁴⁰ In Kuyruklu Yıldız Altında bir İzdivaç

(reprinted in 1912) Hüseyin Rahmi has his heroine Feriha complain:

"Our customs deprive us of many things, but Nature does not. It bestows on us active minds, nerves and muscles...these we must use".⁴¹

However, he nevertheless maintains that women are by nature assigned to look after their homes and children, albeit not in the "slavish" way to which they had become accustomed.⁴² Although he criticises the existing practices of arranged marriage, polygamy, divorce by repudiation and the social problems and individual distress caused by these institutions, he appears to be attacking not so much the essential patriarchal structure of society as the irresponsible exploitation of it. Male authority could too easily exploit dependent females: the solution for Hüseyin Rahmi lay as much in a benevolent form of paternalism as in reforms in education and opportunities for participation in economic life for women. It is quite evident that for Hüseyin Rahmi, much as it was for Namık Kemal, a woman's having to earn her living was no more than an exigency measure in the case of her being left without a male protector, or finding herself unhappily married.⁴³

In her study "The Novelist Halide Edip Adivar and Turkish Feminism" Sönmez describes how Halide Edip was actively concerned with women's emancipation, and was herself an example to women in entering public

life: she actively participated in the Independence War, and became famous for her rousing public speeches. In 1909 she founded an association for "The Progress of the Status of Women in Society", the aim of which was "to orientate women to social life".⁴⁴ Sönmez goes on to claim that Halide Edip's "main purpose" was "Turkish women and their emancipation":

In almost all of her novels she reflected the exact situations of her contemporary women in Istanbul with all the minute details about their social, educational and political limitations and inferior status to men. In most cases they are shown as helpless and hopeless creatures with no other intention than getting married to wealthy men of high position, breeding children, playing the piano and visiting close relatives. These women are unaware of the social diseases which were destroying the life of the nation. But against this type of women there are others, though few in number, who, surprisingly enough, are but the models of the modern Turkish women who are industrious, with a serious purpose for which they are ready to sacrifice their wealth and life.... Considering the period in which Halide Edip began to write her novels, one can immediately notice that almost all her works are permeated with a deep sense of nationalism especially on the part of its women.... Conflict between the old, conservative ideas of women and the new progressive ones are reflected in flesh and blood to the advantage of the latter ones.⁴⁵

Like her contemporary Hüseyin Rahmi, Halide Edip saw the ignorance and illiteracy of women as a factor in the decline of Turkish society, and she emphasised the importance of educating women prior to granting them any rights, so that they would be prepared to benefit from them.⁴⁶

Again, in common with all the writers whose works I have considered so far she was greatly concerned with exposing the causes of unhappy marriage. The heroine of her story Handan (1912) meets a tragic end in "a lesson to all women", in Sönmez' words, to the effect that one should try to know oneself before deciding on or committing oneself to any vital course. The example is given by Handan, who despite all her education, mistakes idealism and pedantry for true love, and so rejects it in favour of the material love and sensuality which she mistakes for

true love, thereby committing the biggest mistake of her life, for which she is relentlessly punished, falling ill and eventually dying after a great deal of pain and suffering.⁴⁷ Son Eseri develops a similar theme, but in this story a man who finds no happiness in his marriage based on physical attraction eventually experiences "a true and holy love" which makes him happy and contented with his life.⁴⁸

While Halide Edip's early novels tend to be more of the nature of romantic love stories, in Yeni Turan (1913) there is a strong woman character, Kaya, who is so totally committed to the idealistic political cause of the "Yeni Turan" party that she even sacrifices her own personal inclinations and life itself for the sake of it.⁴⁹ The leader of the "Yeni Turan" party becomes Halide Edip's mouthpiece to speak out for the necessity of improvement in the status of women in Turkish society, stating that the main evil is the lack of any rights recognised to a woman in choosing her husband, and following that, the precariousness of her position in marriage because of the ease of divorce for men.⁵⁰ Sönmez concludes that by creating such women characters as Kaya, Halide Edip was able to advocate to her contemporary public what women could achieve, even under strong opposition and criticism. She also claims Halide Edip as the first author to create women characters who are "not solely objects for love and entertainment of their menfolk, but each with a message, function, obligation and responsibility both to herself and to her nation and society".⁵¹

Sönmez makes the observation that even while the three authors Namık Kemal, Hüseyin Rahmi and Halide Edip, whose works she studies, were

writing, changes in society parallel to those which these authors were expressing their desire for were taking place. And so, while in the works of Namık Kemal, the earliest of the three, women had not yet become fully conscious of their position, in the works of Hüseyin Rahmi, (the first of which was published in 1886, just two years before Namık Kemal's death), much space is given to educated and aware women characters.⁵² Finally, in Halide Edip's works there are portrayals of women actively struggling to achieve their rightful position in society. However, in none of Sönmez' studies is there any distinction between those works written before the implementation of the new constitution in 1924 or the Civil Code in 1926, and those works of Hüseyin Rahmi and Halide Edip written later. There is no discussion of the post-Republican works in the light of the changes brought about by the legal and political reforms affecting women in the 1920s and 1930s. For this reason I have included in the main part of my study representative works of both Halide Edip and Hüseyin Rahmi.

To summarise briefly the portrayal of women in the literature of the pre-Republican period, it can be said that the problems facing women in Ottoman society were generally seen to be a result of legal and educational inequalities, and the abuse of male authority. The qualities sought in women were largely those of being a good mother and a dutiful, loyal, obedient and chaste wife. However, at the same time, women were also somehow expected to develop the characteristics and strength necessary to fit her for earning her own living in the outside world, should she be unfortunate enough to find herself without a benign male protector to support her. An ideal type of woman, independent and committed to some "unfeminine" course, is just

beginning to appear, along with the western-inspired type of femme fatale, but while the former can be seen as a model for future generations of women the latter is a portent of a newly emerging disruptive phenomenon in Turkish society.

NOTES

1. The Book of Dede Korkut was compiled probably some time before the early fifteenth century, but was lost to the modern world until the early nineteenth century. See Geoffrey Lewis' s Introduction to The Book of Dede Korkut, (1974), p. 19.
2. Müjgan Cınbur, "Dede Korkut Oğuznamelerinde Kadının Sosyal Durumu" in Kadının Sosyal Hayatının Tetkik Kurumu - Aylık Konferanslar 1953-1964, (1967), p. 96.
3. Ibid., p. 99.
4. Ibid., p. 101.
5. Ibid., pp. 102, 104 & 105.
6. Ibid., pp. 108 & 111.
7. Müjgan Cınbur, "Fuzuli'nin Eserlerinde Kadın" in Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu - Aylık Konferanslar 1953-1964, (1967), p. 53.
8. Ibid., p. 56.
9. Ibid., p. 64.
10. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
11. Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), pp. 403-404.
12. Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey, (1964), pp. 283-284.
13. Perev Naili Boratav, "İlk Romanlarımız" in Folklor ve Edebiyat II, (1945), p. 144.
14. Ibid., p. 144.
15. Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 435.

16. Emel Sönmez, "Türk Romanında Kadın Hakları" in Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları III-VI, 1966-1969, (1973), p. 30.
17. Emel Sönmez, Turkish Women in Turkish Literature of the 19th Century, (1969), pp. 6-7.
18. Emel Sönmez, "Türk Romanında Aile Yapısı" in Hacettepe Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi IV, No. 1, (1972), p. 66.
19. Ibid., p. 67.
20. Ibid., p. 67.
21. Emel Sönmez, "Türk Romanında Kadın Hakları" in Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları III-VI, 1966-1969, (1973), p. 32.
22. Emel Sönmez, "Türk Romanında Aile Yapısı" in Hacettepe Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi IV, No. 1, (1972), p. 68.
23. Emel Sönmez, "Türk Romanında Kadın Hakları" in Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları III-VI, 1966-1969, (1973), p. 37.
24. Emel Sönmez, "Türk Romanında Aile Yapısı" in Hacettepe Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi IV, No. 1, (1972), p. 68.
25. Cahit Kavcar, II. Meşrutiyet Devrinde Edebiyat ve Eğitim 1908-23, (1974), p. 182.
26. Ibid., p. 193.
27. Ibid., pp. 189-190.
28. Ibid., pp. 195-196.
29. Ibid., p. 200.
30. Sati Erişenler, Ömer Seyfettin'e Göre Kadın, (1972), pp. 39-40.
31. Ibid., pp. 21-26.
32. Ibid., pp. 27-29.
33. Ibid., pp. 33-37.

34. Füsun Altıok, "The Image of Woman in Turkish Literature", n.d., p. 5.
35. Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 406.
36. The story Baskın tells of a local employee being lynched for having an illicit meeting with a widow in her own house. (Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), pp. 436-437.
37. Cahit Kavcar, 11. Meşrutiyet Devrinde Edebiyat ve Eğitim 1908-23, (1974), p. 206.
38. Mediha Berkes, "Hüseyin Rahmi'nin Romanlarında Aile ve Kadın" and "Hüseyin Rahmi Romanlarında Kadın Tipleri" in Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi III (1944-45), pp.253-266 and pp. 539-552.
39. Emel Sönmez, Turkish Women in Turkish Literature of the 19th Century, (1969), pp. 34-37.
40. Ibid., pp. 41-43.
41. Cited in ibid., p. 11.
42. Ibid., p. 65.
43. Emel Sönmez, "Türk Romanında Kadın Hakları" in Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları III-VI, 1966-1969, (1973), pp. 39-54.
44. Emel Sönmez, "The Novelist Halide Edib Adıvar and Turkish Feminism" in Die Welt des Islams XIV, Nos. 1-4, (1973), p. 86.
45. Ibid., p. 89.
46. Ibid., pp. 90-91 and "Türk Romanında Aile Yapısı" in Hacettepe Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi IV, No. 1, (1972), p. 77, (by the same author).
47. Emel Sönmez, "The Novelist Halide Edib Adıvar and Turkish Feminism" in Die Welt des Islams XIV, Nos. 1-4, (1973), p. 98.
48. Ibid., pp. 102-103.

49. Emel Sönmez, "The Novelist Halide Edib Adivar and Turkish Feminism" in Die Welt des Islams XIV, Nos. 1-4, (1973), p. 99.
50. Ibid., p. 100.
51. Ibid., p. 114.
52. Emel Sönmez, "Türk Romanında Aile Yapısı" in Hacettepe Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Dergisi IV, No. 1, (1972), p. 81.

CHAPTER III

DESIRED AND PORTRAYED CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN

1923-1940

In a speech made at the Izmir Girls' Teacher's College, Atatürk described women as the "pillars of society", the "wellspring of the nation", and said that they must be virtuous, dignified and capable of gaining respect".¹ Although he made several speeches extolling the important contribution made by women in the Independence War, and stressing the active role that women should play in building a strong and "modern" nation for the future, the reforms which were legislated in the 1920s were made in accordance with Atatürk's vision of Turkey becoming a modernised "western" nation, rather than being designed to fundamentally change existing sexual roles. This is one of the reasons that little change occurred in the value judgements relating to women.² Furthermore, not only were Kemalist reforms slow to permeate through to rural communities, thus having little real effect on illiterate peasant women's lives, but even urban educated women were not free to take advantage of the reforms, in a society in which they had been brought up to be docile, economically dependent on men, and confined to the house.³

Halide Edip Adıvar cites the formation of the "Defence of Men's Rights" association in Izmir as an indication of the opposition to

women gaining political rights.⁴ But the official line, in addition to granting women equal legal and political rights, firmly supported the adoption of western modes of dress and social behaviour for women, as exemplified by Atatürk's wife, an educated woman who accompanied her husband on official tours and social occasions, and who wore European style dress, with no veil.

That there was a conscious movement to create an image of the "New Woman" to fulfil the requirements of the new State is borne out by the number of publications of the period, such as Yeni Türkiye'de Kadın (Women in the New Turkey) by İffet Hilmi Oruz, published in 1933, and Yeni Kadın (The New Woman) by Cemil Sena Ongün, published in 1936. However, the author of the latter work, while claiming to defend women's rights, argues that although women could achieve legal freedom they would inevitably remain "slaves" in terms of their mental and intellectual capacities.⁵ It is evident that even among the educated (Ongün was himself an "educator" of the period) there was a good deal of ambiguity in the attitudes relating to women and their position and role in society.

The personal characteristics desired of women in the early years of the Republic were the traditional qualities of submissiveness, obedience, (both natural requirements in the context of a state system which was a dictatorship in all but name), chastity, modesty and marital fidelity (in accordance with traditional concepts of honour), patience and industriousness (in a society where the majority of women were involved in laborious agricultural work in addition to routine domestic tasks), as well as a caring nature and devotion to

her family (traditional "feminine" qualities). To these qualities were added some new ideals in accordance with the Kemalist desire to build a "modern", "western" nation, such as a fervent love of country (in line with the current nationalistic idealism) and a desire for education and knowledge (in order to fulfil the "modern", "western" image). A certain degree of frivolity and lightness was also permissible from now on, if the women of western nations were to be emulated.

In her study of Republican theatre in Turkey, Sevda Şener finds many similarities in the basic characteristics of the individuals portrayed in dramatic works of the early years; in particular women are criticised for their weaknesses, although these weaknesses may spring from causes such as lack of education or oppression which are beyond their control.⁶ Among the types most evident in the plays of the 1923-1933 period are well-off, snobbish women who have a weakness for "modern living" and who take advantage of the trend towards "westernisation" and the rights being recognised to women.⁷ However, the ideal qualities desired in women are portrayed in young girl characters who are well educated as well as being pretty and virtuous: "in the plays which had an educative aim, written to strengthen the Republic and the reforms, the intelligent young girl was shown with a power to make the (desired) advancement a reality".⁸

The first two novels which I have selected from this period very clearly show the same rationale. Çalılıkusu, written by Reşat Nuri Güntekin, was first produced as a play called İstanbul Kızı in 1922, the year before the Republic was established. As a novel it has enjoyed immense popularity and is still much read today. The

character of the heroine is developed in such a way as to demonstrate that a little gaiety, lightness and independence of spirit in a girl of education is not harmful. T"urkan Poyraz and Muazzez Alpbek point out that at the time the play was written gaiety and independence of spirit were not considered good qualities for a young girl, and the few girls brought up in progressive circles or educated in foreign schools were frowned upon and unlikely to be considered suitable by traditional families as brides for their sons.⁹ The novel takes the form of the personal diary of a young girl called Feride who is given the name alıkuşu (Wren) by her school friends because of her care-free, mischievous and cheerful character. As a young girl Feride emerges as quite a tomboy, climbing trees, full of energy, untidy and unconventional, but she is nevertheless endowed with the essentially "feminine" qualities of natural modesty and naivete. However, as she matures her modesty does not preclude an innocent personal and private pleasure in her own beauty. The significance of the author's choice of first person narrative is emphasised by the need to convince the reader of Feride's innocence and ingenuousness. Given that Feride does not approve of, nor practice the exploitation of beauty for the purpose of gaining male attention or attracting male admiration, her private and fleeting display of vanity is harmless. The distinction between the expression of vanity as a means of attracting male attention, and vanity as a private delight in one's personal beauty is made explicit by Feride's disapproval of her adopted daughter Munise's vanity and experimentation with cosmetics, in contrast to the occasion when Feride takes special care in dressing and presenting herself to her best advantage in order to teach the pretentious, snobbish ladies of the small town a lesson. Standing before the mirror she is

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surprised and entranced by her own beauty, and finds herself in agreement with those who call her İpekböceği (Silkworm) and Gülbeşeker (Conserve of Roses), but her preparations are for the purpose of impressing women, not men. However, Feride's exceptional beauty is her undoing; everywhere she goes she becomes the innocent victim of malicious gossip, and in a desperate state of loneliness and distress she finds consolation in the protection and understanding of the headmistress of the school where she has been teaching. So the image of a determined, independent young woman is replaced in adversity by the image of a child seeking comfort and consolation from her mother. A similar image is presented later, in the episode where Feride accepts the paternal love and protection of the elderly doctor Hayrullah. The doctor likens Feride to a fairy, a creature made to love and be loved.

Although Reşat Nuri is acclaimed for having created a new type of woman¹⁰ the new qualities of gaiety and independence with which he endows Feride are not sufficient to enable her alone to uphold her honour: she is still a vulnerable, defenceless creature in need of a benign protector.

The heroine in Halide Edip Adivar's romance Vurun Kahpeye! displays many similarities to Reşat Nuri's heroine Feride. The character of Aliye is even more independent, idealistic, fervently nationalistic, compassionate and determined young woman, with a deep concern and love for the young children whom she teaches and for the people around her. She does not have the gaiety and lightness of Feride, but her greater seriousness gives her more courage to face criticism and stricture from her enemies. Once again, despite her personal independence she

is vulnerable and initially even timid in the face of male bullying; but when her ideals are put under threat, rather than her person, she shows great courage, strength and determination, using her intelligence to overcome the adversity, and hiding her inner fear and weakness. In short, Aliye displays all the ideal qualities of the "new woman": she is intelligent, modern, nationalistic and endowed with a strong personality which rises against oppression, and an ideological commitment to serve her country and to educate the children. She is also richly endowed with more traditionally "feminine" qualities, including physical beauty, modesty, chastity, loyalty, compassion, devotion, sensitivity and, most significantly, vulnerability.

A third work, set similarly in the years before the establishment of the Republic, but not written until 1932, is Yaban by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu. This novel takes the form of the diary of Ahmet Celâl, an embittered urban intellectual who is like an outcast in the village in which he has taken refuge after losing an arm in the war. His opinion of the village women is therefore coloured by the contempt he feels for all the villagers, whom he likens to animals or some form of lower beings. The head of the household in which he is a guest is a widow, a strong capable woman whose hard, resigned character Ahmet Celâl interprets as an inevitable product of her harsh life. Apart from the example of this powerful woman, images of women generally in Yaban are of frightened, timid creatures, often referred to figuratively as easily startled animals such as chickens or deer. Unmanly behaviour, such as unwillingness to go to war for the sake of the nation, is criticised in terms of being women's behaviour: "Bir köşede karı gibi, büzülüp duracak mısınız?" (Are you going to sit and cower

in a corner like a woman?) (p. 35). The narrator falls in love with a village girl, but the attraction is purely physical, for he credits her with no more intelligence than a cat, and has no desire for conversation with her:

Eminim, o da bir Van kedisinden daha akıllı değildir. Bunun konuşmasının, öbürünün miyavlamalarından farkı ne? (p. 86)

(I'm sure she is no more intelligent than a Van cat. What difference is there between the one's speech and the other's miaowing?)

He condemns her ignorance, not her lack of education, and it seems clear that women's function as far as Ahmet Celal is concerned is largely as a vehicle for men's pleasure, for the reader is told that the city women he has known previously were nothing more than passing amusements for him. He recognises women's industriousness in the domestic sphere, and he attaches great importance to the qualities associated with motherhood, but there is no suggestion of the "new woman" of the Republic here.

Hüseyin Rahmi started writing long before the Republic was even thought of, and he consciously strove to show the effects which the social reforms had on women. In the story Meyhanede Hanımlar and the play Kadın Erkeklesince he shows women's unsuccessful and misdirected attempts to enter social or public life. In both these works Hüseyin Rahmi is evidently concerned that women are not wise enough to evaluate the new opportunities open to them and take advantage of them in a sensible way. Since the two young women who are the main characters in Meyhanede Hanımlar both have rather weak, ineffective husbands who are unable to control or guide their wives' irresponsible behaviour the result is a catastrophe. One of these young women, Bahriye, who is no beauty, behaves towards her husband in a way which is

extremely disrespectful in the eyes of her mother-in-law. While Bahriye argues that women can now do anything men can do, her mother-in-law clings to more traditional ideas. Irrational jealousy of her mother-in-law's influence over her husband and of another woman's imagined interest in her husband, combined with a total disregard for normal rules of social behaviour finally culminate in Bahriye initiating a fight in public, having drunk too much beer. While Bahriye is evidently intelligent, she is also irrational, irresponsible, impulsive and jealous. It is these "feminine" qualities which are shown to be in need of the restraint of male authority, rationality and control.

The clash between women of the old generation who have been brought up under strict male authority and women of the new generation who have been imbued with the modern ideals of the Republic is repeated in Kadın Erkekleşince. Ali Süreyya's mother is firmly opposed to his marriage to Nebahat, a young woman who believes that if women contribute to the family budget the grounds for male domination will disappear, and men and women will become equal. Nebahat even subordinates the responsibilities of motherhood to her principle of male-female equality, with the result that her baby dies. As if Nebahat's denial of her own motherhood is not tendentious enough she is then shown to be more concerned to discover her husband's secret activities than concerned about her child's death. Jealousy is shown to be a stronger emotion in her even than motherly love. The play is altogether rather unconvincing in that Nebahat makes any number of idealistic statements about male-female equality but is never shown even attempting to live up to them. Furthermore, the end is ambiguous in that somehow Nebahat and Ali Süreyya and his parents are all shown to be reconciled

through the baby's death, and yet there is no indication that Nebahat has now "come to her senses" and will henceforth behave in the manner expected of a married woman. The man is again shown in this play to be at fault for allowing his wife to behave in such an irresponsible way and for not correcting those faults for which Nebahat is censured: jealousy, stubbornness and a refusal to pay heed to her husband as well as her irrationality which serves to devalue her intelligence.

In Reşat Nuri Güntekin's Bir Kadın Düşmanı the main character Sârâ is a femme fatale who meets a challenge to her irresistible charms in the person of the woman-hater Homongolos. In order to be able to continue her life of pleasure in Istanbul Sârâ is forced into constant dissimulation in her correspondence with her father, a practice in which she enjoys the connivance and even the co-operation of her mother. Sârâ's coquettish nature is a result of her beauty; she enjoys admiration but at the same time is worried by the transitory nature of such beauty. While she uses her beauty to conquer men's hearts she is fascinated by Homongolos' sheer "masculine" superiority in terms of physical strength and endurance. Sârâ is an opportunist, benefiting from situations as they arise entirely to her own advantage. However, this selfishness is the cause of great tragedy in the end: the condemnation of Sârâ is focused on her self-interested behaviour, her dissimulation and her misuse of her beauty in order to win men's admiration. She is an intelligent woman but lacks a male guardian to control her behaviour and channel her intelligence and vitality into positive, constructive activity.

In Sabahattin Ali's stories there are village wives such as Dudu in Kazlar and Emine in Sıcak Su who display the traditional qualities of absolute obedience and loyalty to their husbands, and the urban wife in Hanende Melek who is married to a degenerate lawyer and endures her husband's neglect and profligacy with patience and fortitude. These women have a quality of quiet inner strength and total acceptance of the traditional role assigned to them as wives. The "fallen" women portrayed in the stories Gramafon Avrat and Hanende Melek are both endowed with the qualities of humanity and compassion, while the young girl in the story Bir Delikanlının Hikâyesi is shown to be sensitive and vulnerable, not yet hardened by the life to which she has "fallen". On the one hand Sabahattin Ali demonstrates the conformity of women to their traditional role as wife, despite all difficulties, on the other hand he tries to show that "fallen" women are not the social outcasts that society makes them: they have very human and indeed "feminine" qualities which survive even under the harsh conditions of the life they have to lead.

Finally, I shall consider the characteristics of the heroines of two romantic novelists of the period. Esat Mahmut Karakurt wrote Dağları Bekleyen Kız in the early years of the Republic. The character of the heroine Zeyneb is not well developed at all. Brought up in Istanbul and educated in America she goes to join her father's band of rebels in the mountains when she is spurned by the man she loves. When she falls in love with another she betrays her father and his men for the sake of her new love: she is a woman ruled by emotion. Whether or not her life takes a positive or negative direction is solely dependent on the nature of the man she loves, not on her own personality or ideals.

Quite incongruously the author inserts into the narrative a brief eulogy of Turkish girls: "Köylü kızları, Türk kızları...Dünyanın en hür, en temiz, güzel kızları!.." (Village girls, Turkish girls... The most free, pure, beautiful girls in the world!..) (p. 139). Certainly these qualities do not characterise the heroine, who surrenders herself immediately to the man she falls in love with at first sight. But, in the romantic tradition, since Zeyneb and Adnan love one another, and as Adnan is quite unquestionably a "good" man, endowed with such virtues as courage, integrity and filial love, and evidently popular among his similarly virtuous comrades, so the reader is led to overlook Zeyneb's fallibility.

Woman's need for a constant mentor and guardian by her side is even more explicitly stated in Kerime Nadir's romance Funda. To emphasise the heroine's dependence she is portrayed as a child-bride, only 15 years old when she marries her cousin of 29. The couple's marital bliss is shattered when Fehiman, the young wife, is seduced while travelling in Europe without the protection of her husband. But, although Vedat her husband condemns her, both she and her husband lay the blame as much on his shoulders as hers, since it was on his insistence that she went on the trip without him. The implication is clear: an unattached woman is inevitably vulnerable to attacks on her honour. Fehiman is a loyal and devoted wife, as well as a loving mother; she is also compassionate and sensitive, and it is these qualities which lead her into situations where she is quite powerless to resist unwelcome male advances.

In the literature of the Kemalist period the qualities which are approved of and commended in women give direct expression to the expectations and ideals current in society at the time. The insistence on the vulnerability of women in literature is an expression of the continuing concern in society for the protection of women against male abuse of power, and there is a corresponding concern that women should be prevented from abusing their new rights and status in society by means of male control of the negative "feminine" qualities of irrationality, irresponsibility, impulsiveness and selfishness. Far from such negative qualities being attributed to the effects on women's characters of the circumscribed nature of their lives, or the repression of their personalities in paternalistic society they are presented as intrinsically feminine characteristics, liable to create disorder and havoc in their family or community if not constrained. Vanity is another essentially "feminine" quality which is condemned as dangerous and potentially disruptive, whereas tolerance is sought for the innocent delight to be taken in natural personal beauty (as evinced by Feride in Çalikuşu) so long as it remains nothing more than a fatuous and fleeting interest which poses no threat and is not used as a tool in manipulating male emotions.

THE 1940s AND 1950s

Women's important role in the Independence War had been widely recognised and highly praised, thus ensuring widespread acknowledgement and expectation of women's capacity for endurance and steadfastness under the most difficult conditions. These qualities were now to find

expression in the day-to-day life of the peasant women struggling in the harsh conditions of the countryside to support their families. Nermin Erdentuğ reports in her study of village life in Elazığ, carried out in the 1950s, the almost legendary tale of a woman who carried a weight which it took eight men to carry. A woman's strength was a matter of pride, and the smallest stone a woman would carry for a distance of one hour's walk would weigh about 60 pounds. However, the insistence on women's strength and endurance in their work led to harsh and pitiless attitudes on the part of the men to any display of weakness. Such attitudes are illustrated by the popular expression "Let the woman die unless she has fulfilled her job".¹¹ It has been estimated that 88 per cent of women contribute in some way to the workforce, whether in paid employment, working unpaid on the family farm, or working only within the home.¹² In the light of this figure it is only to be expected that laziness will be condemned and industriousness praised accordingly.

The increase in the area of cultivated land and the introduction and increase of cash crops, especially in the 1950s¹³ along with the Democratic Party's general policy of mechanisation in agriculture in accordance with the Marshall Plan's proposal that Turkey should give priority to agricultural production, brought greater prosperity to the villages: communications between towns and villages were improved and more and more villagers had access to radios, sewing machines, gas stoves, different foodstuffs and readymade clothes. Women's apparent reluctance to take advantage of these novelties is noted by Paul Stirling in his study of a village in Kayseri province where he says that in 1950 a wife was thought to shackle a man to the village

since she would be opposed to any move to town where she would have to try unknown cooking techniques, would have no store of home-grown food, and no kin or close neighbours around her.¹⁴ However, the increase in contact between town and village aroused a greater interest among urban dwellers in the lives of rural people. Mahmut Makal's Bizim Köy appeared in 1950 and awoke countless educated people to the fact of their ignorance of the harsh conditions under which the majority of the population were living. The lives of the women are of concern to this study, and Makal is quite explicit in his portrayal of the exploitation and oppression of village women. He describes them as having no value in the opinion of the village men and claims that they show a greater degree of fear and respect towards their husbands than the young show towards the old. A woman is her husband's slave and servant and must behave strictly according to his wishes; her very character and morals are evaluated according to the respect she shows her husband.¹⁵ In order to show her humility and respect to all men a woman would stop in her path to let any male over seven years of age pass her, even though he may be 200 paces behind her, rather than presume to walk ahead of him.¹⁶ İbrahim Yasa, too, found female submission to be the norm in the village he studied in the 1940s. He observed that family misunderstandings were shortlived because the woman nearly always submitted to the man's absolute authority.¹⁷ Stirling includes submissiveness among the qualities openly sought in a village bride, but the most important qualities required of a young girl in marriage were honour and efficiency; she should also be hardworking, skilful and good-tempered. Sex-appeal and beauty were not openly sought, but health was important.¹⁸ While these are the qualities befitting a young bride, Stirling observed

that among themselves women were gregarious: trips to fetch water or to the fields to work would be made in company, and loneliness was spoken of as a great evil.¹⁹

In a more general study Nermin Abadan attributes a fatalistic acceptance to women of the lower middle class and rural sector, claiming it to be a result of their conscious or unconscious abdication of their legal rights. However, she denies the existence of complete subjugation or seclusion even in the most traditional areas, and she carefully differentiates the lower middle class and rural sectors of the population from the urban upper middle class to explain the denial of women's full personality in the social value judgements of the former.²⁰ Women may either adapt to the submissive, subservient and subordinate role which they are often forced to assume in a socio-economic system which allows them no socially acceptable form of independence or autonomy by passive resignation to their situation, or they may become resentful, nagging and selfish in their behaviour.

In the literary works which I have selected from this period the village is often the setting for the story. The short stories of Memduh Şevket Esendal, Bekir Sıtkı Kunt, Samim Kocagöz and Sait Faik Abasıyanık provide brief sketches of people and incidents that give sharp and clear insight into the social attitudes and mores pertaining among rural communities and the urban poor. In Bu Sıska Karı Esendal portrays a destitute woman who has no-one to protect her, so she accepts the protection first of one man, who badly mistreats her, then of another, who rescues her from the first. She is totally unable to shape her destiny alone, but she is not so devoid of

initiative that she is prevented by threats from returning to her ex-protector's house to collect her few belongings. So, although totally submissive and subservient she is not absolutely without enterprise. That her protector credits her with no personality ensues from his casting her in the role of subordinate being and not entering into conversation or any real communication with her, rather than from any intrinsic lack of personality in the woman herself, though undoubtedly expression of her personality has been suppressed in the past by her previous "keeper" and is still subdued, even after four years of living with her benign protector.

The most striking and positive quality of the women of Bekir Sıtkı Kunt's stories Zeynep Kadın and Gönül Bu! and of Samim Kocagöz' Fındık Yaprakları is their industriousness. Their work is hard and their health may be broken by it but they have no choice other than to carry on. In Sait Faik's short sketches women appear as the harbingers of trouble for men, in Sarıç and Lohusa, and Kıskançlık, in the sense that they and the feelings they arouse in men cause disruption in men's lives.

In an urban setting the women of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's novel Huzur and Peyami Safa's novel Yalnızız! are under no compulsion to work. These are upper middle class, urban women: they may evince a desire to live their lives according to their own will, and be able to do so with the economic ease which they enjoy as members of wealthy families, but they have not had to work to achieve their independence. Such a woman is Nuran in Huzur, and yet she is willing to sacrifice her independence for the sake of being with the man she loves:

Erkeğinin arkasında sonuna kadar yürüyebilirdi.... Sevdiği adamın düşüncesini paylaşmak...aşkın başka bir nev'iydi. (p. 176)

(She could have followed her man to the end.... To share the thoughts of the man she loved...was another kind of love.)

She sees herself as insignificant and ingenuous, ready to follow her man wherever he leads. And yet, in Mümtaz her lover's eyes she is "the source of life" and "the mother of all reality", a woman of vital beauty and creative intelligence. He only realises her weakness when he sees her defencelessness against the claims of others, and in the end it is this vulnerability that prevails in shaping the course of her life.

According to Peyami Safa there are some women who are open and frank, who confront events with their reason rather than their feelings, "just like men".²¹ In Yalnızız! Safa traces the search of a man, Samim, for just such a woman. Samim desires purity and honesty and meets with only sin and deceit in the women he cares for. Both his niece Selmin and his protégée Meral disappoint him: Selmin practices deceit in order to teach her mother a lesson, and she scorns the traditional value attached to purity; Meral is deceitful in order to hide from Samim things she has done which she knows would displease him, and she places no value on purity either. Women are consistently shown to have no interest in serious matters: Selmin tries to answer her uncle's question as to whether or not she agrees with her communist boyfriend's ideology, but her reply only serves to demonstrate her incapacity to comprehend such matters:

"Anlamıyorum onu.... Ben zaten hiç böyle şeyleri anlamıyorum. Bazen bir fikir hoşuma gidiyor. Doğru gibi geliyor bana. Sonra düşünüyorum, bunlar birbirini tutmayan şeyler. İlerisine varmıyorum. Aklımın ermediğini anlıyorum..." (p. 132)

("I don't understand him... Anyway I never could understand such things. Sometimes an idea appeals to me. It seems to be right. Then I think about it, these are things which don't hang together. I don't go into it deeply. I realise that it is beyond me.")

Such women are condemned by Safa as having no character. The author's mouthpiece, Samim, tells his niece that most women are conceited and egotistical in an effort to hide their lack of character; they try to compensate for the deficiencies in their comprehension and will-power with stories and deceptions. Even the highest level of education would not save them from such ignorance since knowledge is not sufficient in itself: understanding is also necessary (pp. 157-158). Selmin finally accepts the guidance of her uncles, but Meral is wilful and the result, ultimately, is her self-destruction. She shows the same incapacity as Selmin for serious matters: she is curious about human psychology but has not the patience to read about it. Even the older woman in the story, Selmin's mother, is a negative character, prone to panic, exaggeration and irrational ideas. The female characters Safa creates in Yalnızız! are very much in accordance with the views he expresses in articles published in the 1940s and 1950s in newspapers. The republication of these articles in book form in 1978 suggests that his ideas about women still enjoy a certain currency. Apart from the man-like type mentioned above, which is presented as an unattainable ideal in this novel, Safa describes two other types of women in one of his articles: the woman who, because she does not think does not benefit from thought, and because she does not speak does not benefit from conversation, whose mind is a confusion of strange and vagrant desires; and the woman who is half way between the almost masculine type and the unthinking type, her understanding comes in flashes and she lives as much by her thoughts as by her

emotions.²² He believes that scientific education is wasted on most women, since many will become housewives and mothers,²³ and that women's interests do not extend to headline news or political or military articles in newspapers.²⁴ He warns that women, along with children and artists are deceitful by nature²⁵ and that women are easily led and should be protected from contact with "leftist" friends, magazines, poems or books.²⁶

In fact Safa's negative portrayal of women applies to a very small percentage of Turkey's female population: the spoilt, empty-headed women of wealthy families who are presented as parasites on society. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar is not so pessimistic in his novel Huzur but he does portray one middle-aged woman who fills her time with match-making and trying to manipulate people in order to win their attention: she is a gossip and an interfering meddler in other peoples' affairs. In contrast, Macide, another middle-aged woman in the same novel, shows all the qualities expected of a good mother and mature person: she is devoted to her husband and children, is affectionate and compassionate, warm and friendly. Her indispensability to her husband and her continuing role as a mother give her a positive function in society.

The spoilt, superficial type appears also in the plays of Cevat Fehmi Başkut which I have selected. In Paydos Hatice is portrayed as an ambitious, domineering woman who is "like a man". She is extremely materialistic and expects her husband to provide her with everything she desires. She even tries to arrange a marriage for her son with a view to her own personal benefit. Mübeccel is a similar type in

Sana Rey Veriyorum: she too is covetous and domineering, without ideals and concerned only with superficialities. Halide Edip Adivar calls her a "kind of eternal woman", and states that "We see this representation as the life companion who...pulls her man away from the right track, in whichever profession he may be".²⁷ In contrast to the vacuous Mübeccel, her step-daughter Asuman is a high-minded, idealistic, sensitive young woman who tries to persuade her father to practice again the ideals which he has now lost sight of. However, her struggle for the sake of her father, combined with her enforced renunciation of her fiancé because of her step-mother's self-seeking demands, is too much for Asuman and she suffers a nervous breakdown under the strain.

In Necati Cumalı's play Mine the main character of the title is an ordinary, pleasant and fairly shallow young woman who has no special or striking characteristics. Nürten, however, a provincial girl who has lived in the city and has had a good education, is portrayed as an empty-headed young woman with no more serious thought in her head than how to find a husband and lead a comfortable, pleasant life.

In the title story of Çamaşırcının Kızı Orhan Kemal presents a similar type of young girl: Neriman dreams of going to Istanbul and becoming a film-star, and her mother dreams of becoming a famous actress's mother; the alternative is a lifetime of monotonous drudgery. In Cemile the same author portrays a very much more realistic young woman. Cemile is only 15 but she works in a factory in order to help support her ageing father, and she is responsible for the household tasks too, although her father does what he can to help.

Her most important characteristic is her industriousness, a quality shared with most of the women in the poor immigrant community to which Cemile belongs. Indeed, in one of Cemile's neighbours the work ethic seems to be so deeply ingrained that even when seriously ill the woman is anxious to be back at work, and she complains "Evde bunaliyorum... öleceksem makinemin başında ölim..." (I can't bear being stuck at home. If I die I want to die at work.) (p. 5). Materialism and opportunism in women is again criticised in the character of Karakız, a thoroughly immoral young woman who gets drunk in public and is almost persuaded to assist in the abduction of her friend for 30 Turkish lira.

The women in Cemile have no option other than hard work, but in El Kızı which is also by Orhan Kemal, the first woman introduced is described in terms of "feminine" frailty and coquetry in direct contrast to the masculine strength and professional dedication of her fiancé. The main character in this book is Nâzan, the daughter-in-law of the title. She is so lacking in "character" that her husband Mazhar gradually loses patience with her continual inability to show that she has a mind of her own. She is compliant and submissive in the extreme. Mazhar's frustration with his wife's lack of spirit finally results in his taking a mistress, a woman of considerable independence and strength of character who previously supported herself by prostitution, but whose vitality and warmth satisfy Mazhar's desires so completely that he marries her. The subsequent events which befall the deserted wife Nâzan lead her from bad to worse, as her weakness and total inability to analyse or evaluate people or events make her an absolute victim of circumstance. She is really a caricature of the female type engendered by the old social order: an exaggerated product of traditional values abandoned in a corrupt society. Clearly, if women are

to be socialised into submissive, subservient, compliant members of society they must be protected from the evil elements within society which will exploit such characteristics if given the opportunity. This type of woman is no longer suitable for the modern society which requires a greater degree of autonomy and independence in its women, as well as in the characteristics desired of a wife. Nâzan's downfall is thus inevitable, for she is totally vulnerable once denied the protection of a husband.

In Zeliş Necati Cumalı portrays a young girl who, in complete contrast with Nazan in El Kızı, takes the lead in her relationship with her sweetheart, decides on the course of action they should take, and pleads their cause in court when her sweetheart is arrested for "abducting" her. Though headstrong and wilful Zeliş is nonetheless shown to be virtuous and responsible, but her self-determination is achieved somewhat at the expense of her sweetheart's authority.

The women in Yaşar Kemal's İnce Memed have no such extreme characterisations as those in either Zeliş or El Kızı. The women in İnce Memed are again seen to be the victim of circumstance, with little control over the events affecting their lives. For example, Hatçe is to be married to the Ağa's nephew, and only because her childhood friend Memed happens to be in love with her does she have the option to run away and escape this forced marriage. The alternatives otherwise are to stay and marry a man she does not want, or to commit suicide. So she runs away with Memed, but they are caught and she is imprisoned, while Memed escapes and becomes a bandit, living in the mountains. Memed later rescues Hatçe from prison, along with Iraz, a

fellow prisoner, and they all hide out in the mountains. Hatçe's weakness is the factor which finally precipitates their capture: she complains at being left alone while Memed and Iraz go to the village, because she is pregnant and therefore cannot go with them. So Memed goes alone, but in his anger at her demurring he forgets to cover his tracks, and so their hideout is discovered. In contrast to Hatçe's weakness the older women who figure prominently in the novel, Iraz and HÜRÜ, show great strength and fortitude. Iraz becomes "the equal of any bandit", while retaining the soft, caring warmth of a mother in her affection for Hatçe. HÜRÜ is an active agent for Memed in the village, rousing the villagers to rebel against the Ağa and persuading Memed to kill the village Ağa instead of taking up the opportunity of an amnesty. She is an active participant in what would otherwise be male discussions, and does not withdraw from the presence of male strangers. A nice illustration of the great physical strength expected of women in Anatolian villages is given in the episode of the woman who rescues the village Ağa from Memed and his men by carrying him out of a blazing house concealed in a rolled-up carpet which she carries out under her arm.

In Teneke, also by Yaşar Kemal, Zeyno appears as another strong-willed and active woman, similar to HÜRÜ in İnce Memed. She is also endowed with "feminine" qualities, showing affection, compassion and kindness, but she is the very antithesis of resignation or compliance, rousing the villagers and leading them into confrontation with the local big landowners. She has no hesitation in speaking out for the village to present their case to the governor. She is a widow, and has managed to work her fields and bring up and marry off three

children single-handed. During the Independence War she had joined the fighting bands of rebels. She seems to be a synthesis of all the positive characteristics commonly associated both with masculinity and with femininity: "Zeyno erkek gibiydi... Bütün köyün tek anasıydı..." (Zeyno was like a man...She was the mother of the whole village...) (p. 53). Significantly she is past child-bearing age and implicitly asexual.

In the literature of the 1940s and 1950s which we have examined the characteristics meeting with explicit disapprobation include excessive resignation, submission, compliance and such like, materialism and superficiality, as well as lack of seriousness or commitment and consequent deceitfulness and disregard for traditional values concerning purity. The condemnation of resignation has its counterpart in the positive portrayals of socially active women who even take on roles of leadership at village level. These women of initiative are, however, generally older, more mature women, whose "masculine" qualities do not therefore impinge on the "feminine" role requirements of a young unmarried woman, a bride or a young mother. For young women roles of leadership are confined to the context of the domestic sphere, but more often leadership is denied to them completely and they are instead presented as being vulnerable and defenceless. Nevertheless, the nature of the protection envisaged as necessary for women has now changed to guidance rather than autocratic, authoritarian control or restraint.

THE 1960s AND 1970s

Recent years have seen a growing interest in sociological and anthropological analysis of Turkish society, and through these studies there seems to have emerged a general consensus that the capitalist basis of Turkish society has served to cast women into the role of consumer, and one who attempts to achieve upward social mobility by conspicuous consumption and through marriage.²⁸ Women are encouraged to greater and greater expenditure on luxury goods by the mass media and large circulation magazines.²⁹ The male and female stereotypes to be found in television advertisements reinforce common ideas: men are to be seen reading, drinking, driving, participating in sport, wearing "distinguished" clothes and making decisions, while women appear following the fashions, applying make-up, knitting, washing up, doing laundry, cleaning the house and looking after children.³⁰ Formal education also directs women into the role of consumer rather than producer. Gül Ergil's article shows that in three Five Year Plans produced by the State Planning Organisation girls' education has been set the aim of making girls into good housewives or channelling them into "suitable" occupations; women are thus deterred from breaking out from certain specific "female" occupations and this in turn hinders improvement in women's status in society.³¹ Furthermore, it has been claimed that the liberation of women from much of their traditional toil is a factor in a woman increasingly becoming transformed into a "conspicuous consumption item for males" as she has begun to enjoy leisure, rather than being a productive member of society.³²

Changes in the structure of production have inevitably brought about important developments in the attitudes and value judgements relating to women, who are now in danger of being condemned broadly as parasitic luxuries even though they may be highly educated and credited with as much intelligence as men. Blinded by the desire to satisfy their materialistic acquisitiveness, which is encouraged on all sides, women's political consciousness is suppressed, and they become alienated from the struggle to improve society and find solutions to the real problems facing society.

The role of consumer, rather than producer, is most widely applicable to urban women, especially upper class urban women, not only because of the obvious practical limitations but also because among the poorer and rural women exposure to either formal education or the mass media is very limited. It is perhaps worth stating that women need not only opportunities to become literate, but also an unrestrictive social environment which will encourage them to use their literacy skills once acquired.³³ In 1970 the discrepancy in literacy rates between men and women was 7 to 4 in Turkey as a whole³⁴ but a survey carried out in 220 villages in 1968 indicates an even wider disparity outside urban centres.³⁵ The same survey shows that less than half the number of women in the villages read newspapers regularly, compared with men³⁶ and according to another report two out of three men who generally do not read newspapers themselves would listen to someone else reading aloud - an opportunity denied to most women.³⁷ No great discrepancy was found in the figures for men and women listening regularly to the radio, but differences did emerge in the nature of the programmes listened to: twice as many women as men listened mostly to music and

folk songs, while this ratio is reversed for those listening mostly to news programmes.³⁸ The circumscribed nature of women's lives is further illustrated in the same survey by facts such as: only one woman goes to the cinema for every three men³⁹ and almost four out of ten women, compared with only one in twenty men, had never left their village.⁴⁰ We can conclude that village women generally have a comparatively low exposure to mass media and have narrow social and geographical networks. The point can also be made that females are further disadvantaged in that their personal communication network is composed of people who also have low education and media exposure.⁴¹ The report by the Türk İktisatçılar Birliği concludes that, cut off from outside influences and knowledge of other ways of life and conditions, women are led to accept their own situation as natural, and not to strive for change.⁴² A survey carried out among married women with children living in an Ankara gecekondu reveals a similar pattern.⁴³

In the light of the preceding comments, it seems that women generally, whether consumer or producer, educated or illiterate, rich or poor, are unlikely to become a positive force for change in society. Another very important factor must also be taken into account, that is the female socialisation process, which Nermin Abadan-Unat describes thus: "She is taught discretion, chastity and obedience and is constantly encouraged to become mentally ready for situations requiring a high degree of adjustment".⁴⁴ Mübeccel Kıray relates the nature of the female socialisation process specifically to the fact that marriage is generally a girl's sole aim. So a girl is brought up ready to adapt to her husband's family and a new environment, and prepared to be a second class member of this new environment.⁴⁵ Furthermore, in order to be

able to assert her influence to any degree at all, when the supremacy of her male relatives is virtually absolute, she has to learn subtlety, dissimulation and the art of persuasion.

The successful working of this process is illustrated in the results of a survey carried out among university girls and their mothers in Istanbul which found that most mothers defined their roles in predominantly domestic terms; and that for many the "successful" woman could be defined as the "good mother and wife".⁴⁶ Both mothers and daughters were high in agreement with the suggestion that women should not give priority to their own interests at the expense of domestic harmony.⁴⁷ It should not be forgotten that the ideal of the submission of women to male authority is reinforced by religious tradition, and wide currency is still enjoyed by popular myths that claim domestic chores and food preparation are integral parts of "femininity" along with childbirth and motherhood, and that the female brain is incapable of applying itself willingly to serious study. Evidence of this is provided by publications such as Türk Kadını by Hacer Hicran Göze (1978) and Kadın-Aşk-Aile by Peyami Safa (a collection of newspaper articles written from 1933 to 1959 and republished in book form in 1978) and by a survey carried out among some gecekondu women in the 1960s, which found that 60 per cent of these women considered men more intelligent than women.⁴⁸

Despite these rather depressing pictures of women as voracious consumers, or hard-working but ignorant villagers who are invariably submissive, respectful and dutiful wives, we might expect some examples of defiance among those women who have benefited from the opportunities

for higher education and whose political consciousness has been raised, who see beyond the seductive lure of consumer goods and seek a more meaningful liberation from traditional lifestyles than merely the freedom to spend money. In the wake of the new constitution of 1961, which seemed to promise true liberation to all the people of Turkey, and in the atmosphere of social unrest which characterised the 1960s and 1970s we might also expect a call from already politically conscious men for women to join them in their struggle against social injustice and oppression generally, and perhaps a call for women to take action themselves to achieve self-fulfilment, and to realise their full potential, both as individuals and as a group. In the literature of this period we might expect such "feminine" characteristics as submission, passivity and resignation to be condemned as qualities contributing to women's enduring acceptance of victimisation and oppression. And we might expect the future to be shown to be dependent on men and women working together to overthrow all forms of exploitation, and on women's active participation in the struggle, as indeed the earlier works of Yaşar Kemal have shown in the characters of Hürü and Zeyno.

The plays Yalan by Orhan Aşena and Merdiven by Nazim Kurşunlu do not present any resounding denunciation of society itself, but both are severely critical of the extremely superficial social values held, in the main, by women. In Yalan the values attached to feminine beauty and appearances, and in Merdiven the value attached to the mere display of wifely attentiveness come under fire. Both plays roundly condemn female misuse of power. The characters in Yalan all betray remarkable weakness, not least the male characters, but the mother

takes advantage of her husband's weakness to take a lover, while both daughters, the one plain, the other pretty, are so convinced of the importance of physical beauty that the one commits suicide for the lack of it, and the other picks quarrels with her plain sister because she cannot believe that she herself is not really preferred by her plain sister's fiancé.

In Merdiven, Şefika is shown to be attentive to her husband's inconsequential needs and desires: she is solicitous and considerate, handing him his hat and coat when he goes out, and such like, but she pays no heed to his more serious wishes and her decisions rule his life, as illustrated on the occasion when he, Hamdi, is interviewed by İsmail, his prospective employer:

İsmail: Yarından itibaren işe başlasın!
 Şefika: Nerede?
 İsmail: Benim yazıhanede. (Şefika Hamdi'ye endişeyle bakar.)
 Hamdi: Ne yapacağım bunun yazıhanede?
 İsmail: Yorulmazsın, korma!.. (sic)
 Şefika: Peki de, Hamdi bey, kabul et!
 Hamdi: Müsaade et, biraz düşüneyim.

Şefika: ...
 ...Peki İsmail efendi, sen ona aldırma! Kabul...
 (p. 110)

(İsmail: He can start work tomorrow!
 Şefika: Where?
 İsmail: In my office. (Şefika gives Hamdi a worried look.)
 Hamdi: What can I do in his office?
 İsmail: You won't get tired, don't worry!
 Şefika: Say yes, Hamdi, accept!
 Hamdi: If you don't mind, I'd like to think about it.

Şefika: ...
 All right Mr. İsmail, don't mind him! It's accepted...)

That Şefika's control and management of her weak husband is presented as a negative force is evident in the fact that it is her mismanagement of their lives that results in them falling down the "ladder" (of social ranking) of the title. From retired civil servant in his own

pleasant garden house at the start of the play, Hamdi is reduced to selling on the streets the artificial flowers which his wife makes, and living in a gecekondu. The theme of the weak husband manipulated by an unscrupulous wife is dealt with more fully in Chapter V.

In Fakir Baykurt's novel Yılanların Ücü there is another characterisation of a woman in a "managing" role, but this time in the context of a mother-son relationship and with a positive interpretation. The woman in question is Irazca and her authority over her son Bayram is made quite explicit very early in the novel:

Bayram'a hemen hemen her işde söz geçiren anası sağdı.
Ocağın başkanlığı onun elindeydi. (p. 9)

(Bayram's mother was still alive, and she made her son listen to her in almost everything. She was the head of the household.)

Irazca is the one who takes the initiative in resisting encroachments on their household rights, and she does not hesitate to encourage a liaison between her son and another woman as a means of taking revenge against the woman's husband. She is genuinely fond of her daughter-in-law, but does not hesitate to put her happiness at risk for the sake of her own vengefulness and her son's pleasure. She uses her protected position as an old woman to exceed the bounds of behaviour normally tolerated in a small community with strict notions of honour: when she confronts Haceli, the man responsible for the threat to her household's rights, she insults his wife - the woman she later contrives to have her son sleep with:

Senin pasaklı bir karın var. Biz neye katlanayım senin kokar karıya? (pp. 45-46)

(Your wife is a slut. Why should we put up with your smelly wife?)

In fact Haceli's wife Fatma is only "slovenly" because of the unhealthy conditions in which she lives, and Irazca actually finds her more becoming than her daughter-in-law Haçca who has lost her youth through hard work and bearing three children. Haçca is portrayed as an industrious, considerate, gentle woman who goes out of her way to avoid arousing comment. For example, when she and Bayram return from working in the fields she insists on alighting from the cart before entering the village rather than create a cause for comment. She has devoted all her energy since marriage to building up the family farm and improving their home, even taking over the work on the land normally done by her husband while he was away doing his military service.

The difference between Haçca, a model of industriousness and devotion to home and family, and Fatma, slovenly and unfaithful to her husband, is implicitly ascribed to the simple fact that Haçca has the good fortune to be married to a "good" man, while Fatma is married to a low, somewhat despicable fellow. In other words a woman's character is easily moulded by life's circumstances, and has no strong form of its own. This also applies to the apparently strong character of Irazca, for her personality has been shaped by hardship and strengthened by having to struggle alone, without a man to protect her. She is, like the strong village women created by Yaşar Kemal, implicitly past the age of sexual activity or desire, and is therefore eligible to be endowed with "masculine" characteristics of rebelliousness, determination, courage and steadfastness in her decisions. She is, in short, a character "drawn with male lines".⁴⁹

The predominant feature of Fakir Baykurt's positively portrayed women characters is their industriousness rather than their readiness to do battle against society's wrongs. Among the short stories in the collection Cüce Muhammet, in Beşik Ürtüsü Şakkafa's wife is described: "Çalışırken yorulmuyor, dinleniyordu sanki" (When she worked she never got tired, it was as if she was relaxing) (p. 74), and in Keziban Gelin the woman of the title is introduced: "Keziban Gelin kadar çalışan, onun kadar çile çeken, çektiği çileye hiç kaşını eğmeden katlanan kadın zor bulunur." (You could hardly find a woman as hard working as Keziban, nor one who put up with so much hardship without so much as raising an eyebrow.) (p. 105).

In Bekir Yıldız' stories women's capacity for hard work is again extolled, but there are also women like Fatma in Yılanların Ücü: a woman who feels no commitment to be loyal to a husband she feels no affection for and to whom she was married against her wishes. Bekir Yıldız' story Kesik El vividly illustrates how the constraints put upon the free development and expression of women's personality begin much earlier than the moment of marriage to an undesired spouse. The story concerns a young girl, Fadime. When she reaches the age of 13 her mother makes her start to wear the çarşaf and peçe when she takes lunch to the men working in the fields:

Fadime koltuğun altındaki azıkla düştü yola.... Bir gün önce güle oynaya gittiği yollara, şimdi Fadime'nin kara bir gölgesi düşüyordu. Bu ince kızın gölgesi, yumruk altında ezilmiş soğan gibi yamyassı olmuştu sanki... (p. 16)

(Fadime set off with the food under her arm.... Along the tracks which she had gone down laughing and skipping one day before, now went her black shadow. It was as if this slight young girl's shadow had been flattened like an onion crushed by a blow from a fist.)

Fadime is attracted to one of the village boys, Osman, but when he is sent off to do his military service she is forced to marry another. However, when Osman returns to the village he visits Fadime and she, unable to resist her romantic longing, accepts him into the house despite the risk. The story Davud ile Sedef has a similar theme, although in this case the woman surrenders to purely physical desire, rather than a physical desire within the context of an emotional attachment to the illicit lover. In the same collection of stories Kuma shows a woman so devoted to her husband that she arranges for him to take a second wife, as she has not borne him any children. The story reveals the folly of such blind devotion rather than extolling it. In Dünyadan Bir Atlı Geçti the story Bir Nazlı Vardı describes a young wife who is prepared even to suffer death for the sake of her husband, whom she loves; she is innocent and loyal in the face of corruption and treachery. The common element in these stories of Bekir Yıldız is the refusal to accept a woman's loyalty and devotion to her husband at its face value as a positive attribute, instead there is the strong suggestion that women should be free to form relationships in which the expression of such qualities will be properly valued and reciprocated.

Hidayet Sayın's play Pembe Kadın also portrays a woman whose devotion to her absent husband for 30 long years ultimately is proved to have been totally misguided. The woman, Pembe of the title has had a hard life bringing up her daughter on her own, ever since her husband left, promising to return one day. Alone with her thoughts she complains bitterly about his neglect of his family responsibilities, but in front of her daughter and in the face of scepticism from other women of the

village she is loyal and firm in the avowal of her belief that one day her husband will return as he promised. The woman is obviously obstinate and stubborn, and does not face up to reality: she refuses to marry her daughter in the absence of her husband, even though the girl is now 30 years old and becoming the subject of gossip, if not ridicule, in the village. The girl is portrayed as hard working, respectful to her mother as far as her patience will allow, but slowly becoming exasperated by her mother's dogged refusal to let her marry - an exasperation which finally culminates in a defiant attempt at last to escape her mother's domination. However, her decision to elope with the Ağa's steward is no more rational than her mother's decision to go and seek out her husband, who according to the latest news has become quite wealthy and has married again. Although Pembe is determined to seek out her husband now that she has received news of him, she stands to achieve nothing by confronting him with his neglected responsibilities (herself and her daughter). The daughter Keziban's headstrong action in trying to elope is also foolish, since there is a suspicion that the man in question is no good, and indeed Pembe is convinced that he was involved in an attack on her in which she lost two fingers, so Keziban's marriage to him would undoubtedly alienate her from her mother considerably.

Cahit Atay's play Ana Hanım - Kız Hanım opens with mother and daughter both bemoaning the departure of their men, and wondering how they will manage alone. But each is so wrapped up with her own problems that she pays no heed to the other. Kız Hanım is shown as a most solicitous wife, accepting her husband's blows without a murmur, and ministering to his every need. Her husband blames her for the fact

that after five years of marriage she is still childless, so she procures a blind girl to join their household as a second wife, in the hope that she will bear children for her husband. The plan does not succeed; once again a woman's self-denial for the sake of her husband fails to secure stability or happiness in the marriage. The same basic question is given a slightly different setting in another play Sultan Gelin written by the same author. In this play Sultan is married to a sickly young man who is a complete stranger to her on her wedding night. She feels nothing but pity for him, and shows genuine concern for his condition. He is unable to consummate the marriage, but she is prepared to cover up for him in order to protect his reputation. When he dies Sultan is forced to stay on in his parents' household and wait for the younger son to reach marriageable age. Having played a large part in bringing up this young boy Sultan cannot bring herself to insist that he take her as his wife; instead she helps him to escape so that he can elope with the girl he is in love with. Sultan's self-sacrifice and willingness to help others are in sharp contrast to her inability to help herself in any way. Her industriousness serves only to win a higher bride price for her father's benefit, and her generosity of spirit is totally altruistic.

In Kurban by Güngör Dilmen the heroine Zehra is an even more tragic figure. She is portrayed as a loving mother and a faithful, devoted wife. But because of illness she is not able to satisfy her husband's physical desires. She is quite evidently a woman of intelligence, determination and great moral strength. She is caught in a situation in which her own home is at risk, and she is not prepared to sacrifice her identity for the sake of her husband's passion for another woman.

She also sees the introduction of another woman into the household as a threat to the well-being of her children, and tries to persuade her husband to give up this other woman for the sake of both herself and the children. When her husband appears to have had a change of heart Zehra is immediately ready to forgive and forget. Mahmut, her husband, refers to the conversation Zehra had overheard between himself and Mirza, the brother and guardian of the girl whom he has such a passion for:

Mahmut: (özür dileyici) Demin Mirzayla konuşan biri vardı ya şu odada o ben değildim, yeminle.
 Zehra: (anlayışlı) Değildin ya.
 Mahmut: Tut ki yarasız bir düş gördün.
 Zehra: Unutalım artık. (p. 43)

(Mahmut: (apologetically) Just now there was someone talking to Mirza - you know - in the other room. It wasn't me, I swear it.
 Zehra: (understandingly) No, it wasn't you.
 Mahmut: Just suppose that you saw a bad dream.
 Zehra: Let's forget about it now.)

However, the following day when, having been unable to conquer his desire after all, Mahmut arrives at the house with his new bride, Zehra is unshakeable in her determination not to surrender her intrinsic rights to the satisfaction of her husband's irrational passion. She answers all pleas and exhortations from her husband, the bride's brother, the village headman and the wedding party first with silence, then with cool, reasoned refusal even in the face of threats to break the door down:

Mahmut: Zorun neydi kadın, beni şu günümde gülünç etmek mi?
 Zehra: Herkesin gülünçlüğü kendinden kopar. (p. 96)

(Mahmut: What's got into you, woman, making me look ridiculous today of all days?
 Zehra: A person's being ridiculous is no fault of others.)

Zehra: Çağrısız konuklara açık değil kapım.

...

Mirza: Kardeşim kendi evine geliyor.

Zehra: Burası benim evimse onun evi değildir. (p. 98)

(Zehra: My door is not open to uninvited guests.

...

Mirza: My sister is coming to her own home.

Zehra: If this house is my home it is not hers.)

Muhtar: Gönlünce açmazsan, kanun adına aç.

Zehra: İki çocuklu kadının evine zorla girmek için kanun mu çıkarmış hükümet?

Muhtar: Sözlerimi çarpıtma.

Zehra: Sözlerin başından çarpık. (p. 100)

(Muhtar: If you won't open the door willingly, open it in the name of the law.

Zehra: Has the government brought out a law to force entry into the home of a woman with two children?

Muhtar: Don't twist my words.

Zehra: Your words are already twisted.)

Zehra will not allow any compromise on her integrity, but in order to maintain it she is left with no alternative but to cease living in a society which insists on compromise from its women. Zehra is a dramatic representation of the spirit of resistance required of women if they are to gain recognition of the rights which have been granted in law. She is a simple village woman whose rising consciousness leads her to take tragic action, but in this tragedy lies hope for future generations; the old woman Halime realises the significance of Zehra's action:

Halime: Bugün birşeyler olacak böylese. Bin, bin yıldır Anadolu kadınının sustuğu çığlık belki senin yüreğinden fıskırır. (p. 81)

(Halime: Then something will happen today. That cry which for a thousand, thousand years the women of Anatolia have stifled within them will perhaps spring from your heart.)

Moving on to characterisations of urban women in this period I shall first consider two very different works by Aziz Nesin. This writer is most famous for his humorous short stories, but I have selected a play, Tut Elimden Rovni, which the author himself considers one of his best works, and Tatlı Betüş, a sizeable book which first appeared as a serial in 1958, was revised and republished in 1964 and revised again to be published in its latest form in 1973. Tut Elimden Rovni features a woman who resists innovation and risk in both her professional life and her private life. She longs for a quiet, peaceful life of domesticity. But she feels guilty that her reluctance to participate in her husband's desires to improve and make changes in the stage act which they perform together is responsible for his constant need for new stimulation and search for a meaning to life. Mela is a strong character who has retained her identity even after years of both professional and domestic partnership with her husband. But again the suggestion is here that in an unsuccessful partnership the woman's integrity will inevitably be compromised in some way: Mela is virtually an alcoholic - she must escape from the reality of her life in order to continue to survive in it. In his study of Aziz Nesin as a humorist A. Gall finds Mela in Tut Elimden Rovni the strongest feminine character of Nesin's fiction,⁵⁰ although he also points out that few of his stories rely on characterisation and that a striking feature of Nesin's works generally is the paucity of women characters.⁵¹ Certainly the characterisation of the title figure in Tatlı Betüş hardly goes beyond the level of caricature. This is a result of the author's technique of presenting different brief impressions of the woman "Tatlı Betüş" as related by a number of men and women who have come into contact with her. Indeed, it is an interesting and curious technique, as it leaves

the reader in doubt as to whether or not the same woman is in fact being described in each case, and the author thereby creates a sort of composite picture of different aspects of the sensual, immoral woman at all stages of material wealth and destitution, governed throughout by her insatiable sexual appetite.

A somewhat similar character appears in Kemal Tahir's Karılar Koşusu in the form of Şefika, the newly appointed wardress in a prison where the women prisoners all appear to be presented as prostitutes if not by trade then by nature. The author seems to attribute unmatched powers of seduction and coquetry to Turkish women: "Ancak bizim kadınlarımızda bu kadar canlı ve manalı olan siyah gözlerini kırpiştırarak..." (Flashing their dark eyes in such a vital and meaningful way, as only our women know how...) (p. 115). I shall discuss the sexual aspect of the characterisation of Şefika in the following chapter, but suffice it to say here that the domination of Şefika's life by her sexual appetite is unconvincing in the extreme, and a bitter disappointment after she enters the novel as a hard-working, intelligent, determined and professional woman who, in contrast with the malleable, inefficient and subservient wardress whom she has replaced, does not hesitate to establish her rightful position as equal both in rights and in duties with her male colleagues.

The past twenty years have seen a remarkable increase in sales of works by women writers in Turkey. These women have contributed greatly to the realisation of female characterisations which are utterly convincing as real human beings with economic, social, intellectual, emotional and psychological backgrounds.

Nezihe Meriç's book Korsan Çıkmazı takes the form, generally, of reminiscences by some inner consciousness which seems to be common to but also apart from the two women around whom the book centres. The reminiscences are interspersed with some trivial events of one evening and the technique serves to demonstrate the inner isolation of a woman even within the setting of a close-knit social circle. The two women, Meli and Berni, are old school friends; Meli is a teacher and a writer, who derives great satisfaction from her work, but also loves her husband and daughter dearly; Berni is equally well educated but is content to make a career out of being the perfect housewife and mother, she takes a great interest in fashion and appearance, and other trivialities. Both women are intelligent and caring, and consciously seek personal fulfilment in their lives, whether it be wholly through the domestic role or through a combination of domestic responsibilities and career. And yet both women are ultimately lonely: this is the significance of the cul-de-sac of the title. The two women have had every opportunity for a happy, satisfying life and to form close, happy and meaningful relationships. Indeed, both women love their husbands and are loved in return and yet they are essentially alone: their level of communication with others leaves them in isolation. The reader is given no clue to the reasons for this failure, and it is difficult to see any cause relating to the characters of the women, for the two are largely complementary: the one tomboyish and unconventional, the other extremely "feminine" and conservative, to the extent that she sees herself more suited to an earlier era.

The main character, Aysel, of Adalet Ağaoğlu's novel Ölmeye Yatmak is also analysed in great psychological depth. She is also very alone,

and the feeling of aloneness is dramatically intensified by placing the book's "present" in the crucial morning when Aysel has gone alone to an hotel room in order to "lie down to die". This lying down to die which gives the book its title, is in fact a process of preparation for Aysel's rebirth, a period of careful self-analysis in the wake of a series of inter-related emotionally disturbing events. She has rediscovered her femininity after years of functioning as an intellectual, professional person, married to a cold, undemonstrative man. She is at last able to reconcile what had seemed to be mutually exclusive elements into a comprehensive, composite being: her new self. The event which first awakens her to the possibility of realising the fusion of these previously disparate parts is her sleeping with her student, a man younger and less educated than herself, for whom her most significant quality is her femininity. She reminisces about the night she spent with her student as she is "lying down to die":

Yeniden diri, dolu bir kızdım. Bütün aklım, bilgim, saçlarım, dudaklarım, göğsüm, belim, dünyaya bakışım, gülüşüm, söyleyişim bir bütün halinde ortaya dökülüyordu. Bir arada hem saygıdeğer, hem saygıdeğmez; hem kusursuz, hem kusurlu; hem giyinik hem çıplak. Hem kadın, hem insan. (p. 179)

(I was once again a fresh, full-blooded young girl. My whole mind, knowledge, hair, lips, breasts, waist, outlook on the world, way of smiling, way of speaking were all out in the open. I was at one and the same time both worthy and unworthy of respect, both with and without fault, both clothed and naked. Both woman and human being.)

Aysel realises that at last, through the help of her student lover, she has learnt to know herself. It is interesting that nowhere in the book is there a description of Aysel's physical appearance; not even in terms of compliments from her male admirers, and yet Aysel definitely does take an interest in her appearance, as she goes to have a manicure regularly, and when she is "lying down to die" she thinks to herself: "Kendi gözümde yeniden güzelleşip büyüyorum." (In my own eyes

I am growing and becoming beautiful once again.) (p. 110). As a young girl she was keen to go to university, and had no patience for the trivial chit-chat of other girls. The author indicates her contempt for the female preoccupation with artificial beauty, especially in a socio-economic situation where many people can hardly find clothing to cover their backs. Society in general, she suggests, is concerned with cosmetics and not with the reality of the underlying structure. The young Aysel is more perceptive, however, and vows to be of service to her country, alongside the men, who should not have to struggle alone. In a disappointed comment on young girls of his own generation Aysel's young student lover bemoans the fact that most of them are "unaware that they had serious responsibilities" (p. 351).

When Aysel was a young girl her mother was forever wishing that Aysel would be more like her. She is a woman of simple pleasures and few demands: she could be content in her life if only there were no quarrels between her husband and her children; a trip to the cinema once in a while is quite enough to keep her happy. She has not experienced the inner turmoil created by conflicting currents of thought such as Aysel goes through in her youth, when traditional values are instilled into her at home, socialising her for the "female" role of wife and mother, while at school she is taught "modern", "western" values of male-female equality in public and social life, inspiring her to aim for higher education and an independent career.

Aysel emerges as a character of as great complexity as a real individual. Her most outstanding feature is her determination to control her own life, and to live according to her knowledge of herself.

The fact that she only comes to know herself fully at the time when she is facing the change of life serves to indicate that her new-found confidence and peace of mind are independent of physiological changes: she has faced her dilemma and overcome it. She now goes forward into a new life of full consciousness as both a woman and a human being, as an individual and as a member of society.

In Bıcağın Ucu by male author Attila İlhan, the heroine Suat faces a dual crisis of identity. She is married but has no children, and she is faced with the awful realisation that she is slowly undergoing a transformation of her sexual desires. An important factor in Suat's increasing tendency to lesbianism appears to be her feeling of superiority over her husband, whom she regards as a coward, and a person of weak political commitment. Suat has cut herself off from the world and her husband, retreating into a fantasy world of fiction. The reader is first introduced to her through her husband Halim's reflections about her as he puts off going home in order not to have to face her remoteness: "Bakışları bomboş, yüzü solgun...bir dünyadan kıyasıya kopuk." (Her looks were vacant, her face colourless...she was quite cut off from the world.) (p. 18). Her escape into the world of French novels serves to elevate her from the role of meticulous housewife, a role which she abhors:

Kitaplar olmasa Suat hiç olmazdı, ya da öbürlerinin eşi sıradan bir ev kadını olurdu: yassı, somurtkan bir yaşantının ağır ağır ufaladığı bir kadın...

Bunun dışında, iç boyutlarını saçmalık derecesinde geliştiren, düşlerarası, başka bir yaşantıyı sürdürüyordu. Bu başkalarıyla, çaresiz kocasıyla de, bütün ilişkilerini koparan bir yaşantıydı. (pp. 34-35)

(If there were no books there would be no Suat; or else she would have been like all the other wives, an ordinary housewife: a woman slowly eaten away by a flat, miserable life...

Apart from this she lived another life in her dreams, one which developed her inner dimensions to the level of the absurd. And this other life was cutting off all her links with other people, and, inevitably her husband too.)

This, then, is Suat's second crisis of identity: the clash between her role as a wife and housewife, and her intellectual life. She feels anomie and boredom for her mundane life, and yet she cannot totally cast off her ties with the reality of day to day life:

..kendimi başka birisi sanıyordum. Bir gece kim olduğumu anlar gibi oldum. O gün bugündür, gerçek benliğimin hangisi olduğunu bir türlü kestiremiyorum, o mu yoksa bu mu? (p. 281)

(..I thought I was someone else. One night I thought I had found out who I was. From that day on I just haven't been able to decide which one is my real self, this one or that one?)

Evidently the two aspects of her inner conflict are closely related: acceptance of her lesbian nature is a further expression of her escape into fantasy, while the realities of domestic life demand a return to normal relations with her husband. The thought of death as a simple means of escape finally becomes overwhelmingly attractive to Suat when she hears that the woman she fancied herself in love with has married. But she discovers that she is too much of a coward to actually kill herself, and she finally comes to the realisation that she has been a coward all her life, never having lived her life to the full because she has been too afraid. The realisation that she has wasted her own life, while all the time blaming her husband for shortcomings which were in fact more in evidence in herself, brings her to a new understanding with her husband. We are led to believe that her crisis of identity has been resolved by a sudden flash of insight, in something of the same way as Aysel resolves her crisis in Ölmeye Yatmak except that in this case the implication is that Suat's rebirth is



dependent on the support and loving understanding of her husband, whereas Aysel was prepared to start out alone in her new life. It may be relevant to remember at this point that the creator of Suat is a man, while Aysel's creator is a woman.

Emine Işınsu's heroine Ceren in Tutsak is similar to Attila İlhan's Suat, in that she too is a bored housewife. She is also an artist, but she has lost the inspiration to paint and derives little satisfaction from her domestic duties, since her daily help takes care of the children for most of the time, as well as doing the domestic chores. Ceren feels that she has been left with no personal identity; she has spent her whole life for others and has kept nothing for herself. She considers the nature of her marriage to Orhan:

Ceren, baba evindeki mes'uliyetinin daha da ağırlaşarak devam ettiğini hissediyordu.... "Çocuklar ağlamasınlar, Orhan'ın bütün ihtiyaçları karşılasın ki, Ceren'i kırabilecek bir laf etmesin... Dostlar alınmasınlar..." Bu sessiz fırtınanın içinde, hani Ceren? Nerede? Ceren diye biri ola mı ki, onun kendi istekleri, kesin kararlı sözleri olabilsin! (p. 45)

(Ceren felt that the responsibility she had held in her father's house was continuing in an even more burdensome way.... "Don't let the children cry, see that Orhan's every need is met so that he won't say anything to upset Ceren. Don't let friends take umbrage." What had happened to Ceren in this silent storm? Where was she? Did anyone called Ceren exist, that she could have desires or make decisions of her own?)

She sees herself as a prisoner in her own home, and she forbids herself to think any more. She does not know what she wants and yet she blames her husband for his unfeelingness and shallowness. In the end she realises that she has made herself a prisoner by her own choice, by her refusal to consider life outside the limitations of her marriage to Orhan. She had endured suffering and self-destruction for the sake of the security of marriage simply because she was afraid of considering any unknown alternative. She is unhappy and sees her husband as the

cause of her unhappiness, but there is no evidence to suggest that she is capable of being happy alone. Ceren's friend Selma has already divorced her husband, and is determined to make a success of living alone. But she still suffers periods of self-doubt and lack of confidence. She cannot prevent herself from occasionally longing for the attentions and companionship of a man. The author acknowledges the fact that women may desire to live independently of men, but she leaves their ability to actually do so very much open to question.

Fürüzan, in the collection of stories Parasız Yatılı is also concerned with the plight of single women in a society which is still geared to family units as the basis of its organisation. The women of these stories are generally very ordinary women, many of whom are socially deprived in some way, for example widowed with a young child to care for, or rural women uprooted from their village and brought to settle in Istanbul and such like. The author attempts to describe both the inner and outer world of women and girls, but she credits them only with thoughts as narrowly confined as their lives are. The stories thus generally take the form of reminiscences or simple hopes and plans or anxieties, and worries for the future. There is little depth or character in her studies of women, and they appear predominantly to be preoccupied with trivialities. For example, the woman in "Taşralı" is concerned with her appearance:

Eskidenki güzelliğini, saçlarını boyamakla, bejlerin grilerin en yumuşaklarını giymekle sürdürme çabasındaydı. (p. 32)

(She was struggling to prolong her past beauty by dyeing her hair and wearing the softest beiges and greys.)

Sevgi Soysal also highlights middle-class women's preoccupation with trivialities in her book Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti, but a more important theme is the disinterest of women in the struggle against the corrupt and corrupting socio-economic system. The book opens with a very unsympathetic generalised portrayal of the housewife out shopping:

...ev ihtiyaçlarını hayatın merkezi sanan dar görüşlü ev kadınları, ev eşyalarında hiç bıkmadan yenilik ve değişiklik yaparak hayatlarını renklendirdiklerini sanan...kafesleri için durmadan para ve emek tüketen tutsak kuşlar... (pp. 5-6)

(... narrow-minded housewives who consider household needs the very centre of life, who think they can brighten their lives by ceaselessly creating novelty and change among their household effects...captive birds who do nothing but spend money and labour on their cages.)

Though she thus clearly dismisses middle-class housewives as parasites she gives praise to the poor housewife who takes a pride in her domestic work; indeed, Ali's mother is portrayed as the perfect housewife:

Annem bize en temiz çarşafı layık gördüğünden her gün çamaşır yıkar.... "Yoksulluk pislik demek değil" dedi, "çamaşır yıkamak para ile değil ya!" (p. 183)

(My mother used to wash laundry every day because she thought we deserved the cleanest of sheets.... She used to say "Poverty doesn't mean dirt. You don't use money to do the laundry".

As a middle-class woman Hatice is shown to be a woman of no tolerance or understanding, evaluating people and events at an entirely superficial level. We see her approached by a beggar woman:

Dilenci kadına, bütün bu adam olmayışların tek nedeni oymuşcasına öfkeyle baktı. Bakışın sertliği onu oralardan kaldırsın, nerelere gitmesi gerekiyorsa oralara yollasın istedi. Ama dilenci kadın büyük bir piskinlikle sürdürüyordu dilenmesini. Hatice hanım memleketin düzelmesinden iyice kesmişti umudunu... (p. 44)

(She looked at the beggar woman with loathing, as if she were the sole cause of all hopelessness. The severity of her gaze wished the woman away, anywhere, but far away. But the beggar woman was continuing to beg, in a most experienced way. Hatice lost all hope of the country ever being put in order...

The apathy of women with regard to political involvement is most explicitly illustrated in the characters of Olcay and Mevhibe. Mevhibe is the daughter of a government minister who, when she was a girl, enrolled her as a member of his political party, not through any real support for women's rights, but in order to make an example of his daughter in the question of the need for women to take their place in social life. He did not think it necessary to ask his daughter about it first, and indeed, her party membership remains a dead letter. Mevhibe's daughter Olcay is shown to be more influenced in her actions by her feeling than by reason or argument: she forms a relationship with Ali, and accepts his ideas because of her feelings for him, not because she is convinced of the merit of his ideas. She remains only a passive follower of Ali's political activity. Soysal points to the conditioning which Olcay has undergone, which has led her to accept the notion of male authority and superiority from childhood:

...eski cümleler geliyordu aklına: "Olcay ağabeyinin odasına girme!" "O hem erkek, hem büyük, onun hakkı!" "Ağabeyin haklı, o erkek!" "O erkek, ona gerekli, o erkek, o okumalı, o erkek, yapar, o erkek, alır..." Çocukluk anılarının cümleleri uzayıp gidiyordu, böyle. Olcay bu cümlelere ne kadar kızsada bunlarla şartlanmıştı. (p. 203)

(...old phrases kept going through her mind: "Olcay don't go into your brother's room." "He is a boy, and older, it's his right." "Your brother is right, he is a man." "He is a man, he needs it; he is a man, he must have an education; he is a man, he can do that; he is a man, he can have that..." These phrases from her memories of childhood kept stretching out in front of her. And however much she got angry with them, it was with such phrases as these that she had been conditioned.)

But the author's message is that women should now take an active role in reforming society, and clearly the apathy of urban middle-class women with regard to real social problems, their frivolity and parasitic role in society are put under fire throughout the book.

The quality of resignation characterises few of the female characters in the works selected for this period. Where it does occur it is presented as a natural consequence of the denial of any degree of self-determination to women in rural society, in which conformity to social customs and traditions, characterised by subordination and submission to men is demanded of women.

In Asilacak Kadın the female writer Pınar Kür portrays her central character, the woman to be hanged of the tile, as the very embodiment of resignation. The woman does not speak aloud throughout the book, we know her only through her thoughts. She is abused and exploited by almost everyone she comes into contact with and makes no attempt to escape from her miserable existence. Finally, when a young idealistic lover tries to save her by killing her depraved husband she is accused of having committed the murder and stands trial with sentence of death. Her passive resignation to her fate prevents her from speaking out in defence of herself, and therefore brings about her final downfall. In interview the author explained how the sexual exploitation of the woman represents the political and economic exploitation of the masses, while the total passivity and resignation of the woman to her miserable existence and final sentence reflects the apathy of the masses. However, this deeper, political interpretation of the novel as a condemnation of the common masses for their resigned acceptance of oppression and exploitation in society at large is overshadowed by the main impact of the work as an extravagant and somewhat fanciful but nonetheless effective statement against the personal quality of resignation.

A major development in this latest period with regard to the portrayal of female character in Turkish literature can be summed up as the greater consideration of the question of the interaction of the "social" and the "individual" which has meant that women are depicted with their full economic, social, intellectual and psychological backgrounds, so that they emerge as real individuals and not as idealised types or caricatures. There is an increased tendency to relate "feminine" characteristics to the effects of life's circumstances and society's attitudes and expectations of women. These trends are especially evident in the works of women writers. On the other hand, the implication that women's character is weak and malleable, with little original or enduring substance of its own, is still in evidence in some of the works by male authors.

In line with the expectations outlined earlier in this section, industriousness is indeed a conspicuous virtue. Likewise, laziness is condemned, and often combined with further abhorrent characteristics such as stupidity and the parasitic nature of the voracious consumer. Women endowed with strong, independent characters appear in both positive and negative roles: on the one hand showing courage and determination in defending their own and their families' rights, on the other hand drastically mismanaging their own and their husbands' or families' lives and bringing ruin on them all.

The newly emerging portrayals of very ordinary women show them to be often either in search of their own identity, or conscious of the need to protect their identity as the most precious essence of their being, upon which their integrity depends. The woman who is prepared to

compromise her essential integrity for the sake of her family or her husband is no longer automatically the object of praise, and this change of attitude has serious implications for the concepts of female sexuality and honour and shame, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Finally, the call to women which emerges most clearly from the treatment of female character in the works of this period is the call for women to raise their level of consciousness, both political and personal.

NOTES

1. Tezer Taşkıran, Women in Turkey, (1976), p. 63.
2. Binnaz Sayari, "Türk Kadını ve Din" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 389.
3. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women in Turkish Society: Seminar Report", (16-19 May 1978), p. 36.
4. Halide Edip Adivar, "Women's Part in Turkey's Progress" in The Opencourt XLVI, (1932), p. 358.
5. Cited in Binnaz Sayari, "Türk Kadını ve Din" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 386.
6. Sevdâ Şener, Çağdaş Türk Tiyatrosunda İnsan (1923-72), (1972), pp. 64-65.
7. Ibid., pp. 66 & 103.
8. Ibid., p. 72.
9. Türkân Poyraz and Muazzez Albek, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Hayatı ve Eserlerin Tam Listesi, (1957), p. 6.
10. İbrahim Tatarlı and Reza Mollof, Marksist Acıdan Türk Romanı, (1969), p. 31.
11. Nermin Erdentuğ, A Study on the Social Structure of a Turkish Village, (1959), pp. 43-44.
12. Evinç Dinçer, "Türk Toplumunda Kadın Sorunu", (in Kadın ve Sosyalizm, August Bebel, (1966), p. 30.
13. Rüşen Keleş and Orhan Türkay, Köylü Gözü ile Türk Köylerinde İktisadi ve Toplumsal Değişme, (1962), pp. 68-69.
14. Paul Stirling, "Cause, Knowledge and Change: Turkish Village Revisited", in Choice and Change, John Davis (ed.), (1974), pp. 212-213.
15. Mahmut Makal, Bizim Köy, (1950), pp. 73-74.
16. Ibid., p. 75.
17. İbrahim Yasa, Hasanoğlan - Socioeconomic Structure of a Turkish Village, (1957), p. 119.
18. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (1965), p. 189.

19. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (1965), p. 173.
20. Nermin Abadan (Unat), Social Change and Turkish Women, (1963), p. 28.
21. Peyami Safa, Kadın - Aşk - Aile, (1978), p. 18.
22. Ibid., p. 19.
23. Ibid., pp. 23-24.
24. Ibid., p. 45.
25. Ibid., p. 28.
26. Ibid., p. 188.
27. Halide Edip Adıvar's introduction to Sana Rey Veriyorum by Cevat Fehmi Başkut, (1951), p. vi.
28. Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women" in International Migration Review XI, No. 1, (Spring 1977), p. 45.
29. Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), Türk Toplumunda Kadın, (1979), in her own article: "Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Kadını (1926-1976)", p. 35.
30. Tansı Şenyapılı, "Metropol Bölgelerin Yeni Bir Üyesi Gecekondu Kadın" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 302. Şenyapılı also states that until the time of writing not one television commercial had shown a woman reading.
31. Gül Ergil, "Üç Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planlarında Kadınlara İlişkin Siyasalar ve Dolaylı Sonuçları" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 231.
32. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Sex Roles and Social Change: A Comparative Appraisal of Turkey's Women" in Signs III, No. 1, (Autumn 1977), p. 73.
33. Ayşe Kudat Sertel, "Sex Differences in Status and Attitudes in Rural Turkey" in Hacettepe Bulletin of Social Sciences and Humanities IV, No. 1, (1972), p. 63.
34. The figures are 69 per cent for men and 40 per cent for women; Füsun Tayanç and Tunç Tayanç, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), p. 145.
35. While 86 per cent of the villages included in the survey had a school, and 84 per cent of men between the ages of 16 and 24 were literate (64 per cent overall), only 41 per cent of women in the same age group, and no more than 2 per cent of women over 50 years of age were literate (17 per cent overall); Ahmet Tuğaç, "Indices of Modernization: Erenköy, A Case of Local Initiative" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.) (1974), p. 160.

36. Ahmet Tuğaç et al, Modernization in Turkish Villages, (1974), p. 295.
37. Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği, Türkiye'de Kadının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu, (1975), p. 69.
38. Ahmet Tuğaç et al, Modernization in Turkish Villages, (1974), pp. 297 & 299.
39. Ibid., p. 302.
40. Ibid., pp. 158-159.
41. Ayşe Kudat Sertel, "Sex Differences in Status and Attitudes in Rural Turkey", in Hacettepe Bulletin of Social Sciences and Humanities IV, No. 1, (1972), p. 66.
42. Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği, Türkiye'de Kadının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu, (1975), p. 70.
43. According to the study by Sabine Dirks, 4 per cent of women go to the cinema, compared with 20 per cent of their husbands; 24 per cent listen to the radio, while 56 per cent of their husbands do so, 4 per cent read magazines, while 72 per cent of their husbands read newspapers; 48 per cent of women were not allowed out without first asking their husbands' permission, but nevertheless 76 per cent of women did visit their neighbours, compared with only 16 per cent of husbands (44 per cent of husbands prefer to meet their friends in a coffee house); in La Famille Musulmane Turque - Son Evolution au 20e. Siècle, (1969), pp. 109 & 113.
44. Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women" in International Migration Review XI, No. 1, (Spring 1977), pp. 37-38.
45. Mübeccel Belik Karay, Ereğli Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası, (1964), p. 121.
46. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Intergenerational Change Among Turkish Women", (1978), p. 6.
47. Ibid., Table 9.
48. Sabine Dirks, La Famille Musulmane Turque - Son Evolution au 20e. Siècle, (1969), p. 110.
49. İbrahim Tatarlı and Reza Hollof, Marksist Acıdan Türk Romanı, (1969), p. 224.
50. A. Gall, Aziz Nesin: Contemporary Turkish Humorist, (1974), p. 228.
51. Ibid., p. 218.

CHAPTER IV

HONOUR, SHAME AND THE SEXUALITY OF WOMEN

1923-1940

Much has been written on the concept of honour and shame and the nature of female sexuality in Middle Eastern Muslim societies, and I do not wish to attempt to analyse these questions here.¹ Suffice it to say that a strong body of tradition surrounds these notions in Turkey. According to these traditions women are expected to remain virgins until married, and to remain chaste after marriage, but the duty of defending the sexual purity of the women is delegated to men. A woman's responsibility in the matter is thus diminished, and her consequent vulnerability means that any situation which may expose her to danger is to be avoided. This is a logic which demands either the exclusion of women from public places, or protective male support when in public, or both. Once a woman's sexual purity has been violated there is no way she can redeem her honour, even if she is an innocent victim of sexual assault, for concern for women's chastity is a social concern, involving convention, rather than a private concern involving moral conscience. Violation of a woman's honour therefore demands public vengeance against the violator, and against the woman if she is in any way seen to have actively or voluntarily participated. The shame attaching even to an innocent victim will often force the woman to remove herself from her family in order not to be

a constant reminder to them of the disgrace she has innocently brought upon them. The fact that more women than men, and in particular young girls and young women, commit suicide² may well be connected with questions of "dishonour". The traditionally early age at which girls are given in marriage, as well as the customs of seclusion, segregation and veiling, and the upholding of "feminine" virtues such as modesty, submission and docility in the socialisation of girls are all safeguards for the purity of girls before marriage and for the chastity of all women.

A correlative of the system which requires male control of female sexuality is the concept of unrestrained female sexuality as a dangerous, destructive force. Sexually "free" women are, however, also subject to male control, in that they are dependent on male clients or patrons, and they are not acknowledged as full members of society either by men or by women. As an extension of the negative values attached to female sexuality, within the family all outward signs of intimacy or affection between husband and wife are traditionally prohibited, especially in front of older members of the family, particularly males, to whom respect must always be shown.

Through his own example, and by means of legislation, Atatürk sought to encourage a greater tolerance and understanding in society towards male-female relations. In September 1925, for example, he presided at a ball in Izmir, at which Muslim men and women danced together for the first time.³ Furthermore, Article 423 of the Penal Code introduced during the Kemalist period provided punishment of six months to one year imprisonment for a man who seduced a woman by promising

marriage,⁴ thereby clearly apportioning blame to the man, in an attempt to lift some of the burden of guilt from the supposedly weak, gullible woman. And yet Articles 440 and 441 of the Penal Code relating to adultery, clearly uphold the usual double standard relating to male and female fidelity: the penalty of three to thirty months imprisonment which can be awarded to a woman caught in flagrante delicto or seen in compromising circumstances is only awarded to the adulterous husband if he has kept his mistress in the marital home.⁵

That traditional strategies for the protection of female virtue were in operation in the villages right up to the end of the Kemalist period is illustrated in an extract from a village study made in 1938, in which it was recorded that women of the village were protected by men not only of their own family but of their own mahalle (quarter) too; men seldom entered a mahalle other than their own, and women rarely had cause to do so either, even to visit other women; nor were women allowed to enter the bazaar area, although a restriction on women attending the weekly market was lifted somewhat after 1923.⁶

Sevda Şener's study of plays of the Kemalist period finds that along with a weakness for modern living, the sexual passions of the well-off, snobbish women characters are stressed.⁷ Another study has identified a common concern among early Republican writers such as Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Peyami Safa and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar with the dangers that seemed to be facing the family institution and morals, especially the sexual morals of women.⁸ Since social transformation tended to be identified with the risk of moral degeneration, girls brought up in progressive circles or educated in foreign schools were thought likely to be easily led astray.

Çalığı can be clearly seen as an attempt by the author Reşat Nuri to show that this fear was unfounded.⁹ The innocence and purity of the heroine Feride is evident both in the naiveté of her actions and in the natural symbolism with which she describes her own appearance:

...seher aydınlığı gibi berrak, kırağılarla ıslanmış nisan gülleri gibi taze... (p. 264)

(...bright as morning and fresh as April roses touched with hoar frost...) (p. 244)

These are both unmistakably virginal images. More important, however, is her substitution of a husband with work to benefit others. Since the story is told in the form of Feride's personal diary the reader is assured of her innocence even when she becomes "the talk of the town" and is told by the headmistress of the school where she is working that she will have to leave her post; and again when she ruins her reputation completely and cannot even bear to look her adopted daughter in the face because the weight of public opinion against her leads her to see herself as a "fallen" woman. The headmistress, realising Feride's innocence, regrets not having kept a closer watch over her in order to protect her, but it is too late - there is nothing for her to do but insist that Feride leaves the town. When Feride finds a new protector in the person of the elderly doctor Hayrullah she again becomes the victim of malicious gossip, and so she agrees to marry him in order to allay the slanderous rumours against her character. Feride misjudges the doctor and fears that she will at last be forced to be unfaithful to the one man she has ever loved - her cousin, whose infidelity to her caused her to run away and take up teaching as a career in the first place. However, the fatherly doctor continues to treat her as a daughter. And yet, when Feride's diary finishes, the letter written by Hayrullah to Feride's beloved cousin Kamran

expresses his praise of Feride's beauty in surprisingly sexual terms:

...bir hayali dudağın büsesiyle titriyor gibi görünen dudakları, bir hayali kucağa sokuluyor hissini veren tavırları... (p. 378)

(...lips trembling with imagined kisses, movements suggesting the approach to some unknown embrace...) (p. 325)

The ambiguity casts another doubt over Feride's ability to guard her own honour if it were not for her good fortune in entrusting herself to a man of integrity, understanding and self-restraint! The double standard relating to male and female fidelity which first drove Feride away from Kamran is finally accepted by her, and she even admits that she had been wrong to leave him, since she had no right to expect to be loved to the extent that she loved him. Kamran's rationalisation of his infidelity elevates the depth and permanence of his love for Feride at the expense of trivialising the feelings he had held for the woman he married, thus placing one woman's true happiness at the expense of another's.

Like Feride, Aliye in Halide Edip's romance Vurun Kahpeye! is alone in the world, with no male support or protection, and is equally pure and innocent. However, she too becomes the victim of malicious gossip, the political motive of which is disguised in attacks against her honour – her most vulnerable point since she is without male support. Public condemnation of Aliye begins with disapproval of her not wearing the veil and increases as suspicions and jealousy arise concerning her relationship with the young officer Tosun. The rise of public opinion against her is cleverly manipulated by her political enemies so that when she goes to visit the Greek commander of the enemy occupation forces her actions are deliberately misinterpreted and hostility

against her "immoral" behaviour is fanned to such a degree that she is lynched by the angry mob of villagers and stoned to death.

There is a clear statement in Aliye's story of the risks run by a woman alone in a strange community, for the passions Aliye unwittingly arouses in the men around her are in no way related to her personal qualities or worth, but simply an expression of a passion for possession, as demonstrated in the desires of the self-indulgent, war-profiteering enemy commander; or an expression of an overwhelming need to assert male superiority, as shown by the ignorantly conceited local bigwig whose pride Aliye hurts by humiliating him. The young officer Tosun, who is destined to fill the role of Aliye's protector, is not only prevented from doing so by his duty to his country, but is even forced to put Aliye in certain danger of compromising her honour for the sake of his work for the nation. So Aliye's tragic end is inevitable.

The author's preoccupation with sexual purity extends to her characterisation of Tosun, who is described as "...çok temiz hayatlı, hemen hemen, kadına hiç el sürmemiş bir Türk genciydi." (...he was a young Turkish man who had hardly touched a woman and had led a very pure life.) (p. 24). Furthermore, the sexual element in the immediate and mutual attraction that arises between Aliye and Tosun is denied; on their first meeting they are left alone together:

...bir an birbirlerinin gözlerinin içine daldılar kaldılar...
Yalnız gözleriyle değil, bütün genç vücutlarının zerreleriyle birbirlerini parçalayacak gibi çekiyor, canları gözlerinden birbirine uzanan ışıktaki birbirine kilitleniyordu. Bu, yalnız uçsuz çöllerde vahşi kaplanları birbirlerine cinsiyet çekimiyle, kasırgasıyla yaklaştıırıp birleştiren maddi bir tutku değildi... (p. 37)

(...in an instant they stood gazing into each other's eyes. They were drawn towards each other not only with their eyes, but with every atom of their bodies, as if they were going to devour each other. And their souls were locked together in the light flowing from their eyes. This was not a physical passion such as draws together and unites the wild tigers in the vast desert through sexual attraction and desire.)

In confirmation of the nobility of his sentiments Tosun immediately asks Aliye to marry him, and so control of Aliye's sexuality is assured a conventional outlet.

In contrast to Halide Edip's suppression of the sexual element in love, Yakup Kadri endows male-female relations with little more than sexual desire, but rather than equating such desires with sin he stresses the normality of sexual love and implies criticism of the system which suppresses the expression of natural emotions. However, he is still very much concerned that men should maintain control over female sexuality in order to protect family life and to prevent women from falling victim to their own weaknesses. In Yaban the young urban officer Ahmet Celâl has been in the village for seven or eight months and he complains of the lack of contact with any women, and the absence of attractive women. His complaints are directed against the inability of the village women to arouse sexual desire in him:

Anadolu'da, köylü kadını şuhluktan, naz ve işveden o kadar mahrumdur ki, onların hangi birile, böğür böğüre, koyun koyuna yatsam, vücudumun hiçbir şey duymayacağını tahmin ediyorum. İhtimal ki, çok da fena kokarlar. (p. 29)

(In Anatolia women of the villages are so lacking in coquettishness, playfulness and flirtatiousness that whichever one of them I might **sleep with I doubt if** my body would feel anything. And it is possible that they smell awful too.)

That this attitude is not merely a result of his contempt for the people of the village in general is indicated by his comments about his previous experience with women:

Benim aşklarım, daıma birer cinsiyet buhranından ibaret kaldı. Bunda çiftleşme mevsimlerinde muhtelif krizlere düşen bazı hayvanlardan farksızdım. (p. 38)

(My love affairs had all been nothing more than a sexual crisis. In this respect I was no different from some animals which suffer various crises during their mating seasons.)

Ahmet Celâl's attraction towards the village girl Emine is, likewise, of a physical nature, and his disappointment when Emine marries another focuses on the physical incompatibility of Emine's supple young body with the prematurely aged, stunted body of her husband. Since Emine's marriage forms no bond of affection between her and her husband, and since in Ahmet Celâl's judgement they are sexually incompatible anyway, he has no hesitation in taking on the responsibility of rescuing her from the possible fate of rape by the enemy soldiers and escaping with her in the hope of starting a new life together. The fact that she is now willing to go with him, although she had not been willing to marry him before, is not presented in any way as a suggestion of female fickleness, but merely as a normal outcome of a woman's need for protection.

Although there are several indications of the stricter moral code adhered to by the village girls, who wear their virginity "like an armour", compared to that of the coquettish city girls whom Ahmet Celâl has known before, the story of Cennet in Yaban is an illustration of deviation from socially accepted behaviour in the village. The story illustrates the destructive power of uncontrolled female sexuality. The fact of Cennet's sexual impurity was established at the time of her marriage to Süleyman, when she was found to have already lost her virginity, but since her husband accepted her as his wife regardless of her dishonour the people of the village eventually have had to

accept the situation also. When she is caught alone with another man and Süleyman again accepts her story, she gains a sort of prestige and power in the village: she no longer avoids the gaze of men as the other women do, and indeed when she goes to the fountain with the other women she purposely leaves undone a few of the buttons of her blouse, and quite openly watches the men passing to and fro. She dominates her husband, and is even reputed to give him a slap now and then. When she finally takes her lover into her home it is Süleyman who is most bitterly condemned by the villagers. But he is so infatuated with his wife that his only concern is that he should not lose her completely. When his wife is eventually forced to leave the village because of the weight of public opinion against her, Süleyman loses his mind and becomes almost the village idiot. The fact that the efforts of the villagers are directed towards shaming Süleyman into upholding his honour, and by extension that of the whole village, by controlling his wife's sexuality clearly illustrates an acceptance of the woman's diminished responsibility in the matter, and in addition there is the implication that since she was "taken advantage of" as a young girl Cennet cannot be held responsible for her initiation into sexual activity.

A similar lack of a husband's control over his wife's behaviour, although not specifically concerned with sexuality, is condemned in Hüseyin Rahmi's stories Meyhanede Hanımlar and Kadın Erkekleşince. In both these stories there is a strong implication that disaster could have been averted if proper authority and restraint had been exercised over the women by their husbands. The negative aspect of female sexuality which is illustrated in these stories is jealousy,

which is shown as an irrational, destructive force. In Kadın Erkekleşince the author presents an interesting version of the double standard in male-female sexual relations: Mebrure tries to persuade her son to marry an extremely unintelligent and ugly girl for the sake of her money, pointing out to him that he can always get his pleasure from outside marriage. In other words, women do not hesitate to try to profit from the traditional moral code when they can turn it to their own advantage, heedless of the fact that it will inevitably be detrimental to other women.

In the characterisation of Reşat Nuri's femme fatale Sârâ in the story Bir Kadın Düşmanı the destructiveness of female sexuality is again made evident. Sârâ is quite explicitly using her femininity to overcome the resistance of the woman-hater Homongolos, and she is confident of the power of her weapons:

Kadındaki teshir kuvvetinin ondaki maddi hayvan kuvvetinden çok daha fazla olduğunu göstereceğim... (p. 73)

(I'll show him that the power of fascination in a woman is much stronger than the physical animal strength that he has...)

and again:

Erkek kalbi granitten bile yapılmış olsa, bizim güzel cinsimiz yine onu eritmenin, asındırmanın yolunu bulabilir. (p. 93)

(Even if a man's heart is made of stone, our fair sex will still find a way to melt and dissolve it.)

The negative effect of Sârâ's unbridled sexuality, which finally results in the absolute destruction of the object of her attentions, is contrasted with the positive channelling of her friend Vesime's femininity and sexuality into the acceptable outlet of formal courtship as a prelude to marriage.

In Sabahattin Ali's stories Gramofon Avrat and Hanende Melek women who are excluded from society because they lead a dishonourable life are shown to be endowed with very striking humanitarian qualities. The women portrayed in both these stories try to earn their living by singing and dancing, but have to supplement their income by prostitution. In Gramofon Avrat the woman shows her gratitude to the man who has been imprisoned for killing a man in the course of saving her from a fight, by visiting him regularly in prison. The story ends on a note of praise for the constancy of this "wicked" woman:

Aralarında bir iki kelime bile konuşmadıkları halde kendi uğruna hiç düşünmeden adam vuran bu çocuğu, vücudunu satıp kazandığı paralarla besliyor, belki de artık yalnız bunun için çalışıyordu. (pp. 32-33)

(With the money she earned by selling her body she provided for this boy with whom she had never spoken and who had killed a man for her sake, without even stopping to think. Perhaps she worked for this reason alone, now.)

In Hanende Melek the singer Melek of the title helps a small girl to take her drunken father home, and when the man's wife asks Melek if she is his "latest" she simply takes out the presents the old drunkard had given her and hands over all the money she has in her purse, too, including her evening's earnings. Then, after warmly embracing the woman's child she leaves without saying a word. Sabahattin Ali makes no comment on the causes which have resulted in these women having to support themselves by prostitution, he is merely concerned to demonstrate that within such women, condemned by society for their shameful lives, there persists a great deal of goodness and purity of soul. His message is that women who survive by offering themselves as sex objects, and who consequently come to be evaluated by society solely in terms of their being sex objects, do in fact deserve to be

recognised as people, with virtues and emotions like any other human being. This theme is very clear in Bir Delikanlının Hikâyesi in which a young man is in such great physical sexual need of a woman that he runs out into the street and brings home the first "free" woman he comes across. His impatience to satisfy his need is such that he immediately starts to kiss the girl, and he becomes very angry when she starts to cry, telling her off for having followed him home in the first place, then accusing her of using her tears as a ploy to obtain more money. Eventually he realises that her tears are genuine and that she is even younger than he had at first thought. He becomes remorseful for having frightened her "child's heart" and starts to wonder how she has come to fall to this way of life. Finally he surmises that male treachery must be to blame. He speaks to her of pure friendship developing between them, and asks her to visit him whenever she likes. The author's concern is for the young man's perception of the girl, for she remains silent throughout his changing attitudes towards her, first as a sex object, then gradually to an awareness of the fact that she is a person with fears and emotions like anyone else, and even an intrinsic purity and innocence which has not yet been destroyed by her shameful lifestyle.

In Sıcak Su the same author shows how violation of a woman's body can be used as a weapon against her husband without any consideration of the woman as a person at all: her sexual purity becomes a mere commodity in the process of trying to capture her husband. The essence of the story is that two gendarmes who come to the house in search of her husband, finding Emine alone rape her. The shame of being raped is so great that Emine runs away and disappears, rather than stay and

have to face her husband when he returns, even though she was the innocent victim in a situation which she had no part in making.

In the romances of Esat Mahmut Karakurt and Kerime Nedir reciprocal love between hero and heroine is so overwhelmingly important that it even overcomes prejudice against violations of the honour-shame concept. In Dağları Bekleyen Kız Adnan and Zeyneb spend the night in each other's arms on the very first night after they have met. And, although Zeyneb's father shows some concern about her shamelessness her lover Adnan does not. It is not made clear whether Zeyneb was as unrestrained in her relationship with her previous lover, but in true romantic style, nothing matters beyond the current great love of Adnan and Zeyneb for each other.

In Funda, by Kerime Nadir, Fehiman's husband does show a more traditional reaction when he discovers his wife's secret: that she was taken advantage of while away from his support and protection. He does not go so far as to divorce her, but they cease living together as man and wife although they continue to occupy the same house. When Fehiman's seducer confesses on his deathbed that he had taken her entirely against her will, Vedat her husband is finally convinced of his wife's innocence and her unwavering love and devotion, and forgives her. In this story the idea of mutual love and understanding ultimately being able to overcome the traditional preoccupation with honour and social convention is, however, dependent on the equally traditional concept of a husband holding a certain responsibility in the event of his wife's seduction through having allowed, and even encouraged her to travel without his constant company and protection.

The common theme running through the way the **concept** of honour and shame is expressed in the literature of the **Kemalist** period is the vulnerability of women in their inability to defend their own honour: women alone are at risk of being compromised if not actually seduced or raped. However, in addition to the need for male protection to safeguard women from other men's lust, male control is also necessary in order to protect society and the woman herself from the destructive power of uncontrolled female sexuality. While the idealised chaste, honourable, "new woman" of the Republic is shown to be in control of her own sexuality, her independence makes her vulnerable to dishonour in the eyes of society if not in fact. Less idealised women characters are, however, depicted as being quite clearly in need of male authority and control, as well as protection. The image of woman as a sex object still finds expression in literature in this period, but while some authors might find such an attribute natural and condone it, others show that women, even those who live by selling themselves as sex-objects, have more to offer society than just their bodies.

THE 1940s AND 1950s

Traditional values relating to honour and shame as they affect women in the villages are mentioned very briefly in a study of Elaziğ's village life carried out in the early 1950s by Nermin Erdentuğ. Here young girls were observed being made to wear adult women's dress of white head-covering and black galvar (baggy trousers), and to avoid men from the age of eleven or twelve.¹⁰ That women have an active interest in upholding common moral standards is illustrated by

observations made in the course of two separate periods of fieldwork for the study. In the first fieldwork visit (from 1939-1942) Erdentuğ noted that women generally would ridicule any woman who went out improperly dressed and with her head uncovered. In the later fieldwork (between 1951 and 1956) she noted that women would actually reproach such a woman.¹¹

The somewhat unpopular and strict policy of secularisation of the state, and suppression of religious expression which characterised the Kemalist period was relaxed towards the end of the 1940s and in the 1950s there was a definite shift towards encouraging religious expression. İmams (religious dignitaries) even started to bring pressure on women to resume the veil.¹² Playwright Güngör Dilmen in interview suggested that the reactionary trend which has continued to grow considerably in recent years gathered its first momentum in the 1950s, especially among people in towns.

On the question of morality, writer (and formerly lawyer) Necati Cumali asserted his view in interview that despite the external display of adherence to traditional codes of honour among villagers, actual morality, if it exists anywhere, is to be found in the big cities, not in the villages where sexual oppression makes true civilisation and morality impossible. In fact, Necati Cumali seems to be concerned with the same problem that occupied Yakup Kadri:¹³ the prejudice of social value judgements in the evaluation of women's behaviour, a prejudice fed by the pervasive notion of the dangerous, destructive power of female sexuality. The village study by Erdentuğ records how village opinion condemns the woman in cases of adultery,

as the man can easily shift the blame onto her.¹⁴ In similar vein Mahmut Makal's book Bizim Köy, written in 1950, records how in his village a woman's morality was measured according to the degree of respect she showed towards her husband.¹⁵ Kemal Karpat reinforces this idea with his claim that in the towns a woman's morality is measured according to the degree of her attachment to home and family: any woman venturing to take an outside job is therefore considered to be of dubious morality and consequently fair game for insult, malicious gossip or even rape.¹⁶

The story of Mine is based on true events which illustrate the weight of public opinion on women in a social milieu of sexual oppression.¹⁷ When Necati Cumali wrote the play in 1959 he was most concerned with the narrow appraisal of women as an object, the most vital attribute of which, female sexuality, exists solely for the satisfaction of male desires. Mine herself is a woman who is fully conscious of the limitations of the value her husband attaches to her, and is deeply resentful. When he suspects her relationship with İlhan, a visitor to the town, his only concern is whether she has slept with him or not. She responds to his accusation angrily:

Bu değil mi bütün kafanı kurcalayan? Daha önemli bir şey yok senin için! Çünkü sen bana hep böyle, yatılır, kalkılır bir yaratık diye baktın! Yatak yorgan gibi baktın! Bel, kalça göğüs olarak gördün beni yalnız! Bir defa olsun bu kadın ne düşünür, aklından ne geçer, diye yordun mu kafanı? Anlamaya çalıştın mı? Seninle yattım bu kadar yıldır! Bundan ne pay çıkarıyorsun kendine? Ne verdim sanıyorsun sana? Her sefer gözlerimi nasıl kapadığımı, başımı nasıl başka tarafa çevirdiğimi görmedin mi bana yaklaştıkça? (pp. 55-56)

(That is what is bothering you isn't it? There is nothing more important to you! Because you always looked at me as a creature to go to bed and get up with! Like a bed or a quilt! You only saw me as a waist, a pair of hips or a pair of breasts! Did you ever, even once, stop to consider what does this woman think about, what are her thoughts? Did you

try to understand? I've been sleeping with you all these years! What do you think you have got out of it? What do you think I have given you? Didn't you see how I closed my eyes each time, and turned my head away as you came near to me?)

However, it is the young men of the town who cause Mine even greater distress. They take the large age difference between Mine and her husband, as well as the unmanly, elderly appearance of her husband, as tacit encouragement for them to make advances towards her, regardless of her own wishes. When she is seen to develop a friendship with İlhan, an outsider, these young men feel slighted and start to spread malicious rumours to ruin Mine's reputation. It is clear that for these sexually oppressed young men Mine is nothing more than a potential means of pleasure, and the competition among them is not for the purpose of winning her affection but for the challenge of beating each other to attainment of the goal. For Mine herself, sexuality is quite clearly only one part of her whole personality and she ardently wishes to experience a relationship in which her sexuality will play only a part, unlike her relationship with her husband which is based solely on sex. For this reason she does not actually go with İlhan until she can be certain that he truly loves her. The author does not condemn Mine for her "dishonour" in contemplating being unfaithful to her husband, he condemns society for not allowing meaningful relationships to develop between men and women because of sexual oppression. This oppression, while preventing the formation of illicit sexual relations between men and women, also precludes the development of normal friendships between men and women based on familiarity, mutual understanding and knowledge, and going beyond mere attraction based on purely physical or superficial impressions.

The evaluation of woman as a sex object is highlighted in Orhan Kemal's story Cemile. Cemile is a girl of only fifteen and is not in any great hurry to marry, but an older and corrupt man's plan to abduct her is discovered and so it is decided that Cemile should be married quickly to the young secretary Necati, who is in love with her. (It is exactly the same type of situation which makes Memed run off with Hatçe in Yaşar Kemal's İnce Memed.) Society does not expect a young girl to be able to take care of herself and protect her honour, and so Cemile reluctantly and resentfully has to accept her brother's protection while she is still single. Moreover, as the same author shows in El Kızı, when a woman does lose her honour she is liable to be condemned outright. Nâzan, an abandoned young wife, is seen talking to a man on her doorstep, and this is enough to convince local men who have had their eye on her that she is a woman of loose morals:

...karı madem yolluydu, ne diye sanki faydalanmasındı?
Evine kadar gelen zanparanın verdiği para onda da vardı...
(pp. 166-167)

(...if the woman was easy why shouldn't he take advantage of her? He had as much money as the "fancy man" who had come to her door.)

But Orhan Kemal is far from the opinion that women are only forced into prostitution by such men taking advantage of their defencelessness, or by economic hardship. In his character Jale in the same novel he portrays a woman who enjoys her work as a prostitute; she goes with one man until she tires of him, then goes with another. Jale's strength of character and will-power, however, enable her to control her sexuality when necessary for the sake of the security, comfort and happiness she enjoys in married life. Nâzan, on the other hand, so submissive in her role as wife that she suppresses the full expression of her sexuality

with her husband, is shown nevertheless to be endowed with intense sexual desires: she is physically chaste but spiritually impure. Very significantly it is on her way home in the evening, after being aroused earlier to an unprecedented degree by watching the activities of another couple, that she is raped. There is no mention of pain, repulsion or other suffering on the part of Nâzan when she is raped, only the image of male power juxtaposed to her inability to move. The implications against Nazan's spiritual purity are clear. From then onwards she lives by prostitution. Orhan Kemal endows all the major women characters of El Kızı with active sexual desires: Naciye is dissatisfied with the lack of interest her husband shows in her, and asks herself why she stays with him; while Hacer who had many lovers when she was young, reminisces even while performing the namaz, recalling the days when she was a washerwoman and took as her lover the young man of the house where she went to work. She kept her lover even after her marriage, and then was unfaithful to both her husband and her lover; even in late middle age she again takes a lover. The need to satisfy female sexual desires is also stressed in the same author's story Duvarcı Celâl. Celâl has treated his wife well, and they have a son, but he is 45 and his wife is only 19. When she becomes interested in another man the other women in the village take her side, mocking her husband's lack of manliness and saying he should have taken a woman his own age, one who would have been satisfied acting as a housekeeper for him.

Orhan Kemal's rampant females are no more than an expression of the popular notions regarding the need for female sexuality to be controlled or channelled into the socially acceptable outlet of marriage.

The only other story which I have included in my study that touches on the factors resulting in prostitution is Samim Kocagöz's story Fındık Yaprakları in which Elif, in fear of more beating from her husband, and in the face of great hunger, finally succumbs to the temptation of selling her body for a loaf of bread rather than return home empty handed. The story is significant in that Emine is shown to remain an accepted and loved member of the village community despite her immoral activities.

The last two works of this period which I have considered are Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's Huzur and Peyami Safa's Yalnızız! Both these authors show a moral as well as a social concern for honour and shame, but neither of them deals explicitly with the question of female sexuality, although they do imply that it can only find legitimate expression within a total loving relationship which may or may not be formalised by marriage. The couple Nuran and Mümtaz in Huzur do not marry, but they do live together for a while, and the importance of the non-sexual side of their relationship is emphasised:

Nuran sade güzel ve seven, sevimlikten hoşlanan kadın değildi. Her şeyden evvel çok iyi arkadaştı. Garip bir anlayışı, güzel şeyleri bilerek tadışı vardı... (pp. 136-137)

(Nuran was not a woman who simply took pleasure in being loved, and was loving and beautiful. First and foremost she was a very good friend. She had a strange quality of understanding, and a taste for recognising beautiful things...)

Nuran is not a virgin when she meets Mümtaz; she has been married but she did not enjoy sexual compatibility with her husband, nor even experience sexual desire for him. She is thus presented as spiritually still a virgin, and it is this quality, together with a certain shyness, which impresses Mümtaz most deeply. The "tecrübeli aşk kadını"

(experienced woman of love) who appears in Huzur is a foreign woman who uses her sexuality to captivate one man after another. Perhaps, like ^uÖmer Seyfettin, Ahmet Hamdi could not bring himself to portray a Turkish woman who was not spiritually pure.

Meral, in Peyami Safa's Yalnızız! is an inversion of Ahmet Hamdi's Nuran. She is physically chaste but spiritually impure. Her brother tries to persuade her to behave with greater propriety since her honour is at stake, but although initially cowed by her brother's anger Meral later expresses the resentment she feels towards the double standard which allows her brother the freedom which he denies her. She reflects:

Erkeksin sen. Kızlarla istediğini yaparsın. Fakat rezil değilsin. Namus bayrağısın. Şahikalarda sallanan muhterem ağabey, rezil ben'im değil mi? (p. 419)

(You are a man. You can do what you like with girls. But you are not ruined. You are a victorious flag of honour. My esteemed brother, flying high on the peaks, it is I who is ruined, isn't it?)

Meral is an empty headed young woman whose sole desire is to enjoy life; she is incapable of experiencing true love and has no concern for her honour or reputation. Her mother was similar in character and has led a life of "sin". Just as the mother's ailments are implied to be a punishment for her sinful life, so Meral's untimely death can be interpreted as saving her from following a similar path. Samim, her friend and self-appointed protector, tries to guide her and instil some moral principles into her, but her soul is already too much sullied by her base desire for pleasure. Selmin, Samim's niece, though she pretends to be dishonoured simply in order to upset her mother, is open to persuasion by her uncles, and is eventually

guided back onto the path of spiritual purity before actually losing her physical chastity. The idea of women's physical need for a man recurs in this book: a man is suggested as the cure for the maid's psychic condition, and both Meral's and her mother's inability to control their own behaviour is presented as being caused by their need for a man. The implication is that female sexuality, when not allowed a normal outlet, will affect the behaviour or even the mental balance of the woman in question.

The most striking innovation in the works I have selected from this period is the insistence on the importance of spiritual purity as well as physical chastity in women. Attitudes towards female sexuality have not significantly changed. In 1956 in an article published in the popular newspaper Milliyet, Peyami Safa makes a very explicit statement about the worthlessness of enforced chastity:

There are no statistics about whether or not women who dress modestly and without adornment are more honourable than those who dress immodestly and with great adornment. But the opposite cannot be claimed either. Nor is it true that all women kept secluded in the home preserve their chastity. On the contrary, women who lose their freedom and human dignity are often spiritually ready to lose their honour too. Man's honour lies in freedom. Neither the love nor the virtue of a woman who remains honourable by force rather than by her own free will, can be trusted.¹⁸

Concern for the true evaluation of a woman's virtue features mainly in those works dealing with sophisticated urban people, but there is also criticism of the blind prejudice of social value judgements and the power of malicious gossip in the small towns and villages. In the face of continuing adherence to traditional values there is a move towards a greater degree of real evaluation of character and behaviour in the

treatment of female characterisations of this period. However, there are still very vivid illustrations of the propensity of uncontrolled and inherently destructive rampant female sexuality to create havoc and disorder in the family and society.

THE 1960s AND 1970s

A survey of attitudes among girls at university in Istanbul and their mothers, carried out in the 1970s, shows a sharp decline in the importance attached to pre-marital chastity from one generation to the next.¹⁹ However, this tendency among the urban, educated female population has not yet filtered through to the villages, where the findings of several researchers suggest that fear of promiscuity through contact with unrelated males is a factor severely inhibiting the recruitment of women into paid employment.²⁰ On the other hand, in view of the relatively high number of women among Turkish workers in Germany²¹ compared with the number of women paid employees in Turkey in 1965²² it seems that financial considerations can overcome moral drawbacks where the rewards are seen to be great enough. However, the suspicion with which men regard male-female relationships outside marriage indicates the persistence of their belief that women's sexuality is dangerous and must be carefully controlled.²³ It has been suggested that male attitudes stressing female weakness, dependence and vulnerability stem from men's fear of their own inner impulses²⁴ but whether or not this is the case it is evident that the notion of the disruptive power of female sexuality is still given credence.

The somewhat contrary notion that it is the bounden duty of a wife to satisfy her husband's sexual desires is also widely accepted. In a research carried out in 1969-1970 Paul Magnarella investigated the attitudes towards a newspaper report concerning a 42 year-old mother of six who had found a younger wife for her husband because she herself could no longer engage in sexual union with him. The responses fell into two popular categories: those who thought she had done the right thing, or that she should have left him - so that he could marry again legally; and those who thought that a man whose wife had given him several children and many years of sexual companionship had no right to divorce or a second wife.²⁵

While traditional attitudes are bound to die hard, increasing industrialisation and concomitant urbanisation, along with continuing economic problems in the country, as well as changing ideological and political currents of thought are all combining to push more and more women into contact with men in all spheres of life. It is inevitable, in these circumstances, that strict rules concerning female chastity and extra-marital male-female relationships are becoming more and more difficult to enforce, especially in urban areas. Furthermore, as society becomes more and more fragmented, and the conjugal unit becomes isolated from the patriarchal extended family it may be easier for the guilty party of an illicit relationship, and more convenient for the partner who has been "wronged" to "cover up" incidents of aberrant behaviour. Certainly in the light of the above discussion one could expect to find a wide divergence in the implications of female sexuality and in the degree of adherence to the code of honour between rural and urban communities by

this stage in the process of the industrialisation of Turkey and her integration into World Capitalism.

Orhan Asena's play Yalan deals with the deceit which characterises an urban family in which the male "head" is too weak even to admit to the knowledge of his wife's unfaithfulness. Vicdan, their daughter who commits suicide, bitterly condemns both her parents. She accuses her mother of succumbing to her sexual desires:

Seni böyle her defasında o adamın kollarına iten babamın yaşlı kollarında bulamadığın erkek gücüydü... (p. 30)

(Pushing you into the arms of that man was the masculine strength which you couldn't find in my father's ageing arms.)

and

Sana dişiliğine tepeden tırnağa kadar hissettiren kudretli bir erkek soluğu, artık onsuz edemezdin sen... (p. 36)

(You couldn't any longer do without that breath of masculine power which made you feel your feminine sexuality from head to toe.)

She condemns her mother for not being honest enough to admit to her weakness and blames her father for conniving with her mother to keep the affair secret. In fact the play shows how the father actually followed his wife to her rendezvous and caught her with her lover but could not bring himself to blame her, since he himself had been unable to fulfil his role as a husband for many years past. The disappointment of Vicdan in her father's spineless behaviour is an important factor in her committing suicide. The author's view appears to be that although it is to be expected that a woman will seek satisfaction of her sexual desires outside marriage if she cannot do so within it, nevertheless extra-marital relations for women are not to be condoned as the happiness of the whole family is put at risk, even if the

husband himself turns a blind eye. It is therefore the husband's failure to fulfil his marital duty of containing his wife's sexual needs which lies at the root of the problem.

Fakir Baykurt's story has a rural setting for a very interesting example of an adulterous relationship, which is initiated by the mother of the man involved as a means to a secret and personal revenge against the woman's husband. This case of adultery in Yılanların Öcü quite clearly reflects more on the honour of the husband of the woman involved, Fatma, than on herself. Once again there is the notion that women are ruled by their sexual desires, and since control of women's sexuality lies within the responsibility of their husbands the women cannot be held responsible themselves. The old woman Irazca quite openly uses the threat of her son Bayram committing adultery with Haceli's wife Fatma to coerce Haceli into abandoning his plans to encroach on what she sees as her household's rights. She explains to Haceli why it is she who is confronting him on this issue and not her son Bayram:

Ben öleceğim, o yaşayacak. O ölürsa, sen mapusa gidersen emme, senin karı boşta kalır, senin karıyı ben alamam ki. Beni öldürür mapusa gidersin, senin karıyı benim Bayram alır. Anladın mı şimdi benim oğlum neden çıkmıyor? (p. 51)

(I shall die, but he will live. If he dies you will go to prison, but your wife will be left unattached. I can't take your wife. But if you kill me and go to prison, my son Bayram will take your wife. Do you see now why my son doesn't come out and confront you?)

Irazca knows of Fatma's infatuation with Bayram, and as the girl is pretty she has no difficulty in persuading her son to take her:

..."Bu gancık ne zamandır cayır cayır yaniyor aslanım. Alaf almış yaniyor ne zamandır. Söndürmeli bunu Bayram. Nasolse temelleri açtırdı gine kocası! Anladın mı goçum, sevaptır!..."
 "(Sevaptır)" dedi Bayram içinden... (p. 112)

(..."That woman has been burning with desire for you for a long time, my boy. She's caught in a blaze and burning for you. You must quench her fire Bayram. Anyway, her husband has been digging the foundations again! Do you understand what I mean, my son, you'll earn God's blessing!" "I'll have God's blessing" repeated Bayram, inwardly.)

The strength of Bayram and Fatma's mutual physical desire is depicted as the natural outcome of the coming together of a strong healthy male with a similarly healthy young female. Unable to find satisfaction in her husband's bed Fatma welcomes Bayram's embrace:

(Fatma'nın) kolları elma fidanları gibi taze bir erkek tarafından sıkılmayı ne kadar istemişti. Niçin Hacı dyle değildi? (p. 114)

(How her (Fatma's) arms had longed for the embrace of a man as strong and supple as a young apple tree. Why wasn't Hacı like that?)

And for Bayram it is as if he had never slept with a woman before; the reader is reminded of an earlier conversation between Bayram and his wife, when Haçca has just told Bayram she is expecting their fourth child:

Bu çocuk meselesi olmasa Bayram, ben seni öyle bir sevecem, öyle bir sevecem ki... Diyorum ki, ikimiz bir odada olsak, ışık olsa, bol su olsa, sıcak su olsa, çarşaflarımız yeni olsa... Ondan sonra sarılsak birbirimize, bir yatsak, bir yatsak, bir yatsak... Heç uyandıran olmasa. Heç kalkmasak. ...Su olmayınca heç tat alamıyorum... (pp. 28-29)

(If it weren't for this problem of having babies, Bayram, I would be so loving, so loving. I mean if we were in our own room, with a light and plenty of water, hot water, and with new sheets. Then we would embrace each other and lie down. And lie and lie. And no-one to wake us up. And nothing to get up for. Without water (to wash afterwards) I can't enjoy making love with you.)

When she miscarries and is left seriously ill and unable to fulfil her wifely duties, Haçca realises her husband's need to satisfy his sexual

desires, and suggests he should take another wife; Bayram is outwardly affronted, but inwardly attracted by the idea:

(Haçca:)... "Fatma benim dostum değil, düşmanım değil! İster-sen getir de evine oturta koy. Bana iyiliği bile olur daha. Bak ya şu halime! İnsan denecek yanım kalmadı. Kolay kolay kendimi toplayıp da senin keyfini çattıramam gayri ben. 'Anana soyleyim de seni bir daha eversin' diye düşünüyorum zaten. Başka caresi de yok."

Bayram... "Ben karı taciri değilim" dedi. "Bir daha evlenmeğe hacet yok. (Emme)..."

Haçca: "Bir daha evlenmeğe hacet yok emme, benden de hayır yok." (pp. 214-215)

((Haçca:)... "Fatma is neither my friend nor my enemy. If you like bring her and set her up in the house here. It would even be good for me. Look at the state I'm in. There's not a healthy part of me left. And I shan't easily be able to get myself well and give you the pleasure you need. Anyway, I've been thinking 'I'll tell your mother to find you another wife'. There's no other way."

Bayram:.. "I'm not a dealer in women. There's no need for me to marry again. But..." (he thinks).

Hacca: There's no need for you to marry again, but I'm of no use to you any more."

Fatma is quite prepared to accept the role of Haçca's servant, and Bayram's slave, in order to be able to continue her liaison with Bayram. The village headman even becomes involved in the affair when he threatens Haceli that if Haçca dies (it was Haceli who caused her to miscarry) he will go to prison and the headman will personally deliver Fatma over to Bayram. The author thus creates a situation in which Fatma's labour and sexual services are treated as commodities by both men and women (the headman, Bayram's mother and his wife) and the woman in question herself. She uses her labour and sexual services to improve her bargaining power in an attempt to satisfy her emotional desires. Bayram finally settles for a convenient arrangement whereby he can continue to enjoy Fatma's sexual services illicitly without jeopardising the harmony in his home. In contrast to Fatma, Bayram is not prepared to let his sexual desires sway his reason, nor interfere with the deep, loving relationship he enjoys with his wife. Fatma

does not care what happens to her as long as she can continue her sexual relationship with Bayram, while Haçca, concerned for her husband's happiness more than her own, is prepared to countenance her husband taking another wife simply because she feels herself sexually inadequate.

Güngör Dilmen's treatment of a very similar situation takes a very different form and resolution in the play Kurban. Zehra has been a loving wife to her husband, and has borne him two children. She is still young but she is ill and is unable to satisfy the sexual needs of her husband because of her illness. Realising the purely sexual nature of Mahmut's desire for the young girl Gülsüm, Zehra follows the advice of the old women of the village to use her sexuality as well as her mind in trying to persuade her husband to give up Gülsüm. She dresses herself up in her bright, gay wedding clothes to welcome Mahmut when he returns from seeing off Mirza, Gülsüm's brother. Mahmut has at this point decided not to give in to Mirza's greedy desires for the sake of possessing his sister, and he is pleased to see that Zehra seems to be feeling better. They start to reminisce about their wedding night, and then Zehra tries to get Mahmut to embrace her, but this merely triggers off his desire for Gülsüm once again. Zehra is outraged that he expects her to accept the idea of him and Gülsüm in bed together while she will be lying awake listening to the sounds of their lovemaking. However, although she is not prepared to accept any encroachment on her rights as a wife, she does not consider a monopoly of the gratification of her husband's sexual desires as one of these rights, and is prepared to countenance Mahmut satisfying his sexual desires elsewhere if necessary.

Zehra pleads with Mahmut to satisfy his desire without bringing Gülsüm into the home as his wife:

Göz yumacađım git, başka kadınla nefisini körlet bir süre, başına kakmam. Sonra dönersin efendi gibi evine. Ama Gülsüm kızı getirme. (p. 50)

(I'll close my eyes if you go and satisfy your desire with another woman for a while. I shan't reproach you. Then you will come back to me as my husband. But don't bring that girl Gülsüm here.)

Zehra, too, treats female sexual services as a commodity, at least with regard to the young girl who has aroused such passion in her husband. She taunts the girl's brother Mirza by talking of his sister as one whose sole value is as a sex-object:

Okadar masraf etti Mahmudum, Gülsüm bacından alsın bir hevesini, söndürsün karnına inen alazı, sonra gidersiniz. Eve koymam ya kızı, şurda ağılda yumuşacık samanlar vardır, onların üstünde işte, bunun ayıbı yok, okadarına göz yumarım Mahmut, sonra dehlersin kahbeyi gider. (pp. 113-114)

(My Mahmut has gone to so much expense, let him have his pleasure with your sister Gülsüm. Let him quench the blaze that is burning in his loins, then go. Of course, I won't let the girl into my house. Just there, in the sheep-fold there is some soft straw. On top of the straw - there is no shame in that. I'll turn a blind eye to that much, Mahmut, then you can send the hussy packing, back to where she came from.)

In fact, earlier in the play, when Mirza and Mahmut are still trying to come to an agreement over the brideprice for Gülsüm, Mirza quite blatantly draws on images of his sister's sexuality to increase his bargaining power; in reply to Mahmut's refusal to hand over fields which really belong to Zehra and should pass to their children, Mirza tempts him with references to his sister's virginal allure:

Kızın gözü seninle dünyaya açılacak

...

Dizlerin yukarısını güneş görmemiştir.... Açarsa bir helâlîne açar gizli bahçelerini. (pp. 28 & 29)

(The girl's eyes will be opened to the world with your touch.

...

Above her knees her body hasn't seen the light of day....
Only to her lawful husband will she expose her secret gardens.)

Mirza even tells a story to arouse Mahmut's sexual desire, describing a beautiful fifteen year old virgin with her lover, and then he reminds Mahmut that his sister is also fifteen. His tactics work, for even after Mahmut reaches a point when he gives up the idea of marrying the girl at such cost, both materially and with regard to domestic harmony, he still cannot free himself of his physical desire for her. He knows he has not the strength to deny himself and he cries aloud, blaming his infatuation on the power of Glsm's sexuality:

Tanrım, Mrza kaypađına kul etme beni. Ayaklarım varmasın kapısına, tkrdđm yalamıyayım.... Koparamıyorum dşncemi ondan. (pp. 47-48)

(My God, don't make me a slave to that vile Mirza. Don't let me go to him. Don't make me eat my words.... I can't get her out of my mind.)

and again:

Gvurun kızı bir tomur ateş halinde girmiş oturmuş içime,
yređimden kovuyorum kasıklarımın iniyor. (p. 49)

(That heartless girl has taken hold of me like a ball of fire. I drive her out of my heart and she flows into my loins.)

Zehra, too, feels the inevitability of Mahmut's desire, and condemns the irregular customs of Mirza and Glsm's village which allowed the young girl to enter the company of a strange man:

Zehra: Nesine baktın, çocukmuş daha.

Mahmut: Sigara tuttu, şerbet sundu, ben yudum içerken, elinde tepsi kapının yanında bekledi.

Zehra: Evli erkeđin yanına kız salmak adet mi bu adamlarda.
(p. 47)

(Zehra: What attracted your attention to her? She's still a child.

Mahmut: She offered me cigarettes and a cool drink, and while I sipped it she waited by the door with her tray.

Zehra: Is it the custom of those people to send young girls to wait on married men?)

Gülsüm and Zehra are both innocent victims of society's values regarding female sexuality. On the one hand it is seen as a saleable commodity, and on the other hand it is a commodity to which access is the exclusive right of the husband, while its provision is the duty of the wife.

There is some reciprocity in these rights and duties in marriage, in that if a husband cannot satisfy his wife's desires it is considered normal for his wife to try to seek satisfaction elsewhere, but only men have the option of imposing restraints on women to confine their sexual activity to the marriage. In Bekir Yıldız's stories there are violent examples of the retribution taken on women for not confining their sexual activity to their marriage, however unsatisfactory the marriage may be. For example, the story Kesik El ends with Fadime being killed for taking as a lover the man whom she would have married had she been given the choice. Her cuckolded husband first kills his rival, but before he can carry out the execution of his unfaithful wife her brother intervenes in order to regain for himself and his family the honour which Fadime's adultery has damaged. He kills his sister then cuts off the hand which she had used to open the door to her lover. This should not be taken as an indication that Fadime is supposed to have made any conscious decision as to whether or not to open the door to her lover; neither a woman's conscience nor her own physical strength is to be expected to withstand the powerful force of sexuality. The action of removing her hand symbolises the belief that

physically imposed restraint is the only effective means of maintaining control of female sexuality. By killing Fadime the visible evidence of the dishonour brought upon her family is not only removed, but honour is gained:

Böylece Fadime'nin ölümü; ailesine, dünyaya gelişinden daha büyük, şan ve ün kazandırdı... (p. 20)

(And so Fadime's death brought greater honour and glory to her family than her birth had done.)

In the story Davud ile Sedef there is a similar theme, but in this case the compliance of the wife is attributed to the fact that her husband is a rather weak and unmanly figure. On a long journey Davud and Sedef are forced to spend the night in the open, and they join the company of a shepherd they happen to come across. Unknown to Davud the shepherd was an admirer of Sedef before they were married, and taken unawares he is knocked out by the shepherd who then proceeds to seduce Sedef. Although Sedef at first resists the shepherd's embrace, the nature of female sexuality is once again depicted as being incapable of resisting arousal by an attractive male; Sedef soon succumbs:

Çoban birdenbire Sedef'in dudaklarına yapıştı. Korkudan büzülen bu dudaklar az sonra ateşlenip şişti.... (Çoban) Sedef'in direnişini ufalıyarak, altına aldı. Sedef karşı çıkmak istedi. Sedef, karanlığın örtüğü toprağa parmaklarını batırdı. Fakat üstündeki genç bedeni, sokup atamadı. Ve öyle bir an geldi ki, Sedef, az ötedeki çelimsiz kocasını unuttu. (p. 20)

(The shepherd suddenly pressed his lips to hers. And her lips, at first frozen with fear, were soon burning and swollen.... As Sedef's resistance grew weaker (the shepherd) threw her to the ground. Sedef wanted to resist. She dug her fingers into the ground that was covered in darkness. But she couldn't break free and throw off the young body that was on top of her. And there came a moment when Sedef forgot her puny husband a short distance away.)

In this case the husband is prepared to believe his wife innocent, accepting that she was simply raped and unable to resist; but when he kills the shepherd her involuntary expression of dismay reveals the truth to him:

Davud bir anda, az önce pisliğe batmış karısının alt bölümüyle beraber, ruhunun da kirlenmiş olduğunu sezinledi... (p. 21)

(Davud realised then that along with the lower part of her body which had been befouled a short time before, his wife's soul had also become soiled.)

So he kills her too, and takes her body back to her parents.

A third story of Bekir Yıldız which deals with retribution for female misconduct is Bir Nazlı Vardı. In this story the girl is entirely innocent. She has only been married a matter of months, but her reputation has been ruined by unfounded gossip to the effect that she is a "loose" woman. Her father sees no alternative but death for her. The girl, Nazlı, accepts the inevitability of her fate, but she wonders how the gossip about her started. She recalls a conversation with her husband:

"Bu kaşpe sözü de nerden çıktı? Kısırlığına kurban ya, hainliği eden kim?" "Döl bekler anam, babam. Olsa olsa onların oyunudur bu. Başlık parasını geri almak isterler. Dünya kalksa üstüne, sırrımı ele vermek var mı Nazlı?"...
Söylemek olur mu hiç. Ben bu obalarda, el öpen erkeği nasıl bulurum a bacılar... (p. 38)

("How did this idea that I'm a whore start? I don't care about your sterility, but who has turned against me?"
"My mother and father want grandchildren. This must be their doing. They want to get the brideprice back. Whatever happens to you, you wouldn't give away my secret would you Nazlı?" How could I tell? How could I ever find another man who would kiss my hand, among the men in these parts, hey sisters?)

Nazlı gives her life for the sake of the honour of her husband, in return for the true affection he has shown her. She considers her

life unimportant in comparison with the shame and dishonour which would fall on her husband in the event of his impotency being revealed, but in any case her father is not prepared to listen to any excuses: honour is founded on and lost by reputation, not reasoning. Sultan, in Cahit Atay's play Sultan Gelin displays a similar willingness to attempt to conceal her husband's impotency, and her altruistic behaviour is rewarded with a lifetime of unremitting hard work and celibacy.

Another of Bekir Yıldız's short stories deals with a woman's duty to satisfy her husband's sexual desires. In Yorulmayan Adam the wife of the "never-tiring man" of the title is worn out by her domestic chores each day, and too tired to welcome, or even accept passively the amorous advances of her husband at night. He goes off to a brothel to satisfy his needs, but is shocked and repulsed to find that the girl whose services he has paid for is a nursing mother. His return to the marital bed happens to coincide with a change of heart in his wife: she has at last decided to turn over a new leaf and save some energy for her husband's pleasure at night. The timeliness of her reform, coupled with his bad experience at the brothel will supposedly ensure future harmony, but the story clearly illustrates the wife's responsibility to match her husband's desires, and that it is also much to be preferred by the man that he should be able to find satisfaction of his needs with his wife, and not be forced to engage the services of a prostitute.

Fakir Baykurt's story Ham Meyvayı Kopardılar Dalından tells of a young girl of twelve years old who is married, against her own wishes and the

wishes of her mother. Her mother is a poor widow who is dependent on the good will of others and has no protection against the coercive insistence of her neighbours that her daughter Keziban should marry their son. On the wedding night Keziban escapes from the bridal chamber, but is taken back by force. She escapes again in the morning and runs to her mother's house. Her clothes have been torn, she is covered in blood from scratches and is bruised from being beaten: she would not submit to her husband's demands. The groom's parents are angry about the expense they have gone to, and blame the girl. Her mother complains that they took her for their son too young. They take no notice of her and take the girl back again. The next time she escapes they let her stay with her mother for a few days, hoping that her terror will abate, but to no avail. Her mother finally tries magical remedies to bring Keziban round to accepting her husband. There is no other choice for her. Her value as a prospective bride for another man has been too much reduced for she has been taken once already.

Loss of a girl's virginity is a powerful factor in encouraging a girl to stay with her husband, even if she has initially been taken by force or against her wishes. This is illustrated in Fakir Baykurt's story Buğday Ekme Zamanı. Elif was abducted by her husband, and has been married now for five years. As a result of her marriage Elif's father has disowned her, and Elif blames her father for condemning her:

...kocamı isterim demeyip de bubamı isterim desem ne olacaktı? Gardaşının oğlu kartal gibi kaptı, kızlığım gitti, gıymetım bitti, ne deseydim makemede? Sen bana vaktinde sahap olacaktın! Yerlere düşürüp mundar etmeden isteyen üç yoksuldan birine verecektin. Bunlar olmayacaktı. Olduktan sonra bana suç artmanın ne faydası var? (p. 118)

(What would have happened if I had said I wanted my father and not my husband? Your brother's son came like an eagle and snatched me away, my virginity went and with it my value. What was I supposed to say in court? It's too late now, you should have taken care of me when it mattered. You should have given me to one of those three poor fellows who asked for me before I was brought down and despoiled. These things shouldn't have happened. But once they have happened, what is the point of putting the blame on me?)

In the same collection of stories Bir Alım Satım Senedi shows the low value attached to a girl who has lost her virginity outside marriage. The author does not relate how the girl Dudu came to be in her present situation, and no explanation is offered as to the nature of her relationship to the two men who have taken charge of her. These two men bring her with them to the school house, and they offer the girl's services to the schoolteacher. The teacher gets angry at the men's attitude, so one of them tries to placate him:

Kızartacak ne var canım? Biz bu gece sendeyiz nasıl olsa. Sınıfında soba vardır. Gider orda yatarız. İstersen sen de Dudu'yla yatar bir bakarsın tadına.... Denedikten sonra, işine gelirse alırsın, gelmezse almazsın. Kullanılmıştır emme az kullanılmıştır Dudu... (p. 143)

(What is there to be cross about? We are here with you for the night anyway. There's a stove in the classroom. We'll go and sleep there. And if you like you can sleep with Dudu and see how you like her.... Once you've tried her out, if she suits you you can have her, if she doesn't you don't have to have her. She's been used before, has Dudu, but not much.)

The teacher is furious, and starts to worry in case the two men just leave the girl with him. However, a third man arrives, and the reason for the men's visit becomes plain: Dudu is to be sold and the teacher's job is to write the receipt. He is horrified, and even wishes he had taken up the man's proposition himself:

Şu Dudu böyle senetli sepetli satılacağına, keşki akıllılık etseydim de ben alsaydım! (p. 146)

(If I had only used my head and taken Dudu, instead of her being sold with a written receipt like this!)

In the works of the 1960s and 1970s that I have considered so far the concept of honour as applied to women has been interpreted mostly according to physical adherence to the norm. In Evlilik Şirketi Bekir Yıldız portrays a woman who kept her virginity until marriage but not her spiritual purity. The truth emerges on the night when she and her husband are celebrating their ninth wedding anniversary, and they embark on a "truth session". All goes well initially, as they relate their early sexual experiences to one another, but when the wife admits to having indulged in a certain amount of lovemaking before her marriage, although keeping her virginity intact, her husband becomes jealous and scornful of her understanding of the meaning of honour:

Namuslu olduğun için değil, namuslu olmaya zorunlu olduğundan kalmışsın bana. Kuşkusuz, bütün ötekilerle birlikte doğuştan mühürlü olmasaydın, kimbilir kaç erkekle yatacaktın. Erdem mi bu? (p. 42)

(You didn't keep yourself for me because you were honourable but because you were forced to be honourable. Without doubt, if you hadn't been sealed from birth just like all the rest, who knows how many men you would have slept with? Is that a virtue?)

Recalling girls he once knew who were just like his wife, he observes:

Ama hepsi de mühürlerini, evliliğe bir yatırım olarak sakladılar.... Namus, dişleri sıkıp, tasarlanan yatırımı, her an hesap etmek ikiyüzlülüğü müdür? (pp. 42-43)

(They all used to hang on to that unbroken seal as an investment for marriage.... Is honour then the hypocrisy of gritting your teeth while forever calculating your future investment?)

The reverse side of the coin is the object of humorous treatment by Aziz Nesin in Tatlı Betüş. Here the idea of spiritual purity maintained

despite physical violation is satirised. Society women, swept off their feet by an adept ladykiller, absolve themselves of blame by claiming to be spiritually unblemished. One such woman writes to her husband:

...Bedenim suçlu olsa bile daima senin olan ruhum masum ve bigünahtır. Kirlenmiş olan bedenimi affetmesen bile, tertemiz kalan ruhumu affet... Hiçbir zaman sana ruhumla ihanet etmedim. Her zaman için ruhum seninle beraberdir. (p. 42)

(...Even though my body may be guilty, my soul, which is always yours, is innocent and without sin. Even if you cannot forgive my blemished body forgive my soul, which is still spotless. I have never deceived you with my soul. My soul is with you always.)

The husband receiving this letter duly confirms to his wife that it is her soul that is important to him, for after all the body is only transitory, while the soul is everlasting. Throughout Tatlı Betüş the depiction of women having an insatiable sexual appetite is repeated and reinforced. A. Gall points out in his study of Nesin's works that even the prostitutes in his stories positively enjoy their work, and that women of all classes seem to share one characteristic in his works, that is, a voracious sexual appetite.²⁶ Gall goes so far as to say that women generally in Nesin's stories are preoccupied with sex, and that it is hard to find any strong female characterisations which do not prove to be prostitutes or domineering and unfaithful wives.²⁷ An exception is Mela in Tut Elimden Rovni. She is not shown to be sexually active, she has not been unfaithful to her husband, nor does she dominate him. However, her history of miscarriages, her demanding physical career, and her drinking problem, plus the fact that she is past child-bearing age, are all significant factors in precluding her portrayal as any kind of siren or harpy.

For the female characters in Kemal Tahir's book Karılar Koşuşu sexuality is the driving force in their lives. In prison two of the women speak of the plight of men and women deprived of the company of the opposite sex:

"Bu kadar erkek, dişisiz ne yapar biçareler... Bunlar hep ölür..." "Bacım sen sana bak. Onları hiç olmazsa ele gelir. Bizimki için için yanar tutusur ya..." (p. 77)

("So many men, what can they do, the poor things, without women? They'll all die." "Sister, you look out for yourself. They at least manage somehow. We just burn up with passion.")

The women's frustration disturbs their mental balance and they fancy themselves in love with one of the men in the other ward. Şefika, the wardress, is the major female character in the novel and she is endowed with an insatiable sexual appetite. She is married, but her husband is a poor figure of a man and so, having tried to seduce one of the prisoners without success, she persuades one of the warders to run away with her. After a short stay in an hotel together they return to the prison and the man gives an account of his experiences with Şefika:

Ben dünya yüzünde böyle kahpe görmedim. Odayı tuttuk, yerleştik. Bir soyundu, ayıptır söylemesi bir daha giyinmedi.... Hep yatakta... Töbe yarabbi... Baksana suratıma... Beni gebertecekti neredeyse. (pp. 347-349)

(I've never seen such a whore in all the world. We took a room, and settled in. She got undressed, and if you don't mind me telling you, she never got dressed again.... In bed all the time! Good God! Just take a look at my face! She almost killed me!)

However, there are serious contradictions in the characterisation of Şefika, especially with regard to her sexuality, for in the early years of her marriage, her husband used to bring home prostitutes: was he then able to satisfy her and still not be satisfied himself once? Or has Şefika become insatiable only in recent years, perhaps as a result of her increased independence gained by going out to work, as her

husband suggests? Or is it simply that now that her husband has become a worn out shadow of his former self he is no longer able to control Şefika's behaviour? One cannot help but draw the conclusion that the characterisation of Şefika was developed in order to try to demonstrate the danger of taking into employment women who are sexually active, for not only do they expose themselves to promiscuity, which they have not the moral conscience nor the desire to resist; but also the nature of female sexuality is such that it will rule a woman's life, to the detriment of her family and her career, if controls are removed, as they must be when a woman takes outside employment which brings her into contact with men.

In Attila İlhan's novel Bıcağın Ucu the central female character, Suat, is undergoing an internal struggle, in which her sexuality is threatening to take control of her life. Suat's mother is a lesbian who has adopted a totally male appearance. She has indulged in sexual relations with women since Suat was a young girl, and was once caught in flagrante delicto by her daughter, who has never been able to call her "mother" since. Suat is now faced with the realisation of her own increasing tendency towards lesbianism. If her sexuality gains control of her it will take expression in lesbianism; if she manages to retain rational control of herself then her lesbianism will be suppressed. In the struggle that goes on inside Suat, between succumbing to her lesbianism or maintaining "normality" the author leads his readers to infer that to opt for lesbianism will absolve Suat from the need to conform to normal requirements from women for chastity and constancy, and will free her for a more promiscuous, flamboyant lifestyle, much like that of her mother. To maintain normality, however, means that

she will have to control her sexual impulses and channel them into "proper" expression. Her husband is not insistent in his demands on her sexuality at this time of her inner conflict, and so she is not pressured either way: the choice is her own, it is not the outcome of a battle of conscience that makes Suat finally opt for "normality". The scale is tipped by a sudden insight into her own character: she becomes aware of her need to conform because of her weakness and frailty in the face of life's vicissitudes, so she accepts the love and protection of her husband in a new understanding of his worthiness. The book ends on this note of hope for the future, without demonstrating how Suat resolves the problem of now denying her homosexual impulses. And yet, since the author has shown that Suat is able to control her sexuality rather than allow it to control her, one can assume that her life will in future follow a more even course.

Although Suat's struggle to control her sexuality involves the added complication of a tendency towards lesbianism, the analysis of inner conflict and social implications of women's sexual freedom represents a new trend towards dealing with the question of a woman's control of her own sexuality as a personal dilemma to be resolved by the woman herself in accordance with her own knowledge of herself.

The women authors of this period have dealt with this problem extensively; for their female characters who have raised their level of consciousness to a degree where they are confident in their knowledge of themselves and their actions, sexuality becomes simply a force to be harnessed according to their own conscious desires and needs. One such woman is Meli in Nezihe Meriç's novel Korsan Çıkmezi.

When asked if she slept with her boyfriend because she had already decided to marry him, Meli replies:

"...Hayır, sadece sevdiğim için yattım. Evlenmeyi düşünmüyorum."

"Bu hareketinizin, içinde bulunduğunuz memleketin şartlarına göre nasıl adlandırıldığını biliyor musunuz?"

"Evet."

"Peki."

"Hiç! Bir izale-i bikr evlenmesi yapmaktansa, böyle yapmayı daha dürüst buldum."

...

"Yani sizin anlayacağınız, kızlıklarını sevdikleri biriyle yatıp bozduracaklarına, ki, bu dürüst bir iştir doğanın yasalarına göre; bazı toplumlarda da, sizin buyurduğunuz gibi, adları, sıfatları vardır... Evet, öyle yapacaklarına, nikah memurunun imzası ile yapıyorlar. Ben bu yolu beğenmediğim için, sevdiğim biriyle yattım. Dediğim gibi, evlenmek niyetinde de değilim." (pp. 181-182)

("No, I slept with him simply because I love him. I am not thinking of getting married.")

"Do you know what this conduct of yours is called, according to the conditions in this country that you are living in?"

"Yes."

"So!"

"So what! Instead of performing a marriage ritual for defloration I found it more honest to do it like this. In other words, the long and the short of it is, in some societies there are names and labels, as you said, for those who lose their virginity by sleeping with someone they love, though according to the laws of nature this is quite correct. Yes, instead of doing it like that they go and do it with the signature of the marriage clerk. Since I didn't like that way I slept with someone I love. As I said, I am not intending to get married.")

In Adalet Ağaoğlu's novel Ölmeye Yatmak too, the heroine Aysel is in firm control of her sexuality, and is guided in her behaviour by her own conscious decisions, not by society's expectations. She is only just arriving at real knowledge of herself in the "present" of the book, and her brief affair with one of her young students is an important factor in helping her to come to terms with her sexuality, while losing none of her identity as an educated, professional person. As she lies down in the hotel room awaiting her own rebirth through

release from all her past ignorance and misconceptions she reminisces about the night she spent with her student:

Coşkunluğumun nedeni apaçık: Aydın oluşum gibi, - neden kÜÇÜmsemeli - kadın oluşumun da giderek gölgede kalmaya zorunlu bulunduğu bir dönemde kendimi birden yine önde, dipdiri ayakta görüverdim. "Bu, belki son fırsatımdı. Dört elle sarıldım." İlericiliğimi diriltten bir şırınga yemiş gibi taptazeydim işte. Bütün bir gece kendime hiç bir şeyi çok görmedim. O kadar da değil. Bazı sahtekârlıklarım oldu. Bana nasıl baktığının farkındaydım. Ama farkında değilmişim gibi durdum. Kadınca şartlanmalar nedeniyle değil. Bir doçent oluşumun şartlanmalarından henüz sıyrılamadığım için. (p. 179)

(The reason for my excitement is quite clear: at a time when my being an intellectual - why should I belittle it? - and my being a woman were both gradually being forced into the shade, I suddenly saw myself once again out in front, on my feet and full of life. "Perhaps this was my last chance. I clutched at it wildly." As if I had had an injection of new life into the force that gives new vigour to my progressivism, I was really fresh. For a whole night I didn't regard anything as beyond my deserts. Well, not quite anything. I cheated a little; I realised how he was looking at me. But I pretended I hadn't noticed. Not because of my female conditioning. Because I still hadn't got rid of my conditioning from being a university lecturer.)

Aysel's new awareness of her physical body helps her to accept her femininity as an integral part of her identity. She wonders at her past rejection of her own physical existence:

O sabahdan başlayarak ilk kez gövdemin elle tutulur, bakılıp görülür somut bir şey olduğunu anladım. (p. 182)

(Starting from that morning, for the first time I understood that my body was a concrete thing which could be touched, seen, looked at.)

Aysel wonders why her body has been so estranged from her for so many years. In a personal interview with Adalet Ağaoğlu, she stressed the fact that she had not intended to suggest in Ölmeye Yatmak that women's liberation was dependent on sexual freedom, nor vice versa. And she emphasised that Aysel's sleeping with her student was not a predetermined act, deliberately directed against her husband, nor was

it a temporary aberration. In fact the question of a woman not gaining sexual satisfaction from her husband, and the consequences of this for the marriage, is given full consideration in Ölmeye Yatmak and it is quite clear that Aysel is not pushed into her student's arms merely by the force of her frustrated sexual desires, though naturally this is a factor. The act of sleeping with her student is the culmination of the combined effects on Aysel's mind and body of the revolutionary excitement of the time (the story is set in 1968), plus a growing need for physical involvement and action arising from this and her mounting frustration with her husband's coldness and detachment. Her state of mind is such that after years of trying to resolve her identity as a university lecturer and an intellectual with her identity as a woman with physical needs, she initiates union with her young student in a bid to reaffirm belief in herself in both roles. The attempt is successful and Aysel gains the ability to examine herself thoroughly in the light of her new-found confidence as an integrated being. The act of sleeping with her student is therefore crucial not only in its sexual aspect, but in its catalytic effect in Aysel's initiation and termination of the affair with her student. Here is a woman not only in total control of her own sexuality, behaving with complete assurance in a way that is nonetheless quite unacceptable in social terms. but she also takes control, temporarily, of her student through his sexuality. When he comes to her house for the first time following the night when they slept together, he asks her not to turn him away. She recalls:

Çok utanıyordum. Yeniden ne istediğimi anladım. Benim için unutulmuş bir şeydi. Denenecek denenmiş, verilecek verilmiş, ödenecek ödenmiş, seyredilecek seyredilmiş. Bunu ona nasıl anlatabilirim? Durmadan ödeyecek, her şeyi ödeyecek denli

zengin olmadığımı, elimde olan, bildiğim, biriktirdiğim bütün zenginliğimi kendisine çoktan verip tükettiğimi nasıl açıklayabilirim? (p. 356)

(He was very embarrassed. I knew what he wanted again. For me it was something already forgotten. What was to be said had been said, what was to be given had been given, what was to be paid had been paid, what was to be seen had been seen. How could I explain this to him? How could I show him that I was not so rich that I could continually pay out, pay for everything, that I had long ago spent on him everything I knew, everything I had gathered, all my wealth?)

She makes him take off his clothes and walk around naked in front of her, not in order to humiliate him but in an attempt to make him understand that she had nothing more to give him. He remains confused. Has Aysel exploited his sexuality? Is male sexuality to become a commodity in the hands of self-assured but unscrupulous women in the way that female sexuality has been a commodity? These questions are not answered for the reader, and go beyond the scope of this study, so I shall return to the question of Aysel's experience of her sexuality, and specifically her virginity and its treatment as a commodity. As a young girl Aysel is asked for in marriage, but when the boy's family learns that she has entertained a friendship with another boy they break off the engagement. Aysel gets a beating from her father, and is subjected to scrutiny in the public baths from her mother. She sums up the situation:

Aysel artık kaybedecek hiç bir şeyi olmadığını anlamıştı.
Büyüklere bakılırsa kaybedilebilecek her şeyini kaybetmişti.
Kaybedecek hiç bir şeyi kalmadığını anlayınca yüreklendi...
(p. 305)

(Aysel now knew she had nothing left to lose. In the eyes of the grown-ups she had lost everything there was for her to lose. Realising that there was nothing left for her to lose she took heart.)

In the end, her parents' firm conviction that she has now lost all chance of marriage works to her advantage. Her father decides that as

Aysel will now undoubtedly remain a spinster, she might as well go to school and so be able to earn her own living. Nevertheless, Aysel's brother is charged with keeping her under close observation when she goes to university - she is not going to be allowed a second lapse. From social conditioning which denies her control of her own sexuality and places pre-marital virginity on the level of an exchange value for marriage, Aysel emerges as a mature woman in total control of her sexuality and finally able to reconcile her sexuality with her social and individual identity.

The two main female characters in Emine İşınsu's Tutsak are in contrasting situations. Ceren has lost her love for her husband, and rejects his advances, while Selma who is divorced longs to feel a man's embrace, although she is determined to make a life for herself alone. Because she is a young divorcee Selma is the subject of gossip and suspicion; other women see her in a predatory role, fearing that she will steal their husbands away. Even her best friend Ceren is led to suspect her of entering a sexual relationship with her husband. When Ceren's husband does call on Selma, with the obvious intention of seducing her, Selma has difficulty in resisting his advances. She is rather drunk, and therefore less able to suppress her initial emotional response which is to succumb to her physical desire. So she throws herself into his arms, but then she manages to suppress her emotional and sexual desire and rejects him outright, forcing him to leave her in humiliation for his presumption and arrogance. Selma, then, succeeds in establishing herself in an independent role, and demonstrates her ability to resist the temptation to allow male encroachment on her autonomy. She is no longer vulnerable through her need for sexual

satisfaction. Ceren, on the other hand, is just starting out on life without a man as the novel ends. As a married woman she seems to have found sexual union with her husband more a duty than a pleasure. She rejects his advances and then feels guilty and worried that he will be impelled to go looking for another woman. Despite her loss of interest in her husband Ceren shows no inclination to seek stimulation or gratification elsewhere. Ultimately both women in this novel can be seen to be seeking independence and self-fulfilment at the expense of any sexual relationship with men, but there is no indication of the success or failure of this strategy for the women.

Ambivalence in attitudes relating to female sexuality in urban society in recent years is briefly illustrated in Sevgi Soysal's Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti. In a conversation between a young boy and his girlfriend the girl tries to appeal to the boy's notion of honour regarding his sister to cool his advances, but her tactics serve only to annoy him:

"Niye veriyormuşum? Kızkardeşin versin."... "Kızkardeşimi bu işe karıştıрма." "Niçin karıştırmayacakmışım? Bizim ağbimiz yok sanki. Kızkardeşinin namusuna bekçilik etmeyi biliyorsan, nah benim de iki tane aslan gibi ağbiyim olduğunu bil!" "Biliyoruz." "Eh! Senin kızkardeşin ana kuzusu da, biz orospu muyuz? Kendi kardeşini, burada, böyle görsen?" "Bak kız, elimden bir kaza çıkacak şimdi. Sana kızkardeşimin adını ağzına alma dedim." (pp. 28-29)

("Why should I give myself? Let your sister give herself"... "You leave my sister out of this." "Why should I leave her out of it? As if I haven't got a big brother. If you are so clever at looking after your sister's honour, you had better remember that I've got two big strong brothers myself." "I know." "Huh! So your sister is mother's little darling and I'm a whore, is that it? What if you saw your sister here like this?" "Look here my girl, someone is going to get hurt here in a minute. I told you not to speak of my sister.")

Later in the book, in the portrayal of the relationship between Ali and Olcay, the couple's sexual union is presented as the logical consummation of their sincere and well-established friendship.

Among the works of the period that deal with characterisations of rural women there is still a strong emphasis on the destructive power of female sexuality, and the need for externally imposed constraint, as well as continuing expression of the fear of disorder inherent in taking sexually active women into employment outside the home and their husbands' or fathers' domain. But there is also a very marked tendency, especially in the works which have an urban setting, towards recognising the ability of women to control their own sexuality. It is also significant that this trend has received strong endorsement from women authors of the period. For these female characterisations their sexuality is an integral and essential part of their whole personality and identity, but not the driving force of their lives, as appears to be the case in some of the works by male authors.

In the works of this period there are still examples of female sexuality being treated as a commodity, and virginity being used as an exchange value in marriage, but the exploitative and damaging nature of these misconceptions is exposed and censured. The prohibition against women seeking sexual gratification outside an unsuccessful marriage is also slowly coming under fire, although dramatic examples still abound of the penalties likely to be imposed for such behaviour. Overall there is a clear movement towards depicting greater equality in the rights and duties applied to men and women with regard to sexual behaviour, as well as towards consideration of the psychological and personal aspects of

sexuality, rather than just the physical and social, as was the case in earlier years. This latter is a development concomitant with the acknowledgement that control of a woman's sexuality is a personal matter, to be resolved in accordance with her own conscience by the woman herself.

NOTES

1. See for example J. Peristiany (ed.), Honour and Shame, (1965), especially the articles Bourdieu, Pitt-Rivers and Fbou-Zeid, also J. Pitt-Rivers, The Fate of Sechem, (1977), especially Chapters 1,4,5 & 6.
2. Pervin Esenkova, "La Femme Turque Contemporaine: Education et Role Sociale" in Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes XIV, (1951), p. 274.
3. Ibid., pp. 258-259.
4. Sabine Dirks, La Famille Musulmane Turque - Son Evolution au 20e. Siècle, (1969), p. 151.
5. Ibid., p. 47.
6. The study was made by Demircioğlu, cited in Peter Benedict, "Aspects of the Domestic Cycle in a Turkish Provincial Town" in Mediterranean Family Structures, J. G. Peristiany (ed.), (1976), p. 225.
7. Sevda Şener, Çağdaş Türk Tiyatrosunda İnsan (1923-72), (1972), p. 66.
8. Füsun Altıok, "The Image of Woman in Turkish Literature", n.d., p. 7.
9. This view is also expressed by Türkân Poyraz and Muazzez Albek, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Hayatı ve Eserlerin Tam Listesi, (1957), p. 6.
10. Nermin Erdentuğ, Hal Köyünü Etnolojik Tetkini, (1956), p. 71.
11. Nermin Erdentuğ, A Study on the Social Structure of a Turkish Village, (1959), p. 52.
12. Ruth Frances Woodsmall, Women in the New East, (1960), p. 32.
13. See Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century", in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 437.
14. Nermin Erdentuğ, Hal Köyünü Etnolojik Tetkini, (1956), p. 36.
15. Mahmut Makal, Bizim Köy, (1950), p. 74.
16. Kemal Karpaz, "Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature" in Middle East Journal, (Winter and Spring 1960), p. 161.

17. Kemal Karpat reports the facts of the incident which took place in 1949: life for a young woman in a small town near Ankara became so unbearable when her father-in-law had spoilt her reputation by spreading false rumours that she had deceived her husband, that first she tried to commit suicide and then, in a moment of crisis she killed her father-in-law; ("Social Themes in Contemporary Turkish Literature" in Middle East Journal, (Spring 1960), p. 169.
18. Peyami Safa, Kadın - Aşk - Aile, (1978), p. 71.
19. Deniz Kandiyoti's survey shows that 84 per cent of the mothers thought that virginity must be preserved until marriage, while only 38 per cent of their daughters agreed; ("Intergenerational Change Among Turkish Women", (1978), Table 9).
20. See for example Deniz Kandiyoti, "Sex Roles and Social Change: A Comparative Appraisal of Turkey's Women" in Signs III, No. 1, (Autumn 1977), p. 66, and Nadia Haggag Youssef, Women and Work in Developing Societies, (1974), p. 101.
21. In 1965 the figure was 29.5 per cent; Nermin Abadan Unat, "Turkish External Migration and Social Mobility" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 376.
22. In Turkey only 10 per cent of paid employees were women in 1965; Ester Roserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development, (1970), p. 232.
23. Nermin Abadan-Unat records that 44.5 per cent of male Turkish workers interviewed in Germany considered friendship between a man and a woman "incompatible with moral and religious rules", while 61.2 per cent of female Turkish workers in her survey considered such a relationship "a completely normal manifestation of daily life", in "Turkish External Migration and Social Mobility" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 377.
24. Lloyd A. and Margaret C. Fallers offer as an illustration the statement that "women are ten times as passionate as men - like gunpowder which the presence of a man might ignite", in "Sex Roles in Edremit" in Mediterranean Family Structures, J. G. Peristiany (ed.), (1976), p. 258.
25. Paul J. Magnarella, Tradition and Change in a Turkish Town, (1974), pp. 126-127.
26. A. Gall, Aziz Nesin; Contemporary Turkish Humorist, (1974), pp. 223-224.
27. Ibid., pp. 219-220.

CHAPTER V

WOMEN IN THE FAMILY AND THEIR ROLES AS MOTHERS, WIVES, SWEETHEARTS ETC.

1923-1940

In 1917 the Family Code granted a woman the right to insert a clause into her marriage contract to prevent her husband taking a second wife, and the right to divorce her husband if this clause was violated. But even before that time the socio-economic changes taking place in Turkish society were resulting in fewer and fewer polygamous marriages.¹ However, when divorce by repudiation was abolished and replaced by court rulings restricted to specific cases, there was resentment against the court process which required strict proof and was often seen to fail in ascertaining the real causes of marital differences.² It may be that this factor, combined with the difficulty in obtaining a divorce was a significant element in the survival of the old (religious) form of marriage after the introduction of civil registration as a legal requirement.³ Nevertheless, the abolition of polygamy and divorce by repudiation were among the most important demands with regard to women's rights in the Ottoman Empire, along with questions of guardianship of small children and education for women. There was widespread but false optimism that when these particular inequalities in law had been eradicated all other "women's" problems as they existed in society would

automatically disappear. For this reason the Kadınlar Birliđi (Women's Union), founded before 1920, ceased to function after the establishment of the Republic. In 1930 it was re-established in a further move to emulate "western progress", and in 1935 the International Suffrage Alliance held its conference at the Yıldız Palace (in Istanbul). The day after the conference ended the Kadınlar Birliđi was once again made defunct: women had now been granted almost complete legal and political equality with men and had served their purpose in demonstrating the successful "democratisation" and "modernisation" of the Kemalist Republic. Indeed, Atatürk made a statement that since women now had all their rights there was no need to have a women's organisation any longer.⁴

However, centuries of tradition, with the weight of religious authority behind them, could not be simply legislated away, nor could legislation be used to change attitudes towards women. Still, it cannot be claimed that the reforms of the Republic had no effect; as an old villager's comments, quoted in a study carried out in 1944-45, illustrate:

...quarrels broke out in the homes and men became henpecked; they could no longer divorce their wives easily and get the Village Council to make them leave home; previously a woman calling her husband derogatory names would be considered divorced; girls now could insist on their inheritance rights through the courts, whereas before the revolution they were usually content with a few household items and perhaps a small plot of land as a memento of her father.⁵

It might be expected that the literature of the period would give some expression to the tensions and problems created by the imposition of a new set of rules and regulations onto a conflicting, or at best

incompatible, set of traditions and attitudes. Füsun Altıok, who is one of the pioneers in philosophical analysis and evaluation of Turkish literature, finds that the majority of writers in the first decades of the Republic were concerned with "imbalances in the super-structure" rather than the socio-economic aspect of the changes being wrought in the society, and they consequently dwelt on the dangers facing traditional morals, values, beliefs, and institutions such as marriage: the identification of social change with degeneration resulted in a number of works dealing with the threat of degeneration and moral disintegration to women.⁶

Turning to the question of female fertility, prevailing attitudes continue to conform to that illustrated by the common idiom which represents woman as a field. This symbolism is traditional and has religious endorsement in Verse 223 in the 2nd Surah of the Koran, which states that women are as fields and men should go into them as they wish. The image has two implications: first, that a woman should be available to satisfy her husband's needs whenever he desires; and second, that a woman is to function as the fertile soil for the cultivation of her husband's seed. Due to loss of man-power in the many years of war preceding and during the establishment of the Republic, government policy in the early years of the Republic banned the distribution of information on contraception and the use of contraceptives was prohibited by law. Abortion and sterilisation were illegal and financial incentives were given for large families. Naturally, a woman's role as producer of children was now considered to outweigh the importance of her role in the work force, especially since men had now returned to take up the jobs women had had to do in

their place during the war years. In the villages the question of contraception or sterilisation was irrelevant in any case, and the high infant mortality rates probably precluded the need for induced abortion to a great extent.⁷ The exaltation of motherhood as expressed in the Koran is illustrated in the Turkish proverb "Cennet anaların ayağın altındadır" (Paradise lies at the feet of mothers). During the Kemalist period a natural consequence of the above factors was that Atatürk should encourage the idea of the sacredness of motherhood both through the reverence he showed towards his own mother, and in his speeches. For example, in a speech he gave at Izmir in 1923 he stated:

The highest duty of women is motherhood. If one realises fully that education of both boys and girls starts in infancy, the importance of motherhood becomes evident.⁸

Sevda Şener's study of plays written during the Kemalist period contends that women are rarely evaluated as positive members of the family.⁹ Indeed, the heroines of Çalılıkusu and Vurun Kahpeye! are both devoid of any true family of their own, but they are both obedient, dutiful and suitably grateful, as well as affectionate towards the people who give them a home. The most significant relationship for both girls, however, is the close bond each will form with their husbands. Both stories finish before the marriage bond is actually tied, but the forging of the bond of affection is described in both novels. When Feride is betrothed to her cousin Kamran she is very young, about 14, and she rebels against this outward signal of her increasing maturity: she does not want to be married, and yet when Kamran comes to tell her he has the opportunity to go abroad for a number of years she is upset that he wants to go away from her.

Kamran's attitude displays a willingness to include Feride in his decision-making, as a part of his responsibility towards her as his future wife, but her reaction is irrational, childish and not conducive to real communication between them. The same childish petulance makes Feride run away rather than face Kāmran and talk to him when she learns of his affair with another woman. Feride shows a much greater degree of intimacy in later years in her relationship with her protector, doctor Hayrullah: in him she confides her anxieties and hopes, but her relationship with him is filial, as it was also with the headmistress who briefly afforded her comfort and protection when she was in social disgrace. There are two instances where Feride becomes annoyed by male conceit and selfishness in not taking any consideration of female emotions or desires in matters of marriage; first the proposal to Feride from İhsan through his sister, who is quite upset when Feride turns down the offer because she does not know how to break the bad news to her brother since he had not envisaged being rejected; and later, the proposal of a married man through his wife, to take Feride as a second wife: this man is satisfied that should Feride show any reluctance he would be able to buy her willingness and acceptance.

The idea of marriage as a duty or as a "good work" is presented in the episode where Feride is prepared to devote her life to the happiness of İhsan. This is the man whom she had previously rejected for his arrogance, but to whom she now offers herself in marriage after he has been wounded and badly disfigured in battle, and his morale is low.

In Vurun Kahpeye! the relationship between Aliye and Tosun starts with love at first sight, but develops into one of intimate knowledge of each other and mutual trust. Like Feride, Aliye lives only for the man she loves, and is unaware of the vast difference between the love she feels for Tosun and that which he feels for her:

Tosun, onun için biricik şeydi. Fakat Aliye, Tosun'un hayatını sarsan büyük tutku içinde sadece bir parça, bir zerre idi. (p. 106)

(Tosun was everything to her. But Aliye was only a part, one atom of the great passion swaying Tosun's life.)

In this case the disparity in male-female love is not a question of male infidelity and desire for change, as shown by Kamran in Çalığıuşu, instead it is a result of Tosun's higher commitment to an ideal. While Aliye lives only for the moments she is able to spend together with Tosun, he is a slave to his cause, and personal relationships - even a great love - can only take second place in his life. Marriage to the beloved remains an unattained goal for both Feride and Aliye, but great stress is nevertheless laid on the role of motherhood in both novels, especially on the educative aspect of motherhood, through both girls being portrayed as compassionate, caring teachers of small children. In Feride's case the substitution of her pupils for the children she thinks she will never have, since she has denied herself the possibility of marriage by running away from Kâmrân, is quite explicit:

Saçlarım birer birer ağarıncaya kadar başkalarının çocuklarına, onların saadetlerine kendimi vakfetmek artık beni korkutmuyor. İki sene evvel, bir sonbahar akşamı, gönlümün içinde öldürülen küçüklerin boş yerini başkalarının çocuklarına verdim. (p. 305)

(The idea of devoting myself to the children of others and to their happiness, till my hair turned white, doesn't alarm me in the least. That place in my heart, left empty by the little ones destroyed there, I gave to the children of others, two years ago.) (p. 280)

She also adopts a small girl who has been mistreated by her step-mother, and takes great pleasure in dressing her up and playing with her as if she were a doll.

In Vurun Kahpaya! Aliye's conscious desire for motherhood emerges when she attends a mevlûd:

Bir kadının kutsallığını, hayatın ve tabiatın en derin belirtisi olan doğumun sonsuz ıstırap ve saadetini ilk defa bir kadın gibi anlıyordu. (p. 50)

(For the first time she understood as a woman the sacredness of a woman and the endless suffering and happiness of birth, which is life's and nature's deepest experience.)

Thus, although neither of these heroines achieves motherhood, both are portrayed in mothering roles and endowed with the qualities desired in motherhood; in this respect Feride's portrayal is the more positive, since not only does she adopt a child but she is also shown in a nursing role.

In Yakup Kadri's novel Yaban the women of the village are identified by their relationships to male members of the community rather than by name; however, there is no examination of these relationships and the only marriage that is described in any detail is the rather aberrant marriage of Cennet and Süleyman which was discussed in Chapter IV. The marriage between Emine and İsmail is virtually ignored by the narrator Ahmet Celâl, who wished to marry Emine himself. In his imagination this marriage to which he still aspires is clearly based on sexual desire and the need for someone to serve him and look after him (he has only one arm, and therefore has a real need for assistance). He has hardly spoken to Emine, but has nevertheless formed the opinion that she is ignorant:

...onu konuşmaktan menederim. Yalnız, sık sık gülmesine, ve, hayreti, öfkeyi, inadı, şuhluğu ifade eder nidalar koyuvermesine izin verirdim. Yemeğimi, o pişirsin, hizmetime o baksın isterdim.

Ben yerken, çalışırken veya kahvemi içerken, onun ayakta beklemesini hoş görürdüm...arasıra bir iri Van kedisi gibi onunla oynamaktan haz alırdım. (pp. 85-86)

(...I would forbid her to speak. I would only give her leave to laugh often and to let out cries of surprise, anger or joy. I would like her to cook my food and take care of me.

I would like her to stand and wait while I was eating or working or drinking my coffee... and once in a while I would take pleasure in playing with her as if she were a huge Van cat.)

When he learns of the match between Emine and İsmail he is more concerned about their physical incompatibility and his own greater worthiness than about Emine's personal desires or preferences. And yet, he is careful to satisfy himself of her willingness before taking her with him in an attempt to escape the enemy occupation troops. Both Ahmet Celâl and Emine are badly wounded while fleeing the village, but they spend the night together and Emine takes on the role of comforter and nurse. Ahmet Celâl, seeing himself as a sick and lonely child, casts Emine in the role of his mother:

Kaç yıldır...annemin dizleri toprağın altında çürümeye gittiği günden beri hiç bunun kadar yumuşak bir yastık bulamamıştım. (p. 173)

(How long it was... Since my mother was laid to rest and buried under the earth I had not been able to find a pillow as soft as that of my mother's knees until now.)

His longing for a mother's love and consolation had found no solace in the person of Zeynep, the mother of the soldier Mehmet Ali who had invited him to settle in the village, and in whose house he stayed for many months. Zeynep displays none of the softness and gentleness associated with motherliness: she is described by Ahmet Celâl as

"katı, sert" (tough, hard), and his observation that she wept for the loss of a piece of land but not when her son went to war seems to suggest a conscious negation of motherhood. Zeynep cannot afford soft "feminine" qualities in the harsh, difficult life she has to live. Any display of emotion over personal matters is frowned upon by the villagers, and so when Mehmet Ali leaves to rejoin the army he silences his wife's sobs with a single harsh look. The male role in marriage is authoritarian and is used as a means of reinforcing or ensuring conformity to socially approved behaviour; women's role in marriage is submissive and subordinate, source of pleasure and comfort, although years of enduring the harsh conditions of rural life may suppress or overcome "feminine" qualities associated with motherhood and "wifeliness".

In contrast, marriage in the two works of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar that I have selected, Meyhanede Hanımlar and Kadın Erkekleşince is characterised by the wilful, irresponsible, unrestrained behaviour of the wife. Hüseyin Rahmi does not go as far as to show or predict the consequent break-down of the marriage, but he quite clearly is making a strong claim for the reinstatement of male authority and control in marriage, and a return to domesticity and subordination for the wife. Both marriages depicted in these works are based on free choice of partner, and this is a factor in the ensuing mother/daughter-in-law conflicts. In Meyhanede Hanımlar the mother-in-law claims that her son has been "bewitched" by his wife into marrying her, and that he stays with her only for the sake of his honour: not to be proved wrong. In Kadın Erkekleşince Mebrure is so concerned that her son should marry a girl of her own choice that

when he is brought home injured after a car accident, she is more concerned about his relationship with the young lady who was accompanying him than about the extent of his injuries. Mebrure's own marriage is far from exemplary: her husband is evidently dissatisfied and would have liked to take a second wife if it were not for the law now forbidding it. He supports his son's desire to marry a woman of his own choosing, who will make him happy. The young couple themselves are determined to have a marriage based on equality in both intellectual and practical terms. The young man, Ali Süreyya, declares:

Evlenecek olsam benimle yumruk yumruğa fikri mücadeleye kadir bir kadın almak isterim. (p. 23)

(If I'm going to marry I want a woman capable of doing battle with me ideologically, blow for blow.)

and further:

Ben çalışacağım karım çalışacak... Kazancımızı akşam yuvamıza getireceğiz... Cıvıvıvılarımızı besleyeceğiz... İki kafa, dört kol... (p. 24)

(I shall work, my wife will work. In the evenings we shall bring home what we have earned. We shall look after our children. Two heads, four arms...)

His fiancée Nebahat explains the importance of knowing each other well before committing themselves to marriage:

Biz Süreyya ile aylarca sözleştik. Dertleştik. O bana emellerini döktü. Ben ona en ince tafsilatına kadar temayüllerimi anlattım... Bu izdivacımız sadece cinsi bir miknatisiyetle değil içtimai, ciddi mülahazalar neticesinde vukubulmuştur. (p. 71)

(I have had an understanding with Süreyya for months. We used to tell each other our troubles. He used to confide in me his ambitions. I used to tell him my desires in their most intricate detail.... Our marriage is not merely the result of a sexual attraction, but the consequence of social, serious factors.)

For Nebahat, equality between men and women in marriage cannot be achieved unless both partners earn money and share the housework and

responsibility for the children: women must become like men and men like women. The young couple begin to run into difficulties which are exacerbated when they have a baby. Ali Süreyya tries to persuade his wife that a woman's role as child-raiser is pre-ordained by nature, while a man's duty is to work and bring home money. Nebahat clings to her ideals, so they continue to take turns in staying home to look after the baby until one day Ali Süreyya insists on going to work even though it is his turn to stay home. Nebahat refuses to submit to her husband's denial of her rights and goes to work too, leaving the baby alone. Thus, although it is Ali Süreyya who has broken their agreement it is Nebahat who actually abandons the baby, since she leaves home after her husband. She is thus shown to subordinate her role as mother to her place in the "man's world" of paid employment: she has sacrificed the sacred to the profane. Hüseyin Rahmi is evidently expressing the fear that women may misuse their newly gained rights, and not content with their legal equality they may enter the world of paid employment to the detriment of their domestic responsibilities. He equates women's entry into the work place with the abrogation of sex-role differentiation, and links it with the subordination of motherhood and household duties to the woman's paid employment. He clearly opposes arranged marriage, but is in favour of the continuance of male authority in the family. The play is a dramatic statement of his belief that motherhood is a woman's highest duty and should not be subordinated to a career. The implications of this logic for the position of the older woman, past child-bearing age, whose children have grown up, are presented unambiguously in both Kadın Erkeklesince and Mayhanede Hanımlar. In the latter story Bahriye excludes her mother-in-law from the category of "women"

altogether, since she is past child-bearing age. She accuses her of being nothing more than a burden on the young. Similarly, in Kadın Erkekleşince Ali Süreyya's mother is cast in the role of a parasite: "Anne yiğilli bir servet tükenmeğe mahkumdur..." (Mother is condemned to the exhaustion of a heap of riches...) (p. 24)

In Reşat Nuri Güntekin's story of the femme fatale Sârâ in Bir Kadın Düşmanı there is no comment on motherhood, nor on the role of the older woman who is past child-bearing age. However, marriage is a vital issue: Sârâ is so used to passing herself off as 22 that she almost forgets that she is in fact 26 and very worried about reaching 30 and being "on the shelf". She writes to her father asking him to find a suitable prospective husband for her, but it is clear that she considers marriage in her parents' style as tedious and restrictive for the wife, hence her determination to have as much fun as possible while she is still free. Sârâ's character is too frivolous to voice any serious thoughts on the sort of basis marriage should have, so the author uses her reluctant admirer Homongolos as his mouthpiece to speak against arranged marriage; he describes the fate of girls forced into unwelcome marriages:

Zavallılar senelerce gizli gizli isyan ederler, ağlarlar.
Nihayet ümitleri büsbütün kesilir. Renksiz, emelsiz
hayatlarını hazin bir sabır feragat içinde geçirmeğe devam
ederler. (p. 139)

(The poor things, for years they rebel secretly, and weep.
In the end their hopes fade completely. Then they continue
to live on their colourless, aimless lives in sad patience
and renunciation.)

Homongolos slowly becomes aware of the nature and depth of the
friendship in his relationship with Sârâ:

Yanında bulunmaktan, sözlerini dinlemekten zevk almağa başladım. Belki hatta onun cinsini, kadınlığını bile düşünmüyorum. Onu bir erkek dost gibi...temiz bir arkadaş muhabbet ile seviyorum.. Erkekler arasından bazan kendimize bir kardeş, bir "birader" seçmek mümkün olsun da kadınlar arasında bir "hemşire" ayırmak niçin kabil olmasın? (p. 152)

(I started to derive pleasure from being with her, and from listening to her talk. Perhaps I didn't even think of her sex, her womanliness. I love her like a male friend, with a pure friendly affection. If sometimes it is possible to choose a brother from among our male friends, why should it not be possible to pick out a sister from among women?)

Reşat Nuri's irony lies in not letting Homongolos succumb to Sara's beauty, in which she takes an inordinate pride, but instead making him fall in love with her personality and charm, while in fact her acts of friendship, her charm and brightness are superficial: they are merely strategies which, together with her beauty, she manipulates relentlessly in order to captivate her selected prey. While Homongolos attaches a real value to his relationship with Sârâ, she is too absorbed in her own "adventure" to realise the genuine feelings which have grown in the relationship between them. Sârâ's relationships with other women display a similar lack of consideration for feelings: she tends to see other women either as competitors for male attention and admiration, or as accomplices in her schemes. On the whole she does not invest much in her relationships with other women any more than with men.

In the stories by Sabahattin Ali which I have selected there are no portrayals of women in family relations other than those of mother and wife. The wives are shown to be unquestioningly loyal and self-sacrificing. In Kazlar Dudu steals in order to be able to fulfil her

husband's request, although she has hardly had any married life in which to build up a relationship with him. They married one month before he went to do his military service, and he was only home for twenty days before he was taken to prison. Dudu is an illiterate village woman, and the prison guards easily cheat her out of the geese she has stolen for her husband by not telling her that he is already dead. The story ends with Dudu in prison herself - a sad comment on the injustice of a system which expects complete obedience and unquestioning compliance from wives, then holds them responsible if they transgress the law in the course of carrying out their husbands' orders. Sıcak Su makes a similar point: Emine is made to suffer for her refusal to implicate her husband or bring him into danger, although it is her husband who has actually broken the law. In Hanende Melek Sabahattin Ali presents the long-suffering but nevertheless patient and faithful wife of a despicable, spendthrift, drunken husband. In Kağrı motherly love is shown to endure even after death: when the gendarmes demand her son's body to be taken to the town the old mother wraps up the decomposing corpse and loads it onto her cart, then sets off walking behind. The effort is too much for her strength, but her devotion to the memory of her son will not let her leave the side of his body, until she collapses from exhaustion and cannot continue any further. The old woman's dependence on the other members of the village is clearly illustrated by her inability to inform the police of the true circumstances of her son's death for fear of incurring the village ağa's displeasure, which would mean her dying of hunger if she could no longer count on his generosity.

The romances of Esat Mahmut Kerekurt and Kerime Nadir show some similarity with the treatment of love in Vurun Kahpeye! and Çalılıkusu, but with the significant difference that not only the heroines centre their whole lives and existence around the men they love, but the heroes too are totally absorbed by the women they love. The basis of mutual love is not important to these authors, only the overpowering strength of it and its culmination in a happy marriage. The love between Adnan and Zeyneb in Dağları Bekleyen Kız reaches a climax on their first night together as they shelter in a cave, in danger of attack:

Soğuktan ziyade, heyecandan titriyorlar. Tehlikeden fazla, saadetten korkuyorlar. (p. 85)

(They were trembling more from excitement than fear. They feared happiness more than danger.)

Happiness for a woman is asserted to be the knowledge of being loved, and loving in return. When morning comes and they have to part, Zeyneb is quite distraught, pleading with Adnan to stay. He, in turn, is equally distraught when the time comes later for her to leave him. Their love, overcoming separations and even the public trial of Zeyneb for treason, culminates in marriage. The final scene shows Zeyneb and Adnan in a seaside cottage, on the threshold of years of wedded bliss.

Vedat and Fehiman's marriage in Funda is rather more soundly based on intimate knowledge of one another since childhood; although there are fourteen years' difference in age between them they form an intimate bond of friendship when Fehiman nurses Vedat after an accident in which he loses both his legs. Vedat's love for Fehiman forces him to try to turn her away from the thought of marriage between them as he cannot believe he is anything more than an object of pity for her.

However, he finally becomes convinced of her true love for him and they do marry. Their marriage is based on companionship as well as Vedat's need for constant care and assistance because of his disability. The two are always together, they understand each other and know each other's feelings, but Vedat eventually starts to feel guilty about not being able to offer his wife more variety and gaiety in her life, and insists on her accompanying her sister and husband on a trip to Europe. When Vedat learns of Fehiman's seduction while on this trip his sense of honour forces him to reject Fehiman as his wife but his love for her endures, and he tortures himself as much as his wife by separating his life from hers, even though they continue to live in the same house. Her love remains constant also, and so when Vedat is finally convinced of her innocence and feels able to forgive her, their marital happiness is immediately restored. The nature of the romance precludes the development of relationships other than the love bond between hero and heroine, and obviates the need to portray woman in any role other than that of beloved, although Fehiman displays very early on the caring qualities more commonly associated with motherhood in her care and nursing of Vedat, and she does become a mother in the course of the novel, and is blessed with all the desired attributes for the successful performance of that role.

Marriage is undoubtedly the dream of the vast majority of Turkish girls and romantic notions of marriage based on love, especially the woman's unswerving love for her husband, abound. However, while free choice of marriage partner is generally supported, within marriage male authority and female submission are still seen to be

prerequisites for stability and harmony in the works selected. Naturally, in marriages based on mutual love or friendship male authoritarian behaviour is less likely to cause friction. However, there are illustrations of the danger that conflict within the family may result from free choice of partner in marriage, especially where there is female competition for male-owned resources: the insecurity felt by a mother dependent on a married son for economic support may be intensified by any antipathy between mother and daughter-in-law. Motherhood is without exception accorded great respect, and is evidently to be given priority over any non-domestic activities. The "natural" and most laudable substitute for motherhood is the role of educator of young children, which is portrayed as an extension of motherhood and is thus an activity that can be combined with motherhood without endangering the domestic role. None of the works studied carry a message of exhortation to women to bear children, but the childless woman, and the woman who subordinates childrearing to a career, are condemned. Women are not portrayed exclusively in terms of their relationships with men, but there are no significant portrayals of developments of meaningful, positive relationships between women.

THE 1940s AND 1950s

In the 1940s and 1950s a considerable amount of anthropological and sociological research was carried out in Turkey, and there is consequently a good deal of information available about the position of women within the family, and the nature of the relationships

defining that position. As Paul Stirling points out, all small children belong to the province of women, but girls remain so. And yet people bemoan the trouble of bringing up daughters since they will go to strangers as soon as they reach a really useful age.¹⁰ Young girls and boys are socialised into society's male-female stereotypes from an early age, and Stirling records the example of an eight year old boy giving peremptory orders to his fourteen year old sister.¹¹

Although the minimum legal age for marriage was reduced in 1938 from 18 to 17 for boys, and from 17 to 15 for girls (special permission can be granted for boys of 15 and girls of 14 to be married),¹² evidence from various researches shows that these limits have frequently been disregarded. The need for an additional female worker is often the reason behind young girls being taken as brides into the boy's household,¹³ and in the villages girls of twelve and thirteen are considered adult, and people would rather see them married, even if this means altering birth certificates, than send them to school.¹⁴ In the village of his fieldwork İbrahim Yasa found a widespread belief that to live alone is displeasing to God: marriage is an order from God and the Prophet's wish.¹⁵ However, while men in the village could refuse a proposed match and suggest another, or in rare cases could even insist on marrying a girl of their own choice against their families' wishes, a girl would have absolutely no right to choose and may well be forced into marriage against her wishes, her father's pressure in the matter being the greatest.¹⁶ According to another village study carried out in the same period, the "owner" of a modest, healthy, hard-working unmarried girl would drive a hard

bargain in order to show his own and the girl's high standing, and his solicitude for her; but mercenary motives had to be concealed behind a show of magnanimity.¹⁷ However, in Bizim Köy Mahmut Makal clearly attributes a mercenary delight to the father who, when his daughter is widowed, "happily puts her on the market again".¹⁸ Makal describes, too, how girls in his village who have married young, many before they reach fifteen, fall ill under the strains of married life and die within a couple of years, only to have their cruel fate passed off by people saying "Well, she was ill anyway - it's just that her illness didn't show itself until she got married".¹⁹ Almost thirty years later, at the conference on women held in Istanbul in 1978, a paper was presented describing how, during the years of the Second World War, women had had a slightly lower life expectancy than men, and that the main reasons behind the health problems of married women of child-bearing age were: absence or inadequacy of pre-natal care, undiagnosed or untreated conditions (e.g. inadequate nutrition) during pregnancy, having a delivery or miscarriage without assistance and under unsanitary conditions, short intervals between pregnancies, and recommencement of work shortly after delivery or miscarriage.²⁰ Makal described conditions in his village as so harsh, and the workload of the women so heavy, that mothers appeared to have no time to devote to children, carrying their babies around with them on their backs or sitting them down in a corner and suckling them occasionally, even while still on their feet.²¹ İbrahim Yasa observed among the villagers he studied that women would make no adjustment in their dress when pregnant, nor in their work or eating routines. A woman would only give up doing

heavy work a short time before the birth was due, would be given no special attention after the birth, and would be expected to be out of bed on the fourth or fifth day.²²

The political leaders of the country at this time were still keen to increase Turkey's population: birth control devices were still banned, and in 1939 Alparslan Türkeş wrote an article in which he claimed marriage and motherhood to be a national duty for all women. He considered that every man reaching the age of 25, whose health and circumstances permit, should be legally obliged to marry. No sooner married the couple should aim to start a family, and each family should have at least three children, although couples producing less than five children should not be considered to have fulfilled their obligation to the nation completely. A woman's duty, therefore, was to bear and raise children; a pregnant woman was the most precious, sacred being, while a woman who remained childless, whatever her education or occupation, was valueless, a parasite, a mere nothing.²³

Thus, at a time when pregnancy and motherhood for village women meant an additional burden for them while already struggling under harsh conditions, and an additional strain on their health, the ideology of motherhood (in its reproductive aspect) as woman's single most important and most sacred duty was still enjoying wide currency.

The status and treatment of a young bride, although compatible with her "nominal daughterhood" has been shown to be quite unenviable in that she may be expected to do all the more menial tasks and to wait on her mother-in-law with no alternative but submission, other than

the scandal and disgrace of divorce (a course of action which would eventually result in her having to repeat the same experience elsewhere under less favourable circumstances).²⁴

Descriptions of proper "wifely" behaviour for a village woman show that:²⁵ a wife should behave strictly according to her husband's wishes; if she fails in her duties her husband has the right to beat her (although this right may be usurped by his parents); furthermore, if he does beat her, swear at her or whatsoever, she should make no protest, either verbal or otherwise; and although she will try not to do the things her husband forbids he may beat her nevertheless. The concept of "hayat arkadaşı" (life-friend) is incomprehensible to village men, and if with her advancing years a woman falls out of favour she may simply be abandoned. Men and women may eat separately, and young girls and new brides may be forbidden not only to speak but even to look in the face of an older man or woman, or to eat in company with others, or to address their husbands by name.²⁶ In short, companionship is not expected from the marriage, either by women or men, and the husband-wife relationship is limited to economic co-operation and sexual intimacy, as illustrated in the expression "we love our wives at night".²⁷

The importance of a wife's contribution either to work on the family farm or in household tasks, and her importance as the actual or potential mother of sons, are the factors which guarantee a woman some degree of security. Inability to fulfil either of these requirements is likely to result in either divorce or the introduction of a kuma (co-wife) into the household.²⁸ A survey carried out in 1942

revealed a continuing preference among villagers for the religious marriage ceremony, rather than civil registration,²⁹ thus enabling a man to divorce his wife in accordance with the Şariat while depriving the wife of legal redress. The traditional payment of başlık (bride-price), also legally prohibited but still widely practised, can also be seen as a disincentive to divorce, since the bride's father may be forced to return of all or some of the payment in the case of his daughter's divorce, and the husband will have to pay a high amount in order to procure a second wife.³⁰

The continuing prerogative of men to arbitrarily terminate their marriage still imposes the burden of resignation and submission on the wife. In a divorce case brought before Meliha Çalikoğlu, a wife was considered by witnesses for the husband to be the guilty party because she had left home due to her husband beating her. The husband had admitted to beating her, but women in the village had always been beaten and had said nothing and stayed at home; this woman's guilt lay in being the first woman to rebel against being beaten.³¹ Witnesses against the wife in divorce cases often cite disobedience, going to places where the husband has forbidden her, going out without permission and such like.³² The actual figures for husbands and wives seeking divorce through the courts are surprisingly equally distributed,³³ but the women filing for divorce are the ones who enjoy the benefits and protection of a civil marriage: many women in the villages have no legal claims on their husbands or their husbands' estates, since their marriage is not registered. A woman in such a situation may be able to leave her husband and return to her own family if they will accept her, but her father probably will have to forfeit

the money which was paid as brideprice, and may be unwilling or simply unable to take his daughter back unless he can quickly arrange another marriage for her.

The nature of marriage is thus very much characterised by male authority and female submission, although women who have the good fortune to be married according to the Civil Law have the protection of the law - and seek it - in the event of divorce.

As mentioned earlier, a woman's security is enhanced if she produces healthy sons, and because of the future political and economic support which a mother can expect from her sons, the mother-son relationship is very important for a woman. The most difficult period in a woman's life is probably the period between her marriage and bearing a healthy son, but women remain a dependent member of their household as long as there is at least one male member old enough to take authority. For a man, however, male members of his own family will be his most important allies. Paul Stirling cites this lack of reciprocity in the importance attached to male-female relationships as both an example and a consequence of female inferiority in society.³⁴

The socialisation of girls to be submissive and compliant in the face of male authority, combined with the early age of marriage among rural women in particular, leads to a minimisation of conflict between male and female within the family, but clashes are more likely to arise between the mother and the wife of a man, since they may well have conflicting or competing interests in his resources and affections, especially if the mother is without a husband of her own.

Since male-female relations outside marriage are still socially unacceptable in this period, except in the large urban centres, it is hardly surprising to find women portrayed as intimate sweethearts only in those works which are set in the metropolis: Huzur, Yalnızız! and Sana Rey Veriyorum. Yaşar Kemal's novel İnce Memed is an exception, in that Memed and Hatçe are childhood sweethearts who grew up in the same village. Their romance blossoms after a chance meeting when returning from the fields alone, and they continue to hold clandestine meetings, but their future plans for marriage are threatened by the village Ağa's plans to have Hatçe as a bride for his nephew. So Memed and Hatçe run away together; when they are caught Memed escapes into the mountains and becomes a bandit, while Hatçe is taken back to the village by the Ağa's men. However, not until several months later, when a man Memed has ambushed pleads to be released since he is returning to his fiancée who has been waiting for him for six years, does Memed show any concern for the fate of Hatçe or his mother. He has been so absorbed in his life of banditry that he has not found the time to investigate the fate of the two women for whom his life is the very centre of existence; and yet this is not in any way presented as a sign of negligence or egocentricity.

Cemile, by Orhan Kemal, also depicts a pre-marital romantic relationship, between Cemile and Necati. But this is very much romance at a distance: the couple's knowledge of one another is mostly by sight or second hand, and is within the bounds of what is permissible. Their engagement is precipitated, as in İnce Memed, by the threat posed by another interested suitor. The nature of Asuman's relationship with

her fiancé is not developed in Cevat Fehmi Başkut's play Sana Rey Veriyorum except to the extent that it is of such great importance to Asuman that when she is forced to deny her love she loses the balance of her mind.

These women, depicted in the role of sweetheart, commit themselves totally to the men they have "chosen" and may even be presented in the position of looking upon them as their saviours.

Similarly, in Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's Huzur, Nuran allows herself to become totally absorbed in her romantic attachment to Mümtaz, even to the detriment of her role as mother. But after a time, in which living together as Mümtaz's wife she has the opportunity to experience the reality of her romantic dreams, she opts for a return to a more independent, less emotionally demanding life. She gives up Mümtaz to return to her ex-husband for whom she feels friendship but not love, and to her daughter, all in the hope of finding peace of mind. Nuran is sought not only by her lover Mümtaz and her ex-husband, but also by Suat with whom she has no special relation whatever, for her apparent ability to dispense peace of mind to others.

An illustration of the reverse is drawn in Peyami Safa's Yalnızız! in which Selmin is portrayed as dispensing antagonism and conflict as a result of her weak character and immaturity.

The idea of marriage as a peaceful, comfortable institution occurs most frequently in those instances where the marriage is presented in the light of a mutually desired arrangement between husband and wife,

either as a result of a love-match, or a state of equilibrium gradually attained between older couples who have settled into a mutually agreeable or at least tolerable pattern of behaviour. In Huzur, for example, Macide and İhsan are presented as being absolutely indispensable to one another, not in any specific way but simply through the strength and support derived from each other's presence. The relationship between another older couple, Adile and Sabih, is very succinctly described, and is unusual because it shows the sacrifice made by the husband, not the wife, for the sake of achieving "comfort" and harmony in domestic life:

Zamanla karısına, bütün aksak taraflarını öğrendiği eski bir otomobil gibi alışmıştı. O istediği yerde durur, bazan hiç fren kabul etmez, vitesleri kendi kendine değiştirir, bazan doludizgin yürürdü. Sabih'in vazifesi bu eski makinanın bir kaza çıkarmasını önlemektir. Aslında iyi kadındı ve ona alışmıştı. Hayatı onun yanında rahattı. Vakıa bu rahatı Sabih oldukça mühim fedakârlıklarla elde etmişti. Onu kendisine temin edebilmek için hemen hemen şahsiyetinin yarısından vazgeçmişti. (p. 90)

(With the passing of time he had got used to his wife as if she were like an old car whose defects he had grown familiar with. She would stop where she wanted, sometimes she would not respond to the brake, she would change gear all by herself and sometimes would go off at full speed. Sabih's duty was to prevent this old machine from causing an accident. In fact she was a good woman and he was used to her. His life with her was comfortable. Actually, Sabih had attained this comfortableness by quite significant self-sacrifices. In order to make sure of her for himself he had given up almost half of his personal identity.)

In Orhan Kemal's El Kızı Mazhar's marriage to the bar girl Jale, based on mutual understanding and knowledge, as well as physical desire, brings both husband and wife far greater happiness than had been possible either in her previous life-style or in his previous marriage which had been based initially on physical attraction and afterwards on the submission of his wife. The married couples in Yaşar Kemal's

İnce Memed show a high degree of tolerance for one another; the old couple from whom Memed accepts shelter when he runs away from the village as a child are depicted in a relationship of calm co-operative friendship; in Memed's own village Durmuş Ali and his wife Hürü live in harmony despite Hürü's somewhat headstrong and independent behaviour. Hürü openly disagrees with her husband and will not be silenced; when he finally imposes his male authority by reminding her of her female obligations she has to submit, but not without having the last word:

(Durmuş Ali:) "Avrat!... Öyle deli deli, dipsiz laflar edeceğine, ahıra yatak yapın da misafirler uyusunlar. Ben köür Ali'ye gidiyorum." Kadın: "Git", dedi, "cehennem zıbarasına." (pp. 239-240)

((Durmuş Ali:) "Woman!... Instead of standing there like a fool, saying stupid things, go and make up a bed in the stable so that our guests can go to sleep. I'm going to Blind Ali." The woman: "Go! Go to hell!")

We are also told how another village man goes to his wife to pour out his troubles in times of stress, or to confide in her secrets which he cannot keep to himself. And in general women are shown to remain at their husbands' sides in the presence of male guests, and to join in the conversation. In Teneke, also by Yaşar Kemal, Reşat and his wife are likewise depicted in a bond of warm, friendly affection based on his wife's solicitous behaviour towards him.

Bekir Sıtkı Kunt's story Gönül Bu! contrasts the two marriages of one woman: the first to a man approved by society but not satisfying the needs of Zahide. She is a fun-loving, carefree woman and her husband is a good, hard-working, sober but dull man. When she leaves him the other women of the village can see no reason for her behaviour and assume that she must have a secret lover, for her husband seems to them to be faultless:

Herkesin anlayabileceği bir şekilde, ondan hiç bir şikâyeti yoktu. Onu dövmemiş, sövmemiş, aç ve çıplak bırakmamıştı. Bir karı, kocasından başka daha ne isteyebilir, ne bekliyebilirdi? (p. 100)

(As far as everyone could tell, she had no complaint about him. He hadn't beaten her, sworn at her, left her hungry or naked. What more could a woman want or expect from her husband?)

They do not consider the deeper question of compatibility between husband and wife; Zahide is exceptional. She does not think of marrying again, but when she meets a like-minded, fun-loving man she falls in love with him. They spend all their money on having a good time and they are happy. But the other women cannot understand or appreciate Zahide's preference for satisfying her heart's desire rather than having a materially secure and comfortable life, and they disapprove. This story neatly contrasts some of the social requirements and expectations of marriage with the expectations of couples who marry for their own joint pleasure and happiness. However, before going on to examine the social expectations of marriage as presented in literature, I shall look at some specifically female and male projections of marriage.

For young girls marriage is the greatest single chance for social mobility: marriage into a higher social class may be out of the bounds of possibility, but a husband who is potentially able to achieve entry into a higher socio-economic level is certainly imaginable. The young girl in Orhan Kemal's Çamaşırcının Kızı dreams of her boyfriend taking her to Istanbul where she will become a film star, and thus escape the drudgery of life which marriage has brought to the other women she sees around her. She reflects on advice given to her by a local wife to sit at home and "await her fate":

Evde oturup kismetimi beklemeliymişim... Kismetim de ne? Ya da bakkal, ya da kendi kocası gibi bir şoför... Sonra? Eve hapsolacam, peşimde zırıl zırıl bir alay çocuk, bütün gün leğen dolusu çişli bez başında... (p. 8)

(Sit at home and wait for my fate. And what is my fate? Either a grocer, or a driver like her own husband. And then? Imprisoned at home, with a whole string of children following me around, and the whole day spent at a sinkful of dirty nappies...)

Although she dislikes the reality of marriage as it affects the lives of the women she knows, she has no aversion to marriage itself and she pins her hopes on her boyfriend to marry her and take her out of her narrow environment. An older neighbour, a widow, also dreams of marrying again in order to be able to enjoy a life of ease with a man whose company she could enjoy, in contrast to her late husband who used to drink a lot and beat her.

In El Kızı Orhan Kemal describes Mazhar's mother as a young girl who, at the age of fourteen, had set her sights on marriage as the first step towards a better life; the most important aspect of marriage being that it would enable her to produce legitimate sons who would be the direct means by which she could attain the life-style she desired. She sees marriage as a constant struggle for the woman to hold her husband's affections:

Kocasını seven bir kadın, onu avucunun içinde tutmasını bilmeliydi. Erkeği avucunda tutabilmekse, her kadına müyesser bir meziyet değildi. Erkeğe hoş görünmek için, kadın türlü hünerler bilmeli, erkeğin huyuna, suyuna göre hareket edebilmeliydi. (p. 119)

(A woman who loved her husband had to know how to keep him in the palm of her hand. But the talent of holding a man was not granted to every woman. A woman had to have a number of skills in order to please her man, and had to behave according to her man's disposition and temperament.)

In practice, however, Mazhar's mother had been less concerned about keeping her husband's affections than about bestowing her own outside marriage, and clearly she expected no deep, reciprocal bonding between husband and wife, and is inordinately jealous of any hint of such a bond developing between her son and his wife.

The wives portrayed in Cevat Fehmi Başkut's plays also evince a marked lack of sincere affection for their husbands. They too are women for whom marriage is a means to an end, not an end in itself. They therefore invest very little genuine emotion in their relationships with their husbands and become quite bitter and frustrated when their husbands fail to achieve, or even participate in the schemes they have dreamed up to further their own ambitions. Paydoe opens with a scene in which Murtaza comes home delighted to have seen one of his old pupils who has become an inspector. His wife Hatice's reaction is one of rage that her husband feels proud when he should be ashamed that he is still a primary school teacher while one of his ex-pupils has achieved such success. She complains that she was only persuaded to marry him because she was told he was educated and mature, but he has failed to live up to her expectations in providing her with the comfort and luxury she craves. Similarly, Mübeccel in Sana Rey Veriyorum has married Ramazan only because he is a doctor and therefore has the potential to achieve all her social ambitions. She regrets being a woman, seeing her gender as an insurmountable obstacle to her own personal achievement of these ambitions, and so she lives vicariously, even threatening her husband with separation if he will not comply with her wishes - presumably in order that she might be set free and seek a husband more amenable to her plans.

The male view of marriage as a means of acquiring access to the sexual and reproductive services of a woman, as well as her labour, disregards the personal wishes of the woman and admits no emotional bond between man and wife in marriage. This attitude is in many ways comparable to the achievement-oriented view of some women. Women become the object of such exploitative desires in a number of the works I have included. For example, the man who plans to abduct Cemile in Orhan Kemal's story of the same name thinks he can buy Cemile's willingness to marry him by giving her gold and carpets, but in fact he is determined to take her whether she is willing or not. When someone points out to him that she is indeed unwilling he retorts "Sen babasının gönlünü ettikten sonra kızın esamisi mi okunur..." (Once you have persuaded the father, who cares about the girl's opinion?) (p. 6), thus finding support for his actions in the common acceptance of a father's complete authority over his daughters.

Emine, in Samim Kocagöz's story Fındık Yaprakları is married to a man who puts the total burden of economic support on her, and beats her when she comes home with insufficient money for his needs. In Necati Cumalı's play Mine the relationship between Mine and her husband is based entirely on his use of Mine to satisfy his physical needs, while in Bekir Sıtkı Kunt's story Zeynep Kadın a man's need for women's domestic services forms the basis of the marriage. Zeynep's husband becomes blind and is so convinced that his affliction is a result of Zeynep's maledictions that he wants to divorce her. But he cannot divorce her as he would be unable to find anyone else to look after him in his blind state.

Returning to society's expectations of marriage, this is a view based on the social functions of marriage: to provide a suitable and legitimate basis for the raising and socialising of future generations, and to form a viable economic unit based on the complementary nature of male and female roles. The stability and endurance of the marriage bond is important for both its reproductive and economic functions, and this stability and endurance are seen to be largely dependent on male supremacy within the marriage. Female submission is the natural condition for male supremacy, and is endorsed to the point of expecting acquiescence even in the event of physical abuse. Since a man is held responsible for his wife's behaviour he is expected to control and correct her behaviour. Such expectations are shared by both men and women, and failure to conform to the required role constitutes a threat to the marriage, and ergo society. A striking example of women's acceptance of behaviour based on this code is portrayed in Orhan Kemal's short story Duvarcı Celâl. The wife is interested in another man and taunts her husband for not being able to bring himself to hit her in punishment for her unfaithfulness. He appreciates the fact that any other man in his position would kill her, but he cannot bring himself even to raise his hand against her. She becomes furious at his inability to meet society's criteria for manhood:

Vur!...erkek değil misin? İzzetinefsin yok mu? Çek bıçağını vur! Ben bıkmış usanmışım zati bu hayattan.... Boşa derim boşamazsın, düş yakamdan derim düşmezsin.... Lanet olsun senin gibi erkeğe! Şuncacık kani olan erkek, çeker bıçağını da deh eder, bitti gitti! (p. 21)

(Hit me! Aren't you a man? Haven't you got any self-respect? Take out your knife and strike me! I'm sick and tired of this life anyway... I tell you to divorce me but you don't, I tell you to leave me, but you don't... Damn you! If you had any guts at all you would take out your knife and strike me and that would be that!)

Celâl becomes the subject of general derision in the village for not being a "man", since he is neither able to satisfy his wife's desires nor to control her behaviour. No sympathy or understanding is shown for his unreciprocated affection for his wife. The same author contrasts Nâzan's acceptance of social expectations of marriage with her husband's desire for a deep emotional bond in marriage in El Kızı. Nâzan sees her role as submissive and servile, and accepts her husband's behaviour without question: when he starts to come home late at night she does not question him about it, nor even worry about it. Her mother-in-law encourages her in acceptance of her role by repeating commonly held notions of marriage:

Bir koca insanı hem döver, hem sever. Karılık kolay mi?
Kocalarımızdan ne dayaklar yedik ne dayaklar! Sen daha
duur... Gene iyi kocan var da üstüne karı getirmiyor!
(p. 89)

(A husband both beats his wife and loves her. Being a wife isn't easy. What beatings I took from my husband! You just wait... You've still got a good husband, he hasn't brought home another woman!)

Mazhar, however, is tired of his wife's excessive submissiveness and servility, he wishes she would be a gay vivacious and warm friend and even critic. Nâzan's excessive humility prevents the development of a bond of real friendship in her marriage: she does not dare to presume to show her feelings to her husband and he interprets her coldness as the result of his inability to make her happy. Their lack of any real communication stops them being able to understand each other and they drift apart.

The husband-wife relationships which are presented as good, in terms of the satisfaction of both partners, are those based on long-standing friendship and thorough knowledge and understanding of one another.

Such a relationship develops between the woman and her protector in Esendal's story Bu Siska Kari. Initially the man would threaten her, thinking he could only keep her through intimidation, and she does stay with him, afraid of otherwise being left on the streets. He offers her benign protection and support, while she is for him a relief from boredom and loneliness. He does not make her work too hard, as she is ill, and she gets used to talking to him in the evenings when they are alone. In the end he marries her, but in fact his early treatment of her was just as much in disregard of her wishes and personality as that of her previous malevolent "master". The difference between her two protectors initially lies only in the fact of one man being more humane towards his charge than the other, but the companionship which develops between her and her second protector enhances their relationship with the quality of a meaningful affective bond. Other such successful relationships have already been discussed in consideration of the projection of marriage as a source of comfort and pleasure for both husband and wife, above. Husband-wife relationships which are presented negatively are generally those in which the wife's behaviour is either excessively submissive or excessively aggressive. Cevat Fehmi Başkut's Paydos illustrates the latter case.

Hatice is a domineering, aggressive woman who has been "spoilt" by her husband's softness, and yet she still performs the outward functions expected of a wife, such as handing her husband his hat and coat as he goes out. This serves to create the illusion of wifely obedience and servility and to cover the reality of her attempted management of her husband's whole life. In fact Paydos is a lighthearted exposé of a woman's subtle machinations to organise her life according to her own

wishes regardless of the wishes of others around her. In Paydos, as in Sana Rey Veriyorum by the same author, the scheming wife succeeds only in ruining her husband's life, and the husband who allows himself to be manipulated in such a way is necessarily portrayed as rather a weak, ineffectual character. Since the women in these roles are so self-seeking there is no real companionship or friendship between husband and wife in these relationships.

Necat Cumalı's play Mine depicts a husband-wife relationship without any affective bond at all. Mine and Cemil have been married for seven years, but Mine feels that her husband treats her as nothing more than a sex object. She feels no loyalty towards him since he has never considered her as a thinking, feeling person, and she has never experienced any emotion other than physical repulsion for him. When he gets angry with her for behaving too freely with İlhan, a visitor to the town, she taunts him with his weakness, that he has not the courage to confront the man he fears is cuckolding him, and mocks him for only daring to shout at her because she is a woman. Cumalı uses this play as a vehicle to criticise the social acceptance of marriage as a buffer or valve for the absorption or release of male aggressive or irrational behaviour which has no other legitimate expression or outlet.

The husband-wife bond is naturally strongly reinforced by shared parenthood, and in Huzur Nuran's role as mother is the most persuasive factor in making her return to her ex-husband and father of her child. Nuran's abandonment of her daughter for the sake of her lover is not explained very fully, although she is shown to encounter criticism for

her behaviour. And yet, clearly she is not devoid of motherly love, for she is distressed by the separation between her two lives - as mother and as mistress - and there is an element of motherliness in the feelings she has for Mûmtaz. In contrast with Nuran's neglect of her role as mother Macide, a slightly older woman, is portrayed as a very motherly figure: she "mothers" Mûmtaz who is her husband's cousin, and when her children are killed in an accident she is so heartbroken that she loses her health; however, her health is almost completely restored when she subsequently is able to have another child.

Samim Kocagöz's short story Elif is a vivid sketch of childbirth in rural conditions. He shows the bond of affection between husband and wife intensified by the event of the birth of their baby and stresses the importance of motherhood for the wife in her husband's eyes. Necati Cumalı's play Boş Beşik is based on an old folk song and tells the story of a young bride who remains childless for seven years after marriage and becomes a symbol of ill-ómen within her tribe. Her husband's family tries to persuade him to take another wife, but he rejects their advice, as he and his wife love one another and he has no desire for another woman. At last his wife becomes pregnant, and gives birth to a son, but when the tribe takes its annual journey to its winter pastures the baby is lost from his cradle, and his mother, half demented, drowns in the flood waters while searching for him. The stigma attached to childlessness invariably falls on the woman, who is always held to be the responsible party, and such attitudes, which Necati Cumalı is trying to highlight in this play as unjustified and unreasonable, can only be reinforced by people such

as Alparslan Türkeş who, in exhorting married couples to produce at least five children goes on to warn of the physical and psychological ailments suffered by women as a result of childlessness.³⁵

Relationships involving motherhood in the works I have selected for this period seem to be considered most often in the light of the mother-son relationship. Only in the character of Iraz in Yaşar Kemal's İnce Memed is there a positive portrayal of a mother who looks for achievement of her ambitions through her son. In Iraz's case the aim she has in mind is the redress of injustice against herself by her late husband's family. In revenge for Iraz's refusal to marry him after her husband's death, her husband's brother takes away the field that used to belong to her husband. Iraz has to wait for her son to grow up before she can press her claim through him, but her husband's brother has him killed. Iraz is then left with no hope and no purpose in life other than revenge. She recklessly goes and sets fire to her brother-in-law's house but is caught and imprisoned. The mother-son relationship described in El Kızı is much more negatively exploitative on the part of the mother. In this novel by Orhan Kemal, Hacer dreams as a young girl of the day when her as yet unborn sons will marry well and take her into "high society". When her only son is grown up and married she repeatedly stresses her son's obligation towards her as his mother, deprecating his obligation towards his wife:

Bu oğlanı karnında dokuz ay taşıyıp sonra da bin zahmetle doğuran, kahrını çeken, yetişip bu boya gelinceye kadar saçını süpürge eden kendisiydi, öteki değil. Öteki neydi ki? Soyuy, sopu belirsiz, alalede bir kız, bir kadın. Oğluydu koskoca bir avukattı. (p. 33)

(It was she, not the other woman, who had carried her son for nine months and then given birth with great difficulty, and done everything for him to bring him up to his present state.

Who was the other woman anyway? She was just an ordinary girl, from an ordinary family. Whereas her son was a fine lawyer.)

A positive portrayal of motherhood appears in another of this author's stories, Cemile. The mother of Cemile's fiancé Necati has been a model of wifely submission and patience throughout her married life, but for the sake of her children she is prepared to rebel against her husband's decision not to educate them:

...okumasınlar efendim, diye bağırmıştı, benim çocuklarım da okuyup tahsili ali görmeyiversinler, kıyamet kopmaz ya! Hem okuyup ta ne olacak? Gözleri açılıp, hisleri inceliyor, strafın çirkinlikleri karşısında adım başı üzülmeğe, neme lazımca birer küçük zenaatkar olup çoluk çocuklarının ekmeğinden başkasını düşünmeyi bilmesinler daha iyi!

Tam bu sırada ufak tefek, halim selim annesi, bir elinde bir baş soğan, öbür elinde bir bıçak, mutfaktan dışı bir pars gibi fırlamış, kocasının karşısına dikilmiş:

- Okuyacaklar! diye haykırmıştı, evlatlarını başkalarının karşısında el ovalamağa mahkum birer sünepe görmekte, ölmeyi tercih ederim. Benim çocuklarım okuyacaklar, babaları gibi... (p. 33)

(...they will not go to school, he shouted, it won't be the end of the world if my children don't go to school and get a good education! So what, if they go to school? It would be better if they each became a small craftsman and **didn't have to** think of anything but earning a living for their families, rather than each of them opening their eyes and examining their feelings in the face of the ugliness around them!

At exactly this moment his slight, quiet and good-tempered mother, with an onion in one hand and a knife in the other, rushed out of the kitchen like a leopard, and confronted her husband:

They shall go to school! she cried, I would rather die than see my children bowing and scraping to others! My children shall go to school, like their father..)

In Yalnızız! Peyami Safa describes Mefharet's relationship with her daughter in greater detail than that with her son, but with both children she is depicted as a nervous, anxious woman whose whole life revolves around her children's health, their activities and behaviour.

Selmin, the daughter, resents her mother's interference in her life, and her efforts to control and guide her life along lines she considers right and proper. It is for this reason that she fabricates the fantastic story of her liaison with the communist youth disguised as a beggar, and her pregnancy by him; she simply desires to teach her mother to leave her alone and live her own life.

Women are criticised for trying to keep control of their children's lives, and for exploiting their children for their own purposes. A good mother is one who is totally selfless and devoted to her children's welfare; she may have to depend on her son in some way, but this does not give her the right to dominate his life. Hacer's domination of her son in Orhan Kemal's El Kızı is achieved largely through the submission of his wife Nâzan. She takes steps to prevent intimacy developing between husband and wife, and her jealousy of Nâzan inhibits any outward show of affection between them. While Nâzan had hoped for maternal love from her mother-in-law, Hacer cannot overcome her resentment at the fact that her son has not married well, and blames this failure on Nâzan for having allowed herself to become pregnant by her son in order to make him marry her. The relations between women in El Kızı are generally characterised by a lack of sincerity if not open dislike and deceit. The same is true of the relationship between Mübeccel and her stepdaughter in Başkut's play Sana Rey Veriyorum. The antagonism between these two is again due to conflict of interests over the man who links them together: Mübeccel is jealous of her husband's affection for his daughter and at the same time sees the daughter's influence on him as a threat to her own ambitions. Bekir Sıtkı Kunt's short story Zeynep Kadın deals with the relationship

between two women who grew up together but have not developed any real friendship for each other. The implication is that women are too materialistic to allow friendship to interfere with their selfish interests; their suspicion of each other's self-seeking motives prevents the development of anything but a very superficial and artificial friendliness between them.

In Cemile Orhan Kemal portrays a very close and affectionate bond between Cemile and her widowed father. Their affection for each other enables them to organise the division of labour within the household along purely practical lines rather than complying with traditional sex-role definitions. So Cemile's father does the mending and cooks the meals, while Cemile works in the factory, and when Cemile does the washing she calls her father to watch and learn, in case he should have to do it one day. The author is demonstrating the superiority of logic and reason over blind adherence to tradition, and in case there might be any doubt about the masculinity or manliness of one who takes on such "feminine" tasks, he is careful to stress the virile masculinity of the old man. Cemile's relations with other girls are not developed in the story at all, although she is certainly portrayed as a gregarious young girl who is popular with her friends. Family relations are the most important for her, and her relationship with her brother is shown to be one of alternating affection and antagonism. Sadri resents being held responsible for his sister's honour, and Cemile resents his protective attitude towards her. Just the same sentiments characterise the relationship between Meral and her brother in Peyami Safa's Yalnızız!

In a number of the works selected from this period women are depicted as sweethearts and the common characteristic of these relationships is the woman's total commitment to the man she loves. The pre-requisite for the development of such extra- or pre-marital relationships is, of course, the spontaneous mutual affection of the individuals concerned, and it is this quality which distinguishes such relationships from those to be found so often in marriage. In the literary works of this period good marriages are presented as those in which a peaceful equilibrium has been attained: an equilibrium characterised by mutual respect, affection and support. Such a state may be achieved at the cost of considerable self-sacrifice by one or both of the partners in an attempt to accommodate the other's idiosyncracies, or may be the natural outcome of a true love-match, but female submission to male authority is no longer put forward as a pre-condition for marital bliss or domestic harmony, and is even presented as a clearly counter-productive quality.

The individualistic notion of seeking companionship and compatibility in a marriage partner is now allowed precedence over the social expectations of marriage which concentrate on the economic and reproductive function of the husband-wife pair within the household unit. Both women's view of marriage as a means to increased social status or material comfort, and men's view of a wife as a sexual and reproductive as well as a labour unit, are condemned.

There is some attempt to expose sex-role stereotyping for what it is, but generally women are still portrayed within the context of traditionally "feminine" roles; they are not significantly portrayed in

meaningful or supportive relationships with other women. As mothers, women are condemned for trying to control their children's lives, or for exploiting their children for their own ends: selflessness and devotion, if no longer so much stressed in the role of wife, are very much desired in the role of mother nevertheless. However, motherhood does not play an important part in the lives of many of the female characters in the works included in the study from this period, and indeed there is some criticism of society's ruthless insistence on female fecundity. Where motherhood is presented as the major raison d'être of a woman's life it constitutes only a minor element in the work itself. There is no glorification of woman's reproductive function, as there can be said to be of her supportive and productive function in marriage.

THE 1960s AND 1970s

By the 1960s the government was beginning to get worried about the high rate of population growth, and in the 1963-1967 Five Year Plan a two per cent growth rate was set as the target. In 1965 birth control was made legal.³⁶ A survey carried out on a sample of 220 villages in 1968 shows that the government policy to try to reduce the number of births met with general approval, for there was a significant increase in the number of people wanting four or less children. However, a substantial majority of respondents in the same survey expressed a desire for more information and guidance about family planning.³⁷ On the other hand, several forces are still at work to encourage women into the role of reproductive motherhood. Alparslan Türkeş's views on women's prime

function being as bearers of new generations of Turks which I have discussed previously, published in 1975, and Hacer Hicran Göze's book Türk Kadını published in 1978, are both examples of this current. Göze condemns birth control as a policy encouraged by the developed countries in order to serve their own interests, to the detriment of underdeveloped countries. She condemns economic development for causing a decline in women's instinct for motherhood, and deplores the fact that poorer women, against whom birth control policies are particularly directed, should be the ones to be deprived of their feeling for motherhood when they are already deprived of so much else.³⁸ Television programmes too undoubtedly reinforce the view that women's prime function in society is as a wife and mother,³⁹ and a recent study of an Anatolian village draws the conclusion that female status is still defined according to the traditional criteria of age and childbearing.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it would seem that although motherhood is still seen as a very important role for women there is, as shown above, a movement towards controlling the number of children produced.

In marriage too women can be seen to be slowly gaining greater control of their own lives. The greater frequency of a girl being consulted on her preference for a marriage partner may be attributable to the increasing freedom of young men from parental control in choosing their partners⁴¹ but the initiators of elopements are often girls, and the frequency of elopements has been claimed to be increasing along with women's rising consciousness.⁴² In other words, some women are taking dramatic steps in an effort to determine the shape and direction of their own lives.

However, a nationwide survey carried out by Serim Timur in 1968 revealed that more than one in ten women married according to the decision of their families, and against their own wishes, although a slightly higher proportion (one in eight) married according to their own choice with the approval of their families. But still the great majority married in accordance with the decision of their families without dissent.⁴³ A correlate of the low degree of autonomy in selecting a marriage partner is the generally young age of girls on marriage,⁴⁴ and this is likely to place the woman in a dependent or subordinate role in marriage and to make her adopt a compliant rather than a bargaining attitude with her husband and his family. Early age at marriage isolates a woman from influences which might encourage her to assert her potentiality for self-development as an independent person and "catches her as a child and places her in dependent or subordinate roles in marriage".⁴⁵

Payment of the brideprice is accepted as a factor which encourages the marrying-off of girls both at an early age and to husbands who may be assessed on qualities other than his suitability as a partner for the girl. And so the congress of 27 women's organisations held in December 1975 made the demand that necessary legal, administrative and educative measures be taken in order to eliminate the custom.⁴⁶

Another of the demands was for enforcement of the law that a religious ceremony should not be allowed until after the civil registration of the marriage has taken place,⁴⁷ such a measure being necessary in order to ensure that women would be able to claim their legal rights and protection in the case of divorce or widowhood, as well as preventing bigamy.⁴⁸

Female socialisation is very much oriented towards preparing girls for marriage and only very few Turkish women (about four per cent) never marry.⁴⁹ Fatma Mansur in her study of the Mediterranean town of Bodrum recounts the story with which a woman religious teacher entertained the girls and women of the town, presumably with the intention of encouraging proper "wifely" behaviour. The story tells of a shepherd girl who is supposed to have earned herself the right to enter paradise on the day of judgement even before Fatma (the Prophet's daughter) through her faultless behaviour as a wife: she eats bad food in the heat of the sun, because these are the conditions her husband has to suffer; she has ready a bath, a bed and a meal for when her husband returns home; and she leaves a stick by the door, just in case he returns home angry with her; one end of the stick is wrapped in a cloth so that he will not hurt his hand while beating her.⁵⁰ Although the story is amusing in its extremeness, male expectations of wifely behaviour are indeed based on the principles illustrated in the story: the wife must not rise above her husband in any way; she must be his willing servant, anticipating his needs rather than merely responding to his requests; she must be submissive to his authority and solicitous at all times, regardless of his humour. A survey carried out in 1966-1967 in both town and village reveals that about four out of ten women were beaten by their husbands.⁵¹ And yet, according to the survey most women would still marry their husbands if they started life again, and a majority of women claimed to be positively happy in their marriages.⁵² These findings suggest a certain level of tolerance for being beaten by husbands, and a fair degree of disillusionment in marriage itself is indicated by the substantial number of women (more than those who complained of being definitely

unhappy or very unhappy in their marriages) who said they would not marry at all if they had their lives over again.⁵³ The general expectation and acceptance of the authoritarian position of the husband in marriage is confirmed by Deniz Kandiyoti's survey of girl university students in Istanbul and their mothers. Fifty-five per cent of both mothers and daughters agreed with the suggestion that husbands should be somewhat authoritarian, although the younger generation of this rather special group were less inclined to accept the proposal that women should be the ones to make concessions in relations between spouses.⁵⁴ Timur's survey which was carried out among a random sample of Turkish society, supports the general conclusion that "the most universal characteristic of all types of Turkish families seems to be the subordination of women".⁵⁵ The findings of this survey provide the evidence for this conclusion: for example women have little say in the spending of family income; men mostly decide which friends and relatives will be visited;⁵⁶ in a considerable number of families men and women eat separately and in a high proportion of these the women eat after the men.⁵⁷ Another study based on research in the Black Sea town of Ereğli in 1964 concludes that a woman cannot act without her husband's permission, cannot make a decision alone, and cannot interfere in her husband's decisions nor is she likely to be included in discussions about her husband's business matters, although men are now beginning to ask their wives' opinions on some subjects.⁵⁸ A survey carried out among married women living in an Ankara gecekondu found that almost half the women were not allowed out without first asking permission of their husbands, and that a husband would often impose his will in questions such as his wife having her hair cut or using make-up.⁵⁹

There is, however, some evidence to suggest that women are perhaps not always as obedient as their husbands are led to believe, or would like to believe, for a survey on voting patterns reveals a significant discrepancy between the number of husbands who instructed their wives how to vote, and the number of wives who actually used their vote in accordance with those instructions.⁶⁰ It seems that women are exercising a degree of self-determination when possible which their husbands are not aware of. But it is also possible that either some husbands are reluctant to admit to using their authority in such a matter, or some wives prefer to appear obedient to their husbands and supportive of their political views rather than claim a political consciousness of their own.⁶¹

The desire which exists among women for greater equality in marriage is indicated by the findings of a survey carried out among Turkish workers in Germany by Nermin Abadan-Unat.⁶² According to this survey while a number of both men and women considered the German family superior the men considered it to be so for economic reasons (higher income and better standard of living) whereas the women cited the greater equality between spouses, better ways of educating children and more relaxed behaviour during leisure time.⁶³

As Turkey has become increasingly urbanised, so the "ideology" of the conjugal family has been promoted,⁶⁴ but there is wide disagreement on the implications of the establishment of the nuclear family pattern on women's role in the family. Kandiyoti claims the "conjugal" family system as one which "allegedly favours women" but goes on to demonstrate how the decline in support from female kin means that women are

more effectively tied to the home if they have pre-school children to look after.⁶⁵ Lloyd and Margaret Fallers warn that within the nuclear family the dominance of men is less easy to escape from, and so the system implies increased dependence of women on men.⁶⁶ Furthermore, a study on decision-making in family planning concludes that "both discussion and companionship between the spouses may actually limit the woman's freedom, since she is accustomed to exploiting the separateness of male and female spheres".⁶⁷ The wife's behaviour and activities are not, then, necessarily less circumscribed in the context of the conjugal family as opposed to the patriarchal family.

In family relations the woman is still seen in a co-ordinating role. The important role of women in ordering, balancing and moderating family relations⁶⁸ is reflected in the proverbs "Kadın evin direğidir" (The woman is the prop of the household) and "Yuvayı dişi kuş yapar" (It's the female bird that makes the nest) and in women's self-conceptualisation as being responsible for harmony in the house.⁶⁹ The mothers of girls at university in Istanbul who were included in Kandiyoti's survey defined their roles in predominantly domestic terms, and the great majority of them insisted on not compromising their qualities as a good wife and mother whatever their other achievements might be.⁷⁰

The nearest approach to this aspect of women's role in the family that occurs in the works I have selected from this period is the portrayal of Pembe in Hidayet Sayın's play Pembe Kadın. The basis of the play is the responsibility that Pembe, the mother, takes for her adult daughter, and an important element is Pembe's attempt to maintain in

her daughter trust and respect for her long-absent father. Pembe adopts an authoritarian attitude towards her daughter Kezban, refusing to let her marry and insisting on Kezban accompanying her when she finally learns of her errant husband's whereabouts and decides to confront him with the evidence of his neglect: herself and Kezban. Throughout the play Pembe stands up for her husband, trying to dispel Kezban's doubts about his promise to return and about his character in general. But Pembe's rejection of her daughter's mounting scepticism is a façade which she feels she has to keep up in order to maintain Kezban's filial respect for a father she cannot even remember. When alone Pembe berates her absent husband:

...Benim yalannarım yetti gari. De bakem, bu iş nere varcak? Ben garılığımı yaptım sana. İşte, kızını da böyüttüm. Namısınnan bekledim seni. Bekliyorum da. E, hani? cavırın Ali! İsan böyle ünüdüveri mi garısını len?... Benim hep ömrümü beklemeğnen geçirttin... (p. 13)

(...Enough of these falsehoods. Tell me, where is all this going to end? I've done my duty as your wife. I've brought up your daughter. I've led a decent, honourable life waiting for you. And I'm still waiting. Well, you godless man, Ali! Does a man forget his wife just like that, hey?... You've made me spend my whole life waiting...)

But Kezban blames her mother's stubbornness for the state they are in, for in her misguided efforts to fulfil her duty as a wife and mother Pembe refuses to let Kezban marry without the presence of her father. In her resolute determination to prevent Kezban from marrying before her father returns Pembe has turned down a number of suitors on her behalf, but the man who is now asking for Kezban's hand is one whom Pembe suspects of being involved in a violent physical attack on her. For this reason she threatens Kezban with dire consequences if she dares to speak to the man again:

Bak kız! Eğer birinin nafına gan, eğer benim sözümden santim dışarı çık, seni ayağımın altında ezerim, düymüş ol... Ben ne desem o! Ben senin anan mıyım? Ananım. Seni kim büyüttü, kim bu hale getirdi seni? Ben. İşte böyle, ben ne desem o. Ötesi yok. (pp. 18-19)

(Look here my girl! If you let yourself get taken in by someone, or so much as step one inch beyond what I say you can do, I'll crush you under my feet.... You'll do as I say! Am I your mother? I am. Who looked after you, who brought you up? I did. You see, you'll do as I say. That's all there is to it.)

Kezban is now 30 years of age and desperately wants to get married. Rather than miss what she sees as her last chance to marry she decides to elope with her present suitor, despite her mother's injunction. But Pembe sees Kezban running towards the man, and without thinking what she is doing she raises her gun and fires, killing her own daughter. Outside the question of marriage mother and daughter had shared a life of hardship and toil in a relationship of mutual love and friendship, but on the important question of marriage Pembe becomes totally autocratic and expects undisputed and complete obedience from her daughter, although she is fully adult and mature. Kezban is not able to reason with her mother or state her case, she can only accept or rebel. Since the mother takes on the role of father too she has no intermediary to speak for her, apart from other women of the village who have no influence over her mother. Pembe is guided by what she sees as her duty but she ignores the personal wishes and feelings of her daughter.

* In Buğday Ekme Zamanı by Fakir Baykurt, Elif's parents have disowned her since she was abducted by their nephew Patoçlan. She has now been married to him for five years and they have children, but her parents have not relented, even though Elif really had no alternative but to

accept Patođlan as her husband once she had lost her virginity to him. When a dispute arises between Patođlan and Elif's parents over possession of a piece of land Elif's parents' behaviour betrays a complete absence of parental affection or concern. The same lack of interest in their daughter's happiness characterises the behaviour of the mothers who appear in Cahit Atay's plays Ana Hanım - Kız Hanım and Sultan Gelin. In the first of these plays mother and daughter are each bemoaning the departure of their husbands. The mother, instead of offering sympathy or consolation to her daughter simply reflects on her own misfortune in having had daughters. To this the daughter replies with the accusation that it was her mother who gave her in marriage. The mother denies responsibility, putting the blame on the girl's father because they were short of money at the time and he needed to be able to buy his tobacco. Similarly, Sultan in Sultan Gelin is sold into marriage, this time in order that her father may buy back a field he once sold while the opportunity is open. Sultan's parents consider possible alternatives such as selling their vegetable garden, their cow or their ox in order to get the money they need, but Sultan remains the best solution; her father suggests selling her first:

Ali: Sultan var ya, Sultan_{...} Unuttuk gızı_{...} Ne güne durur _{...} Sultanı satarık.
 Hacer: Bah o olur aha_{...} yođsa öküze, ineđe onca para döktük.
 Ali: Bunun tohumuna para mı virdik?
 Hacer: Hem gızın vakti de gelmişken, sevaptır.
 Ali: İyi bi alıcısını bulunacak, valla ırrahat üç tarla eder Sultan
 Hacer: Ne üçü, beş tarla de gorkma_{...} (p. 12)

(Ali: There's Sultan, Sultan. We've forgotten the girl. Why not make use of her. We'll sell Sultan.
 Hacer: That's right. After all, we paid good money for the cow and for the ox.
 Ali: It didn't cost us anything to get her.
 Hacer: And she's just the right age, so we'll have God's blessing.)

Ali: We'll get a good taker for Sultan. She's easily worth three fields.

Hacer: What three! Five fields, don't you worry!)

When it comes to trying to raise the brideprice both parents are ready to describe just how much Sultan is worth to them in terms of the trouble and effort they have gone through in bringing her up. First her mother gives her version,

Hacer: ...Aha bu gızı doğururkene ölü yazdım az kala... erzaili atlattık... Bu sefer de beşik ırgalamak, sırtımda taşımak, boklu bezlerini yumak... az mı çektim Sultanı bu günlere getirinceyedek... Gursuğında südüüm varkine, bi yıl bi köyü besler en möhimi.

Ali: Ona bakarsan, gızın garnında benim de, on harmanlık zahirem yatar. (p. 14)

(Hacer: ...I thought I was going to die when I was giving birth to her, I only just survived. Then to rock the cradle, carry her on my back, wash her dirty nappies. I've put up with a lot to bring Sultan up. And most important of all there's enough of my milk in her stomach to feed a whole village for a year.

Ali: If you look at it that way, there are ten harvests' worth of my grain in her stomach.)

Sultan's parents sell her to the highest bidder, regardless of a good offer from a neighbour woman who has Sultan's best interests at heart and regardless of Sultan's own wishes. They raise the bidding by emphasising their daughter's industriousness, the most important quality since it is the husband's parents who are performing the transaction. The play takes the form of a black comedy to highlight the drastic effect of the brideprice mechanism in making young girls a valuable commodity for unscrupulous parents. In Gönğör Dilmen's play Kurban too, the motive behind Mirza's marrying off his sister Gülsüm is pure greed. He evokes his sister's youth and freshness in order to flame Murat's passion for her, so that he can persuade him

to give up the field that he particularly covets. Mirza's sister is an innocent young girl of 15 and is a mere pawn in her brother's hands.

In Bekir Yıldız' story Bir Nazlı Vardı the brideprice which has been paid on Nazlı's marriage becomes **returnable because of her supposed infidelity**. Nazlı recalls that the only time she had seen her father really smile was when she was sold:

Babasının yüzünün güldüğünü, satıldığı gün görmüştü doyasıya. Bir kaç kağıt almıştı babası. Kimileri yüz, kimileri bin basamağından konuşmuştu... (p. 33)

(She had seen her father smile with complete satisfaction on the day she was sold. Her father had received quite a few bank notes. He had spoken of some being hundreds and some thousands...)

Her father has the choice of paying the money back to the parents of Nazlı's husband or killing his daughter himself. Nazlı prefers her parents to keep the money. She accepts her fate, and tells her father to kill her, but in the end he cannot bring himself to do it and sends her to her husband's family carrying the brideprice with her. Nazlı's parents show no pity for her, nor do they give her any chance to explain or assert her innocence, although she would like to. The parents have to comply with social custom: even if Nazlı were innocent it would not change her fate, so there is no point in trying to learn the truth. The community judges by appearances and therefore concern must be for form, not content.

The story Reşo Ağa, also by Bekir Yıldız, describes a similar event, but in this case the daughter is abducted, and although she is not physically violated her father kills both the girl and her abductor.

The girl's mother, moreover, makes a visit to the local public baths immediately after her daughter has been put to death, in order to show publicly that she cares not for the death of her daughter so much as for the honour of the family. The story of Davud ile Sedef takes a slightly different approach and demonstrates the powerlessness of a loving father in the face of social custom and tradition. In this story the father is clearly very much attached to his daughters, but he is forced by convention to give up a second daughter in replacement of the first, to the man who has killed his first daughter for bringing dishonour upon him. He listens to his son-in-law's account of the events leading up to his killing Sedef, his first daughter, then:

Sedef'n babası, yasını bir yana dörüp sordu: "Söyle bakalım Davud, verdiğin başlık ne olacak?" Davud vereceği karara, ağalığının ününü denk düşürmek istedi. "Benim ağalığımda başlığı geri almak yoktur, dedi. Bir kız isterim." Sedef'in babası, kalbini biçen bu karara karşı duramadı. (p. 23)

(Sedef's father, putting aside his grief, asked, "Tell me Davud, how much was the brideprice you paid?" Davud wanted the reply he was going to give to be equal to his noble reputation. "There is no taking back the brideprice for one of my nobility", he said, "I want another bride." Though the decision was heart-breaking Sedef's father could not oppose Davud's demand.)

These stories clearly show that that there is a very low value placed on a girl's life once she has been "dishonoured" in the eyes of the community in rural areas, and that there is no place for the expression of father-daughter and mother-daughter affective bonds in such societies. Among urban communities the pressures working to suppress the expression of affective bonds between parents and daughters are very much lighter, and two of the works I have selected by women authors of this period describe the relationships between mothers and daughters in urban settings.

The first is Fûruzan's story Edirne'nin Köprüleri, in which the mother has decided that her daughter is ready to marry:

Bilirsin Hala Adile gelecek, bilirsin Hala Adile temizdir, sert bilinir. Bakma insanlarımızın sert demesine. O sertlik değil, açık göndüllülüktür. İsterim beğensin seni ve alsın Hasan'a. Onun oğulları kuvvetli ver merhametlidirler... (p. 95)

(You know Aunt Adile is coming. You know she is a good women. People think she is severe, but take no notice of that; hers is not severity, it is generosity. I want her to like you, and take you for Hasan. Her sons are strong and tender-hearted..)

And indeed the marriage turns out to be a happy one for the girl, who is duly grateful to her mother for making the choice for her.

In Ölmeye Yatmak, by Adalet Ağaoğlu, the relationship between Aysel and her mother is spoilt by the mother's desire to see her daughter adopt the same domestic role in life that she has:

Sanki kendi okumamışlığının öcünü alıyordu. Aysel'e durmadan ev işi buyuruyordu. Kızın her an bir kitabının başından kaldırmaktan nerdeyse gizli bir tat alıyordu. (p. 194)

(It was as if she was taking revenge for her own lack of education. She used to ceaselessly tell Aysel to do housework. She almost derived a secret pleasure from making Aysel put her book down at every moment.)

In both these examples the mother is cast in a dominating role. The daughter's fate is not sealed by social custom, instead the mother is portrayed as a formidable guiding force in the determination of the girl's future.

Fakir Baykurt describes a mother-daughter bond in a rural environment. Its affectiveness brings only suffering to the mother, who is powerless to affect the fortunes of her daughter in any meaningful way. The

story is Ham Meyvayı Kopardılar Dalından. The mother is a widow, with four daughters married and a fifth just twelve years old whom she is forced to give in marriage to the son of her wealthy neighbour. The girl is too young for marriage and keeps escaping from her marital home to her mother. The mother, powerless to save her daughter from suffering, can only try to alleviate her distress as far as possible. As for the girl, she is expected to perform her obligation as a bride regardless of her youth and immaturity. The notion that women's duty in marriage is to provide children, especially male children, as well as to provide the means of sexual gratification for the husband is also referred to in this story, when the mother recalls with bitterness how her husband used to say to her when they already had four daughters, "Bir daha yapalım, belki bu oğlan olur..." (Let's have one more, maybe this one will be a boy...) (p. 87).

Bekir Yıldız also shows the importance attached to the production of male offspring in the opening scene of Kesik El and in Avrat, and Fakir Baykurt tells of the steps taken by women in order to try to bear children in Yaran Dede'nin Taşları. But, on the other side of the coin, both Fakir Baykurt and Bekir Yıldız give vivid and often tragic accounts of women worn out by childbirth and the harsh conditions of life, who are desirous of controlling their fertility. Bekir Yıldız's story Sekizinci Bebek describes a woman of 25 who has had seven children and is pregnant again. She decides to abort, following the advice given by an old woman in the village, but she has a haemorrhage and dies. In Fakir Baykurt's Beşik Örtüsü Şakkafa's wife is described as a woman not yet 30, married for 13 years and with five children, who is already "withered up". Looking around for something

to sell in order to get some cash her eyes light upon the cradle cover and she thinks to herself:

Beş dene çocuk var. Beş çocuk bizim gibi sefillere yetmiyor mu? Fazlasını doğurman gayri!.. Düşürürüm! Ucunda ölüm olsa gene düşürürüm!.. (p. 74)

(We've got five children. Aren't five enough for poor wretches like us? I certainly won't have any more! I'd get rid of them. Even if it means risking death I'll get rid of them!)

Keziban Gelin is another story by Fakir Baykurt in which a woman has borne many children and wishes to have no more. She has had eight children at one and a half year intervals, but has never neglected her household or agricultural duties because of pregnancy or having to nurse small children. Now she wants to know how she can prevent future pregnancies; she tries to find out about contraceptive methods which she has heard exist in the cities, but she becomes pregnant again before she can take measures to prevent it. Another of Fakir Baykurt's characters who wants no more children is Haçca in Yılanların Öcü. When she tells her husband she is pregnant again he is pleased, but Haçca is upset:

"İstemiyorum!.. Bu dördüncüsü olacak! Dört çocuk bizim gibi iki fukaraya ne lazım bugünkü günde?"
Bayram: "Köylü milletine çocuk lazım" dedi. "Senin aklın ermez. Arka kala olurlar yarın birbirlerine. Köylük yerlerinde yalnız adamın işi kuldur. Arkan olacak. Arkan olmadı mı adamım diye gezemezsin dünyada. Dört olsun, beş olsun, olsunlar!.." (p. 28)

("I don't want it.... This will be the fourth. What do two poor people like us want with four children in these days?"
Bayram said, "Village people need children. You wouldn't understand. They will be support for one another. A man is nothing if he is alone in the village. You need support. If you have no support you can't call yourself a man in this world. I don't mind four, I don't mind five, so be it.")

But Haçca is still upset, and so Bayram reassures her that they will have this one and then no more.

In Aziz Nesin's play Tut Elimden Rovni potential motherhood is presented as Mela's sole reason for living. In order to continue working with her husband in his circus act Mela has had an abortion each time she has become pregnant, and she finally accuses her husband bitterly for having forced her into this course of action:

Beni yıllarca analık duygusundan yoksun bıraktın. Çocuklarımı çürük diş gibi karnımdan söktürüp attırdın. Her ameliyatta, köklerle tüm benliğimin kendi kendimden koparıldığını duydum. (p. 29)

(For years you have deprived me of the feeling of motherhood. You made me have my children torn out of my womb and thrown away as if they were rotten teeth. At each operation I felt as if my whole identity were being torn out by its roots.)

Since her last abortion Mela has lived with the knowledge that she is no longer able to bear children. She did not mind having her pregnancies terminated for the sake of her husband's career while she thought she could still have children in the future, and she was happy to wait until Rovni should want children too. But she finally tells her husband the effect of what she learned the last time she had an abortion:

..hastanede ana olmak yeteneklerim de sökülüştü, yaşamamın anlamını aldılar elimden... (p. 69)

(...when they took away my ability to become a mother at the hospital, they also took from me my reason for living.)

The dual notion that women must provide their husbands with offspring as well as serving their sexual needs is given expression in the image of woman as a field for her husband to enter and sow his seed at will. This image is presented in Cahit Atay' play Ana Hanım - Kız Hanım in a slightly unusual way. Kız Hanım has been married for five years but has no children. In order to prove to the world that her husband is not impotent she provides the money to pay the brideprice for a

second wife, a blind girl whom she selects for her husband. When the newcomer expresses doubts to Kız Hanım about their joint husband's fertility Kız Hanım jumps to his defence:

Kor Kız: ...Bu herif bizim bi ortak malımız sayılır.
Haslağa deĝel de, diyelim, bi tarlaya ortak olsak...
Bu tarla verimli mi, deĝel mi deyî laf etmek mi?
Kız Hanım: (Kocasına laf söyletmemek için) Bi defa tarla Ali deĝel, biz sayılırık tarla.
Kor Kız: Eee, hadi o da tohum olsun. Tohum çürümüşse ya, tarla netsin? (p. 67)

(Blind Girl:...Our man is like a joint property. Let's say we are joint owners of a field instead of Haslak. Is it wrong to ask if this field is fertile or not?
Kız Hanım: (Not to hear her husband being spoken against) For a start it's not Ali who is the field, we are considered the field.
Blind Girl:So, then let him be the seed. What can the field do if the seed is rotten?)

In Ana Hanım - Kız Hanım the husband's fertility is in doubt and yet the taking of a second wife is initiated by the first wife in an effort to clear her husband's name as well as to bring children into the family. Bekir Yıldız's story Kuma also portrays a woman so eager to have children in the home that she is prepared to welcome another woman into the household. Gûlbahar the first wife is only 25 and is still attractive, but she cannot help herself feeling jealous of the youth and beauty of Feride, only 18, who is going to be her co-wife:

Fakat yûreĝini kavuran bu kıskanma, ötelere gitmeden ufalanıyordu. Çünkü kendisi kocasına yıllardan beri bir çocuk verememişti. Bu eksikliĝi Feride'nin ortadan kaldıracağını aklına getirince, yûreĝine su serpiliyor, evin içinde dolaşacak bir çocuğun mutluluĝundan, kendisine de pay çıkarıyordu. Çünkü, Feride'yi dölleyecek adamın, her zaman yarısı kendisine ait olacaktı. (p. 74)

(But the jealousy smouldering in her heart was crumbling away without coming to anything, because she had not been able to give her husband a child in many years. When she thought how Feride would provide the solution for this deficiency she became comforted. She would also have a share in the happiness brought by a child's laughter filling the house. Because, after all, the man giving his seed to Feride would always be half hers.)

In Yılanların Ücü, by Fakir Baykurt, Haçca is quite prepared to accept another woman to share her husband with when she becomes seriously ill and can no longer provide the sexual gratification her husband needs. But they already have three children and Bayram is content to continue to procure his sexual satisfaction secretly and illicitly while his wife is ill, rather than risk disturbing the harmony of the home.

Zehra, in Güngör Dilmen's play Kurban, is in basically the same position as Haçca in Yılanların Ücü; she has borne her husband two fine children but she is now debilitated by illness and unable to satisfy her husband's sexual needs. However, while she is prepared to tolerate her husband seeking sexual satisfaction outside marriage she refuses to contemplate sharing him in any other way:

Aşımı, ocağımı paylaşırım herkesle, paylaşmam erkeğimi....
Onu Gûlsüm kızla paylaşmak tüm yitirmekten beter. (pp. 80-81)

(I'll share my hearth and my food with everyone, but I shall not share my man.... To share him with Gûlsüm is worse than losing him altogether.)

She asks her husband just what she means to him, that he feels he can bring another woman into the home, but she is not content with his reply:

Mahmut: Senin yerin ayrı. İlk göz ağrım, çocuklarımin anası.

Zehra: Çocukları doğurmuş olmaktan öte yerim yok mu evin içinde?

Mahmut: Eve yeni bir kadın getiren ilk erkek ben miyim köyde?

Zehra: Koymam onu içeri. (p. 50)

(Mahmut: Your place is not changed. You are the one who was my first love, and the mother of my children.

Zehra: Have I no place in this house other than as the one who gave birth to your children?

Mahmut: Do you think I am the first man to be bringing another woman into the house in this village?

Zehra: I won't have her here.)

Zehra's pleading with her husband is to no avail, Mahmut marries Glsm and brings her to the house. In the face of custom and tradition Zehra's protests have no power. The village headman, in support of Mahmut's action, tells Zehra:

Peygamber efendimiz bile hazreti Haticenin stne kaç hatun almıřtır.

....
Erkeęin gc nice kadına yeterse onca kadın helaldır. (pp. 106 & 107)

(Even our Prophet took new wives over our beloved Haticce.

....
A man should marry as many wives as his strength can master.)

Zehra protests that those days are gone now, the law stipulates one woman for each man, but Mirza, Glsm's brother, points out that that one woman is now Glsm, since it is she who has gone through the civil marriage ceremony with Mahmut, and not Zehra, who is only married to Mahmut according to a religious ceremony. After years of working side by side on the land, and bringing up their children together, as well as sharing the same bed, Zehra's inability to provide satisfaction of her husband's sexual needs is sufficient to threaten the whole basis of their previously loving and companionable relationship. The author is careful to show that Mahmut's succumbing to his own passions does not make him a "bad" man, for he is a loving father and he still shows some consideration for Zehra's feelings. The play simply shows the vulnerability of Zehra in the light of social convention and attitudes towards women, even though she is happily married to a man she loves. As for Glsm, she is a pawn in the hands of her brother and in the hands of social custom. Quite significantly therefore she does not utter a word throughout the play; furthermore, she is forced to get up and dance entirely against her will, much as if she were a puppet. Although it is Zehra who first asks the girl to dance in order to serve

her own ends, it is again social custom which is the driving force: while women still have to compete for the favours of men in order to survive, competition between them will inevitably remain fierce.

Finally, the story İt Ağası by Bekir Yıldız tells of a man who has "fallen in love" and, in order to be able to obtain the woman he desires, he plans to give his young daughter to the brother of this woman. In addition to giving his daughter in exchange he needs money to buy the necessary items for a new bride, and it is for this reason that he broaches his plan to his wife. He appeals to her sense of duty as his wife of long standing to hand over her bits and pieces of gold to him. She replies:

Ben bunca yılın avradıyam, sen kalkmış üstüme aşık olmuşsan. Canın sağ olsun. Bu işiye heç bir suvalim yoktur. Emme altınımı vermem. Şu kara dünyada kendime sahip çıkamadım. Gene sağ olsun. Emme, ölümü yerde komam. İşte bu altın o zaman imdadıma ulaşacak... (p. 83)

(I have been your wife for so many years, and you've taken it into your head to fall in love. Good luck to you. I've got nothing to say to you on the matter. But I won't give you my gold. I couldn't have looked after myself in this dark world. So may God bless you. But I won't lay my dead body on the bare soil. You see this gold will come in useful to me then.)

When her husband goes on to reveal his plan to exchange his daughter for the woman he wants she is horrified, but when he goes on to threaten her with divorce if she stands in his way and refuses to give him her gold she gives in. The prospect of divorce means the prospect of destitution and shame, any misfortune is preferable to such a terrible fate.

The above examples expose the flaws in the still commonly held view that the prime function of marriage for men is to provide them with

offspring and with easy and permanent access to sexual satisfaction, and for both the husband and his parents in rural areas it is often a means of adding another unpaid member to the household labour force. The importance of these two aspects to the parents of a young boy are briefly indicated in Bekir Yıldız's story Abdo ile Hakko in which plans are made to marry Abdo, a boy of 14, as soon as he is seen to have become sexually active, in order to channel this activity into a socially acceptable form of expression. His parents discuss prospective brides:

"Diyem ki Ayşo'yu alak_{ooo}." "Atiye nasıl?" "Ayşo daha hünerli." "Eyi babo_{ooo} Atiye yere girsin, Ayşo'yu alak!" (p. 50)

("I say we should take Ayşo." "What about Atiye?" "Ayşo is more dextrous." "All right, fine. We'll forget about Atiye, we'll take Ayşo.")

From a woman's point of view, however, marriage is much more important as a guarantee of security. The lengths to which a woman will go in order to remain married, as depicted in the story İt Ağası outlined above, are perhaps extreme, but nevertheless represent a reality. I shall now investigate the nature of women's role in marriage in other works of this period. In Ana Hanım - Kız Hanım, for example, Kız Hanım is depicted as a most submissive and solicitous wife. She responds with sweetness and humility to her husband's blow on the back of her head as she is hanging up his jacket, and when in anger he tells her to leave him she is concerned not for herself but for him: who will look after him, cook his meals, scrub his back and so on? She is happy to share her husband with a co-wife for the sake of her husband's good name and happiness, but her devotion and selflessness are not

rewarded; her husband leaves her when her co-wife is unable to conceive either.

In Fakir Baykurt's story Beşik Ürtüsü, Şakkafa's wife Zura is quick to attend to her husband's comfort when he returns home: she takes off his boots and socks, and washes his feet for him, but she does not hesitate to remind her husband of his reciprocal duties. Zura wants him to make a purchase for her in the market, where she cannot go, and she prepares a reward for his trouble. However, when he returns from the market having spent the money on a new gun for himself and not on the large bowl which she had asked for she loses her temper and sets about him with her fists. Her patience has been sorely tried through thirteen years of marriage, as she reflected before asking her husband to buy her the bowl:

Sen bin çarpın, bin çabala, o kazancımızı taziye, tüfeğe yatırıyor... Halbuysam, benim çektiğimi o çekse, benim duyduğumu o duysa!.. İşte, "Bayram geliyor!" diye gine ben düşünüyorum, o düşünmüyor." (p. 71)

(You struggle and strive a thousand times and he goes and puts down our earnings on dogs and guns. And yet if he had to put up with what I do, or felt what I feel, well! And once again it's me who is thinking "The holiday is coming!" not him.)

When he goes upstairs and sees the preparations she has made for a "night of love" he is faced with the evidence of his wife's affection for him and regrets the severity of the beating he has given her for daring to attack him; he picks up his wife from the floor and takes her into his arms.

In Keziban Gelin, too, the woman Keziban is portrayed as a hardworking, responsible wife who tries to make life as easy as possible for her

husband. And yet, when she becomes pregnant with her ninth child and faints, falling on top of some saddle-bags, she gets a beating from her husband for there is a belief that if a woman sits on a saddle-bag while pregnant she will have twins. She comments woefully that not only is her husband the one initially responsible for her condition but he beats her for the results of his own actions.

In Bekir Yıldız's story Kuma GÜlbahar's selflessness and devotion in welcoming a co-wife to bear her husband children is rewarded with utter callousness. The co-wife Feride is to be abducted, for although she is willing her father is against the marriage. When the gendarmes come to the house searching for Feride, GÜlbahar has to let them in, but they do not find the couple. When the gendarmes have left GÜlbahar's husband İlyas suggests to her that she should go to her father's house, since it would now appear strange for her to be staying apparently alone in the house. As she slips out in the dark, leaving her husband and Feride alone for their first night together, she is shot by Feride's father, who mistakes her for his daughter. Feride starts to cry at the sound of the shot but İlyas merely silences her and continues to make love.

The story Bir Yeryüzün Parçası, also by Bekir Yıldız, gives a very touching picture of a mature marriage, in which husband and wife enjoy complete trust and respect for one another. The old couple is brought out into the centre of the village for questioning by the gendarmes to find out where their son has escaped to. The gendarmes know that the most powerful pressure they can bring to bear against the old man is to threaten his honour, and so at gunpoint a gendarme orders the

old man to have intercourse with his wife, but they are too ashamed even to look each other in the eye:

Kendisi yapamazdı böyle birşey. Yapabilse bile, karısından nasıl isteyebilirdi? Yıllardır namusunu koruduğu kadınına hangi yüzle bakabilecekti sonra? (p. 46)

(He could not do such a thing. Even if he could, how could he ask such a thing of his wife? How could he ever face his wife, whose honour he had protected for years, after such a thing?)

There is no alternative for him but to pretend to comply. As he approaches his wife she is comforted to see the tears in his eyes:

Bu yaşlara üzüleceğine sevindi. Demek kocası namusu uğruna acı çekiyordu. Daha çok güvendi ona. (p. 47)

(Instead of being grieved by these tears she was pleased. They meant that her husband was suffering a great sorrow on account of her honour. Her trust in him grew.)

She realises his intention and approves; so, as if embracing her and kissing her, he strangles her, all the time repeating the words "Vay sen sağ olasın karım. Vay sen sağ olasın karım..." (God bless you my wife. God bless you my wife...) (p. 48).

The relationship between Bayram and Haçca in Yılanların Ücü is also one of strong affection and comradeship. Husband and wife work together in the fields, and Haçca is seen to take an active, and even authoritative part in decision making. She expresses her doubt to Bayram about their being able to pay off their debts within the year and suggests the best economic strategy to adopt. Bayram agrees with his wife's proposals, and complies with her suggestions for the organisation of their daily work in the fields. They share their work and they enjoy each other's company while working and travelling to and from the fields together.

The marriage of Zehra and Mahmut in G ng r Dilem's play Kurban has also evidently been a happy one until Zehra's illness sets Mahmut's eye roving. He is torn between his passion for G ls m and his lingering affection for Zehra. He realises that Zehra is set against him bringing G ls m into the house but he still hopes that everything will smooth over again in the end. He realises that "harmony" in the home is important and wants to avoid starting his new relationship in an atmosphere of unpleasantness. He recalls how in the early years of their marriage he had gained renewed vigour and enthusiasm for his work just by looking at his wife and young son. But Mahmut is unable to master his passionate desire for the young G ls m, and turns a deaf ear to Zehra's pleas not to marry again.

In Orhan Asena's play Yalan the wife's pretence of affection for her husband, and the effect that the knowledge of his wife's infidelity has on the husband alienates their daughter from them. The girl blames her mother for destroying her father by her infidelity, and condemns her for maintaining a fa ade of attentiveness and solicitude to expiate her sin. The marriage between Hamdi and  efika in Nazim Kur unlu's play Merdiven is also characterised by a show of attentiveness and solicitude, but this time merely as a means to enable the wife to assert her authority in other ways.  efika ministers to Hamdi's inconsequential needs but dominates him in all important matters. Hamdi makes no protest and offers no resistance to  efika's management of his life and is forever concerned for his wife's happiness, even apologising for the reduced circumstances which her mismanagement has brought them to. Whether or not the marriage could be classed as "successful" is of less significance than the clear

implication that such a marriage, in which the woman "wears the trousers" is not the basis for success in life in social terms.

The play Tut Elimden Rovni is an illustration of Aziz Nesin's idea that marriage is a question of balance: those couples who cannot find their balance separate, while small clashes and conflicts in the course of a couple's life together are a means of finding the balance. Throughout the play the audience is led to blame first one, then the other partner for the breakdown of their relationship, but in the end neither can be held responsible. The development of the play also seems to suggest that for a successful marriage neither partner should hold secrets from the other, for mutual understanding comes with thorough knowledge of one another.

In Evlilik Şirketi Bekir Yıldız presents what at first sight appears to be a contrasting view, as exposure of the truth between husband and wife brings greater insecurity to their relationship. But in fact if the partners had been honest with themselves and with each other from the outset then the whole basis of the relationship between them would have been altered. The husband in Evlilik Şirketi sees marriage as a business deal. He likens the marriage registration to the taking out of a bond:

Evlendiğimiz günü anımsa. İmza atmıştık. Bir bono üzerine atar gibi... Hem de ödenecek tarihi belli olmayan bir bono. Sen, etini, benden başkasına sunarsan, bononun yırtılması... Ya benim bozma hakkım? İşlemiş faizlerin toplamı... Nafaka... (p. 85)

(Remember the day we got married, we both made a signature. Just like signing a bond. And a bond with no definite payment date on it at that! If you offer your body to anyone other than me the bond is broken. And my right to break it? The total interest borne? Maintenance...)

The book opens as husband and wife decide to reveal past secrets to one another on their ninth wedding anniversary, but such revelations only serve ultimately to reinforce their prejudices towards one another. The woman takes refuge in the idea that since society is ruled by men she has been manipulated into what her husband finds her by his own kind, and she is not to blame. At the same time he blames his wife for allowing herself to be manipulated, and for not being able to think for herself or perceive the truth. The night, and the book, both end with the husband having arrived at a clearer knowledge of both himself and his wife, while his wife is too afraid to admit the truth which she is now exposed to. Their marriage has existed until now on a mutual compromise of deception; but now it must continue as a compromise on the wife's part alone, to accept her husband's new conception of himself.

In Tutsak by Emine İşınsu marriage is seen as an encroachment on the full development and expression of Ceren's individuality and personality. Ceren is frustrated in her marriage because of the shortcomings in the intellectual capacity of her husband, and this pushes her into a deeply satisfying and intellectual friendship with her husband's cousin Tarık. She reflects on her identity as Orhan's wife:

Dokunmazlığım var! Erkekler, saygılı davranmak gereğini duyuyorlar bana.... "Aile" olunca, ancak öyle... kazana-biliyorsun bir saygı. Vah bu toplum. Ne demişler efendim, testi kadar sarmışsa bütün beyimleri, her bir kıvrımı tika başa doldurmuşsa, sen ne yapabilirsin? (pp. 10-11)

(I've become untouchable! Men feel the need to behave with respect towards me.... When you become a married woman, then and only then can you win respect. Oh! this society. What is it they say? If you have a husband as big as a water pitcher you have esteem as big as its handle! If this idea has caught on and filled every nook and cranny, what can you do?)

She blames her own colourless and ineffectual life on the misfortune of being at the side of the wrong man, and regrets that she could not have become the partner of Tarık, at whose side she would have been able to participate in and contribute to his great struggle. In the end she finds her husband's attitude to married life so unbearable that she decides to apply for a divorce. Her husband boosts his "manliness" by counting her, the house and their children as nothing, while living his own life after his own heart. Once both children have accepted their father's permanent absence Ceren feels free to start proceedings. She realises that what made her afraid of breaking out from her marriage before was not her relationship with her husband but simply a fear of the unknown, of what life would be like outside the security and comfort which even an unhappy marriage provides.

The significant characteristic of the marriages of both Meli and Berni in Korsan Çıkmazı is the isolation of the women from their husbands despite the fact that they both love and are loved by their husbands, and are both highly intelligent, educated women, well able to express themselves and their thoughts and emotions. Like Ceren in Tutsak Meli seems to have formed a deeper intellectual friendship with a male friend outside her marriage than with her husband, although she married her husband after knowing him intimately and presumably for a considerable number of years. Similarly, Suat's friendship with Captain Demir in Attila İlhan's Bıçağın Ucu is very much more satisfying to her, both emotionally and intellectually, than her relationship with her husband, at least for a time. He has the gift of making her forget herself and her anxieties and self-loathing. Suat is captivated by the photograph of Captain Demir's fiancée, but does not get the chance to form a

relationship with her. When Captain Demir tells her he and his fiancée are immediately to be married, Suat is utterly forlorn. Her unsuccessful attempt at suicide at this crisis point brings her back to a realisation of the value of her husband's love and support, and the book ends on a strong note of hope for a bright new future for Suat and her husband, based on her new found respect for him and appreciation of the value of their relationship.

Aysel's marriage in Ölmeye Yatmak, by Adalet Ağaoğlu, plays a crucial role in hindering the development of her feminine consciousness, for her husband is a cold and distant partner to her. In fact Aysel's relationship with her childhood friend Aydın seems to be of far greater importance to her than her relationships with either her husband or her young student whom she takes as a lover. Aydın appears to know and understand Aysel, and she appears to derive pleasure and reassurance simply by knowing that he is there for her to turn to if necessary. When she phones him from the hotel room where she has gone to prepare for "re-birth" she does not talk about the crucial phase which she is going through, but he nevertheless senses her crisis and tells her he will come over immediately. Just knowing he is on hand is enough for Aysel, she does not want to face him so newly emerged from her metamorphosis, and so she leaves the hotel room before he arrives.

In Sevgi Soysal's book Yenişehir'de bir Öğle Vakti the relationship which develops between Olcay and Ali has the potential to become deeply satisfying to both partners on all levels - emotional, physical and intellectual, but their friendship is marred by Olcay's lack of intellectual commitment.

Olçay, Ali ne yaparsa, ne söylerse her zaman doğru ve haklı görüyor ve tam olarak çözümleyemediği bir eziklik duygusuyla, Ali'nin tavrının doğru olacağına önceden karar veriyordu. Bunu sezen Ali, Olçay'la arasındaki dostluğa karşı bir kuşku besliyordu. (p. 196)

(Olçay always saw whatever Ali did or said as right and true, and with a feeling of being crushed that she was unable to **analyse quite completely**, she would decide in advance that Ali's attitude was right. Becoming aware of this, Ali began to foster suspicion about the friendship between himself and Olçay.)

Since the relationship is based on mutual consent and reciprocal feelings neither Ali nor Olçay invest their futures in it and both are free to leave. But the quality of the relationship is enhanced, rather than degraded by this lack of permanence, and the author does not deal with the couple's sexual union as a question of honour or of any social concern, merely as a natural development of their close friendship, and indeed one that adds a further degree of intimacy to their relationship. It is this latter aspect which arouses the jealousy of Olçay's brother, who feels that his own friendship with Ali will now be paled into insignificance.

It seems from the above that authors are inclined to portray marriage as an institution which offers women little reward for loyalty and devotion, and which can be seen to impose restraints on the expression and development of women's personality and individuality. Relationships with other men outside marriage, on the other hand, seem to offer greater opportunity for the rewards of true friendship, whether or not there is a sexual attachment involved.

Turning now to examine the strategy of women with sons through whom they hope to secure their future prosperity and comfort, Tutsak by

Emine Işınsu presents a picture of the outcome of such designs.

Orhan's mother does not actually figure in the events of Tutsak but her persisting influence is easily discernible in Orhan's attitudes towards women and the nature of "manliness":

...bacağına bir pantolon çekince...erkek oldum sananlardan,
bütün meseleyi pantolona bağlayanlardan... Anlarsın ya...
Bütün sorumluluğu bir kadınla yatmaktan ibaret sayanlardan!
(p. 22)

(He is one of those who think that as soon as they put their legs into a pair of trousers... One of those who thinks his whole responsibility lies in sleeping with a woman.)

His mother had impressed upon him from an early age the idea that all women other than herself exist for his pleasure, and that he is unique, clever and beautiful. We hear the voice of Orhan's mother through his thoughts as a grown man remembering his youth. Oft repeated phrases run through his head:

Kadın mı ne olacak oğlum, biri olmazsa, öbürü. Kadından bol ne var... Sen bir tanesin. Sen güzelsin, akıllısın. Bir tanesin, cansın... Erkeksin. Kadından bol ne var oğlum, hepsi kurban önüne, vur birine tekme, al öbürü... (p. 167)

(Women, my son? What of them? If you don't have one you'll have another. There is an abundance of women. You are just one. You are handsome, you are clever. You are special, you are precious. You are a man. There are lots of women, my son, they are just there for the taking. Give one the push and take another.)

His mother presents women as merely sexual objects, thus elevating her own position to that of irreplaceable and therefore indispensable provider of care and attention. Orhan's mother evidently sees the prospect of Orhan forming an affective bond with a woman as a direct threat to her own security: all potential marriage partners of her son are therefore her collective enemy, and so she tries to degrade them in her son's eyes to the level of merely sexual partners. She succeeds to the extent that Orhan is unable to develop a full relationship with

his wife Ceren, but there is no indication of the present circumstances of Orhan's mother and her relationship with him - whether she has herself benefited from her methods.

Bekir Yıldız's story Öl Ana takes the form of the reflections of a man who finds himself torn between the conflicting interests of his wife and his mother. He loves both, but they cannot get on with each other and in the end the man decides the best solution will be his mother's death. Hacer Nine, by the same author, relates the plight of an unfortunate old woman whose son favours his wife rather than herself when disagreements arise between the two women. Hacer has nowhere else to live other than with her son since her husband died, but she looks after her son's children while his wife is out at work, and therefore can be seen to be making a useful contribution to the family. When her daughter-in-law gives an ultimatum that either her mother-in-law goes or she goes, Hacer complains that in her day a young wife would hold her tongue, but now things are the other way around, and so she has become an old woman without ever having had the right to speak. But her son loses his patience and hits his mother, sending her out of the house. Even then Hacer blames her daughter-in-law rather than her son for the fact that she is left homeless, with no one to turn to.

Bayram's mother Irazca, in Yılanların Öcü fares rather better; her position is one of authority over her son and household affairs in general. She openly manages her son's affairs, as well as manipulating his emotions. In pushing Bayram into making love with Haceri's wife Irazca is concerned only with her own desire for revenge against

Haceli, as well as appreciating the fact that her son will derive pleasure from it. The question of what effect this liaison might have on Bayram's relationship with her daughter-in-law, whom she loves "like the apple of her eye" only occurs to her as an afterthought.

Women are rarely portrayed in mutually satisfying relationships with other women, and among the works of this period that I have included the only friendships between women that are of any significance are those between Meli and Berni in Korsan Çıkmazı and between Selma and Ceren in Tutsak - both works of women authors. The friendships between these women are shown to be very important and supportive to both parties, not only in a practical way (for example, Berni looks after Meli's child while she is out at work), but also in a spiritual way, as the women act as counsellor and confidante to each other.

Another woman author, Adalet Ağaoğlu, explains in Ölmeye Yatmak the reason for Aysel's total lack of friends as a young girl, given that boy-girl friendships are not tolerated by society:

...kızlardan ne öğreneceğim? Yemek tarifi, kek tarifi, modellerden patron çıkarma ve hangi oğlan kime bakıyor... kim kime iç çekiyor... Bunlar... Bir Bahire vardı. Şımarık değildi. Yoksuldu da. Ben de severdim onu... O da böyle çıktı... (p. 301)

(What would I learn from girls? Recipes for meals, cake recipes, how to cut out a dress pattern, and which boy has his eye on which girl, who is sighing for whom. Things like that. There used to be Bahire. She wasn't spoiled. And she was poor. I used to like her... But she turned out just like the rest...)

As an adult too Aysel does not appear to have any close female friends.

Zehra, in Gngr Dilmen's play Kurban is shown in her relationship to other women in the village, but these women are cast in a very ambiguous role; they act as confidante and counsellor to Zehra but they are divided in the advice they give her and their role is not in any way supportive for Zehra. They do not understand, or else they simply ignore the strength of Zehra's determination to make no compromise, and they do not recognise the rights which she is so desperately fighting for. As a consequence they tend to urge her towards conciliation and compromise instead of encouraging her in her struggle.

In this period a number of the works set in rural backgrounds illustrate the regrettable effect of the brideprice mechanism in reinforcing the evaluation of young marriageable girls as a marketable commodity, and the powerlessness of young people of both sexes but especially girls to have any control over major decisions affecting their lives. There also emerges a strong concern for the powerlessness of the individual generally in the face of social custom and the need to conform to social mores. This powerlessness, although not confined to women, operates most effectively and most tragically against them. Fathers, husbands and brothers may suffer but the ultimate victim, who may be sacrificed literally, or figuratively through enforced marriage, is most often female. The suppression of the expression of filial bonds is presented as another aspect of this powerlessness: there is little to be gained by investing a great deal of affection and care in a relationship which may have to be severed at any moment because of outside forces. Those authors concerned with rural society make a common condemnation of the subordination of human relations to social judgments which show greater concern for appearance than for the truth.

Linked to the criticism of blind adherence to social mores is the increasing support for individualism. Again, in this period the notion of individualism as applied to the choice of marriage partner according to mutual compatibility and affection, rather than economic and reproductive needs, gains support. In the works portraying sophisticated urban characters there emerges the argument that a good marriage must be based on complete openness and intimate knowledge between husband and wife, and in these works women are sometimes shown to have meaningful and legitimate friendships with men other than their husbands. Moreover, there now emerge strong female characterisations that show no intrinsic need for a lasting relationship with a man, although representations of relationships between females are still few and undeveloped.

Another innovation in this period is the insistence that a woman's life and health should not be sacrificed to her reproductive function. Whilst motherhood is still portrayed as a vital and important state for a woman, she is now expected to limit her reproductive ability. In her role as mother, not only is the woman who seeks to exploit her position liable to censure, but even the elderly, widowed and dependent mother who has no other means of support is cast ambiguously in the role of trouble-maker between her son and his wife. She is only one party to the arguments with her daughter-in-law and yet she is often shown as the disruptive element. The inference to be drawn is that the marriage bond now takes precedence over the filial bond: a reflection of the increasing tendency towards the nuclear family type. The threat of the nuclear family type to older generations does not go

unnoticed, but a mother's strategies to avert rejection by her own son on his marriage are depicted as necessarily detrimental to the son's marital relationship.

Women are thus portrayed in competition for men not only as husbands but also as providers in old age. Significantly the only friendships between women that occur in the works selected are those between women who have either renounced relationships with men altogether, or have established themselves in careers by means of which they can support themselves, and those between young girls not yet deprived of the support of their fathers. The "natural" competition between women for male provision of support is shown to preclude the development of meaningful relations between women.

NOTES

1. L. F. Fındıkoğlu states that even 25 years before the introduction of the Family Code a wife in one of the big cities who consented to her husband taking a second wife would incur a social stigma, although in the small towns and villages women had not yet reached that state of psycho-social development which would enable them to object; in "A Turkish Sociologist's View", an article included in the section "The Reception of Foreign Law in Turkey" in International Social Science Bulletin IX, No. 1, (1957), p. 20.
2. M. R. Belgesay, "Social, Economic and Technical Difficulties Experienced as a Result of the Reception of Foreign Law" in International Social Science Bulletin IX, No. 1, (1957), p. 50.
3. H. V. Velidedeoğlu, "The Reception of the Swiss Civil Code in Turkey" in International Social Science Bulletin IX, No. 1, (1957), p. 64.
4. Ruth Frances Woodsmall, Women in the New East, (1960), pp. 32-33.
5. Cited in İbrahim Yasa, Hasanoğlan - Socioeconomic Structure of a Turkish Village, (1957), p. 125.
6. Füsün Altıok, The Image of Woman in Turkish Literature, n.d., pp. 6-8.
7. İbrahim Yasa records that in the 17½ years up to 1945 two-fifths of the children up to 15 years of age died in Hasanoğlan village in Anatolia; in Hasanoğlan - Socioeconomic Structure of a Turkish Village, (1957), p. 45.
8. Cited in Tezer Taşkıran, Women in Turkey, (1976), p. 56.
9. Sevdâ Şener, Çağdaş Türk Tiyatrosunda İnsan (1923-72), (1972), pp. 64-65.
10. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (1965), p. 116.
11. Ibid., p. 117.
12. Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), Türk Toplumunda Kadın, (1979), in her own article: "Toplumsal Değişim ve Türk Kadını (1926-1976)", p. 23.
13. Nermin Erdentuğ found girls married as young as ten years old in order to bring a young male worker into the girl's household; in Hal Köyünü Etnolojik Tetzini, (1956), p. 38. Meliha Çalıkoğlu reports the case of a father seeking special permission for his son of just 16 years old to marry because his own wife was too ill to cope with her work; in "Ailede Kadının Mavkii" in Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu - Aylık Konferanslar 1953-1964, (1967), p. 77.

14. İbrahim Yasa reports girls marrying as young as 11 and 12 years old, and many married as soon as they reach 15. Some people would consider girls of 17 or 18 past marrying; in Hasanoğlan - Socioeconomic Structure of a Turkish Village, (1957), p. 105.
15. Ibid., p. 170.
16. Ibid., pp. 95-96.
17. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (1965), pp. 188-189.
18. Mahmut Makal, Bizim Köy, (1950), p. 80.
19. Ibid., p. 78.
20. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women In Turkish Society: Seminar Report", (16-19 May 1978), pp. 5 & 16.
21. Mahmut Makal, Bizim Köy, (1950), p. 81.
22. İbrahim Yasa, Hasanoğlan - Socioeconomic Structure of a Turkish Village, (1957), pp. 47-48.
23. Alparslan Türkeş, Temel Görüşler, (1975), pp. 336-341.
24. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (1965), pp. 109-110.
25. The synthesis in this paragraph is drawn from works by Nermin Erdentuğ, Paul Stirling and Mahmut Makal.
26. Mahmut Makal, Bizim Köy, (1950), pp. 73-74.
27. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (1965), p. 113.
28. Paul Stirling states that a wife may be replaced within a week of death, and a man without male heirs is expected to marry again, whether or not he divorces his first wife; ibid., pp. 114 & 198.

Nermin Erdentuğ finds that second marriage is condoned in the case of childlessness, in sympathy for both the childless woman and the man; in Hal Köyünü Etnolojik Tetkimi, (1956), p. 83. She also states that many of the men who go to work in the cities in the winter, returning to their village in the summer, secretly marry a second wife in the city; ibid., p. 34.
29. Füsun Tayanç and Tunc Tayanç, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), p. 154.
30. Mahmut Makal, Bizim Köy, (1950), p. 79.
31. Meliha Çalikoğlu, "Ailede Kadının Mekii" in Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu - Aylık Konferanslar 1953-1964, (1967), p. 83.

32. Events such as a husband kicking his wife and breaking two ribs because she had told him where he would find the towel he had asked for rather than going to fetch it for him, or a husband taking a stick to his wife and killing her by striking her head because she was angry with her mother-in-law and refused to eat despite his insistence that she should, have been given as evidence in defence of the husband. (Melih Çalikoğlu, "Ailede Kadının Mevkii" in Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu - Aylık Konferanslar 1953-1964, (1967), p. 75.)
33. In 1940 43.5 per cent of cases were brought by women, compared to 54.9 per cent brought by men, and in 1962 46.6 per cent of cases were brought by women, compared to 52.8 per cent brought by men. (Sabine Dirke, La Famille Musulmane Turque - Son Evolution au 20e. Siècle, (1969), p. 89).
34. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (1965), p. 115.
35. Alparslan Türkeş, Temel Görüşler, (1975), p. 341.
36. The fertility level in Turkey is very high: the mean number of live births in Turkey in 1968 (among married women from 15 to 44 years of age) was 3.9. The figure is highest among illiterate women (whether urban or rural) and lowest among urban women who have completed secondary or higher school. (Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women in Turkish Society: Seminar Report", (16-19 May 1978), p. 22).
37. Numbers of those wanting four or less children rose from 55 per cent in 1962 to 65 per cent in 1968. (Ahmet Tuğaç, "Indices of Modernization: Erenköy, A Case of Local Initiative" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 162.
38. Hacer Hicran Göze, Türk Kadını, (1978), pp. 59-61.
39. Nermin Abadan-Unat cites "5 Dakika" as a particular example, in "Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Kadını" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, (1979) which she edited, p. 34.
40. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Sex Roles and Social Change: A Comparative Appraisal of Turkey's Women" in Signs III, No. 1, (Autumn 1977), p. 64.
41. Ibid., p. 64.
42. Paul J. Magnarella, Tradition and Change in a Turkish Town, (1974), p. 116.
43. Serim Timur, Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı, (1972), p. 71.
44. Serim Timur's survey found that 13.8 per cent of girls were married between the ages of 10 and 14, while 90.6 per cent were married by the age of 21; in Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı, (1972), p. 95.

45. Greer Litton Fox, "Some Determinants of Modernism Among Women in Ankara, Turkey", in Journal of Marriage and the Family XXXV, No. 3, (August 1973), p. 524.
46. According to Serim Timur's survey, in more than half the marriages taking place a brideprice had been paid, despite legislation against it; in Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı, (1972), p. 83.
47. Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), Türk Toplumunda Kadın, (1979), in her own article "Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Kadını (1926-1976)", p. 25.
48. Serim Timur's study found that almost half of all marriages were by both civil and religious ceremony, but 15 per cent of marriages were by religious ceremony only; in Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı, (1972), p. 92.
The level of polygamy recorded by Timur is in fact very low: 2 per cent of married men (ibid., p. 93.), but the actual level is likely to be considerably higher.
Paul J. Magnarella reports the views of an illiterate woman, 75 years of age, who was well aware of the value of civil marriage as a financial guarantee against the husband's death, negligence or separation, and who considered that no wise woman would marry without it; in Tradition and Change in a Turkish Town, (1974), p. 124.
49. Gülten Kazgan, "Türk Ekonomisinde Kadınların İşgücüne Katılması, Mesleki Dağılımı, Eğitim Düzeyi ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Statüsü" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 160.
50. Fatma Mansur, Bodrum: A Town in the Aegean, (1972), pp. 182-183.
51. The figure is slightly higher for women living in towns compared to rural women, but this is attributed to the town women's broader definition of beating. (Rezan Şahinkaya, Hatay Bölgesinde Köy ve Şehirde Aile Mutluluğu ve Çocuk Ölümü, (1970), p. 30.)
52. Rezan Şahinkaya, Hatay Bölgesinde Köy ve Şehirde Aile Mutluluğu ve Çocuk Ölümü, (1970), pp. 36 & 37; the figure in both cases is between 6 and 7 out of 10.
53. Between 2 and 3 out of 10 women answered in this way, while less than one in 10 complained of being definitely unhappy, or being very unhappy in their marriages. (Rezan Şahinkaya, Hatay Bölgesinde Köy ve Şehirde Aile Mutluluğu ve Çocuk Ölümü, (1970), pp. 36-37.)
54. According to Deniz Kandiyoti's survey, 44 per cent of daughters, compared to 82 per cent of mothers, were in agreement; in "Intergenerational Change Among Turkish Women", (1978), Table 9.
55. Serim Timur, Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı, (1972), p. 179.
56. Ibid., pp. 105 & 107. pp. 105 & 107.

57. In 15.7 per cent of families men and women eat separately, and in 10.8 per cent of families the women eat after the men. (Serim Timur, Türkiye'de Aile Yapısı, (1972), pp. 112-113.
58. Mübeccel Belik Kıray, Ereğli Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası, (1964), p. 122.
59. Sabine Dirks, La Famille Musulmane Turque - Son Evolution au 20e. Siècle, (1969), p. 109.
60. In one of the villages included, while 84.8 per cent of husbands admitted to having instructed their wives how to vote only 54.7 per cent of the wives said they had followed their instructions. (Üzer Ozankaya, Köyde Toplumsal Yapı ve Siyasal Kültür, (1971), pp. 204-205).
61. In another village where only 56.1 per cent of husbands admitted to having instructed their wives, 57.1 per cent of wives said they had voted according to their husbands' instructions! Ibid., pp. 204-205.
62. Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Turkish External Migration and Social Mobility" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), pp. 362-402.
63. Nermin Abadan-Unat reports that 25 per cent of women, compared to 16 per cent of men, considered the German family superior; in "Turkish External Migration and Social Mobility" ibid., p. 377.
64. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Sex Roles and Social Change: A Comparative Appraisal of Turkey's Women" in Signs III, No. 1, (Autumn 1977), p. 70.
65. Ibid., pp. 70-71.
66. Lloyd A. and Margaret C. Fallers, "Sex Roles in Edremit" in Mediterranean Family Structures, J. G. Peristiany (ed.), (1976), p. 255.
67. Emelie Olson-Prather, "Family Planning and Husband-Wife Relationships in Turkey" in Journal of Marriage and the Family XXXVIII, Part 2, (May 1976), p. 385.
68. See Mübeccel Belik Kıray, Ereğli Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası, (1964), p. 129.
69. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Intergenerational Change Among Turkish Women", (1978), Table 9.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN AS INDEPENDENT, AUTONOMOUS BEINGS

1923-1940

In order to illustrate the extent and nature of the opportunities open to women for socio-economic independence and personal autonomy within Turkish society, I should first like to give some indication of the disadvantages suffered by women in the first two decades of the Republic.

In 1928 legislation was passed outlawing the use of the Arabic script in favour of the Latin alphabet. This dramatic step, which had the effect of rendering the whole population temporarily illiterate, was intended to facilitate learning for all. But women were slow to benefit from the adult education classes set up to teach the new alphabet, and the improvement in literacy rates for women was slight: from 4 per cent in 1923 to 8.2 per cent in 1935.¹ In similar vein, although primary education was made compulsory (and free) for all children in 1924 the actual provision of facilities remained badly inadequate, and in 1935 there were still only 16 per cent of girls attending primary school (compared with 28 per cent of boys).² Comparing this with the 27 per cent of girls registered in primary schools in the same year³ it seems that possibly awareness of the government requirements and social prestige attached to education were insufficient to counteract

the opposing influence of practical economic problems or fear of "innovation".⁴ Provision of educational facilities was, of course, most inadequate in rural areas: in 1939-40 out of 40,000 villages only 9,000 had primary schools,⁵ and yet most of the population was rural. The problem lay not merely in trying to find sufficient teachers for the villages, but also in the inability of many town-bred teachers to tolerate village conditions; these considerations eventually led to the establishment of the Village Institutes to train village primary school graduates to be teachers.⁶

The first figures available giving the number of women working outside agriculture relate to the war years, when as many as 30 per cent of industrial workers in Istanbul Izmir, Bursa and five other urban centres were women,⁷ (a figure inflated by the number of women brought in to replace men called to war). Women were mostly employed in the traditionally low paid textiles and food industries.⁸ However, once peace was established and men began to return to the work-place women in paid employment were likely to be regarded as depriving a man of his job. Thus, while the number of men in agricultural work rose very slowly in the first years of the Republic⁹ the number of women working in agriculture rose dramatically¹⁰ and the number of women administrators, civil servants, technicians and those engaged in private enterprise remained low,¹¹ although in certain areas women were employed in high proportions.¹²

In 1928 the Yardım Sevenler Derneği (Women's Philanthropic Society) was founded; the aims of which were to provide women with work in workshops of all kinds, as well as giving assistance to students, the

sick and the aged.¹³ The leader of the new Republic, Atatürk, in his public speeches at this time, made vague references to men and women sharing equally and being "partners in everything" and to the need for women to be valued as "colleagues" in economic life.¹⁴ In his public speech at Izmir in 1923 he declared:

Obviously society creates a division of labour, and in this division women should carry out their own duties as well as contribute to the general effort to improve the happiness and well-being of our society. Domestic duties are not necessarily the most important of a woman's responsibilities.¹⁵

But the main thrust of his statements concerning women was towards their better fulfilment of their most sacred function and "duty", i.e. motherhood:

Turkish women must become the most enlightened, virtuous and dignified in the world. Their duty is to bring up and educate a strong new generation of people who will defend the country with determination and courage and pass on the spirit of our nation to future generations. Women are the pillars of society and the wellspring of the nation, but they can only perform their tasks if they are enlightened.¹⁶

In order to strengthen his argument against the urban traditions of seclusion and veiling Atatürk stressed the important contribution of women in the economic life of agricultural villages, as well as their crucial role in the Independence War, but nowhere do his speeches give explicit encouragement for women to enter the industrial work force.

Perhaps the most important point to be made with respect to the early years of the Republic is that the pervasive "Kemalist" ideology subordinated all contradictions within society, whether of class, sex or ethnicity, to the struggle to create and establish an "independent", "modern" and "western" nation. The role that women could play in furthering this cause was of great importance, not least because of

the current changes taking place in the status of women elsewhere in Europe, which caused the position of women in society to be seen to some extent as a yardstick of a nation's "modernity", or even "civilisation". Turkish women were therefore encouraged to emulate the "emancipated" women of the West, while at the same time being granted legal and constitutional equality with men in line with the rights their western counterparts enjoyed.

Moreover, the granting of political rights to women, rather than being a natural consequence of women's entry into, and participation in, public life was a political move undertaken largely as a strategy to reinforce the image of "democratisation" of the Kemalist regime, and "at a time when women's rights could play a strategically critical role against the political and ideological basis of the Ottoman State".¹⁷ Halide Edip Adivar, author, journalist and leading public figure of the time, attributes the granting of the municipal vote to women in 1930 to the recognition of women as a political force, and notes that when the newly enfranchised women gave their vote to the Free Republican Party rather than to their "benefactors" the Republican People's Party, they were censured for being "ungrateful".¹⁸ In other words, women were expected to vote as the duly grateful and submissive servants of their rulers, and not as rational, free-thinking responsible people who were unafraid of using their vote to voice their preference for a democratic, rather than a dictatorial regime.

Halide Edip divides women into three categories according to their attitudes about the direction Turkish society should take: i) women who were survivals of the Tanzimat (who were, however, mostly over

50 and would soon disappear) who wanted education and approved of the Civil Code but opposed "rapid, external changes towards Westernisation"; ii) women who believed that "progress" meant external change and the adoption of everything "western" (these women were led by the wives of high officials and the "nouveau riche": those who could afford to travel and entertain); and iii) enlightened women who worked as teachers, doctors, social workers, lawyers, writers, small traders or officials, or who were employees of any type, and students. These last were the women of progress and their number would increase.¹⁹

Both Halide Edip's heroine Aliye in Vurun Kahpeye! and Reşat Nuri's Feride in Çalılıkusu are striking portrayals of women in this last category. That they are both teachers is very much in line with the Kemalist ideology which was dominant at the time and which emphasised the ideal that the national interest was everyone's interest, and that all should therefore work together for the good of the new nation. Significantly Aliye, whose character was created during the Kemalist period, makes her decision to go into the countryside and teach the children of the Republic based on a long-standing, determined ambition to work and to serve society. Both Feride and Aliye strongly reinforce the image of women using their education in the most "natural" way, teaching small children: an extension of the ideal of the intelligent mother educating her own children. The integrated nature of the duties of motherhood and teaching is stated explicitly in the first lines of Vurun Kahpeye! as Aliye declares her dedication to the mission of educating the children of an Anatolian town:

...burası için, bu diyarın çocukları için bir ana, bir ışık olacağım ve hiçbir şeyden korkmayacağım... (p. 5)

(...I shall be a mother, a light for the children of this land, for this place, and I shall not be afraid of anything...)

In the classroom she establishes her principle of equality and fairness regardless of family background and privilege and this results in a confrontation with one of the local notables. The outcome of this confrontation is a victory for Aliye's calm, intelligent, professional attitude over the impetuous, boorish, misplaced arrogance of the man. He insults her as a woman, calling into question her unwomanly behaviour:

İstanbul'un hayasız garılarına, erkeklerin suratına haykıran, yol, iz bilmeyen garılarına burada lüzum yok, ne okutmanı, ne seni istiyoz. (pp. 14-15)

(We have no need of women who don't know how to behave, who raise their voices to men, shameless Istanbul women. We don't need you or your teaching.)

But she uses her education and professionalism to overcome her fear and nervousness, standing firm on her principles. Ordering the man to leave the classroom and present his complaint to the proper authority she shows him to the door and then resumes her lesson as if there had been no interruption. Aliye is consistently portrayed as a woman totally committed to her work; her decision to go into the provinces to teach is based on a long-standing and determined ambition to work and serve society. She feels deeply her obligation and responsibility to her nation and society, and her resoluteness gives her the courage to override opposition, criticism and threats to her safety. Her career, far from being a substitute for marriage, is a means for self-fulfilment, and it is made clear to the reader that her plans for marriage to Tosun will in no way affect the continuation of her work as a teacher. However, the author avoids the problem of having to resolve the conflict between vocational career and marriage/family life

by presenting Aliye as being devoid of any close relatives and then having her killed before the prospective marriage to her sweetheart takes place. Aliye's declared intention of combining her teaching career with marriage and potentially with motherhood therefore remains an untried proposition.

In very distinct contrast to this portrayal of a young woman teacher by a woman author, the male author of Çalığışu endows the young teacher Feride whose story he relates with an extremely ambiguous attitude towards her career. The novel takes the form of the personal diary of Feride; by using first person narrative in this way the author is able to give the reader insight into the "true" interpretation of Feride's thoughts, beliefs and emotions, at the same time exposing the danger of misinterpretation inherent in judging by appearances, as so many of Feride's censors judge her. Thus, when the author depicts Feride as having no intention of putting her education to some social use until forced to do so in order to support herself when her marriage plans collapse, her attitude towards educational qualifications as nothing more than a reserve or insurance against enforced spinsterhood passes without comment - tacitly implying that this is how any woman would view the question:

Dolabımın bir köşesinde, kırmızı kordelasıyla, ağır ağır solup sararmaktan başka bir şeye yaramıyacak zannettiğim diplomam gözümde bir ehemmiyet almıştı... Onun sayesinde, Anadolu vilayetlerinden birinde hocalık alacak, bütün hayatımı, çoluk çocuk arasında, şen ve mesut geçirecektim. (p. 110)

(My diploma lay in a corner of the cupboard, tied up with red ribbon. I'd thought it was fated to grow yellow with age; but it had suddenly acquired a new value... With its help I was going to get a post as a teacher, in one of the provinces of Asia Minor, and spend my whole life happily and contentedly among children.) (p. 104)

While the author seeks to endow his heroine with notions of autonomy and independence befitting her new role, he ignores the fact that Feride would have had little outlet for such qualities within her preferred role as wife, and that her career is nothing more than a contingency measure, taken up in the face of adversity, not by free choice. In this context the proud statement:

...o da artık kendi ekmeğini kendi kazanan bir insandı. Kimse, artık ona, adına merhamet ve himaye denen büyük hakareti yapmağa cesaret edemeyecekti. (p. 125)

(...she too, now, was a person earning her own living. No one would dare to insult her now, with that insult they call pity and protection.) (p. 118)

serves only to reinforce the notion of a woman's career being no more than a second-rate substitute for marriage. Moreover, the author is careful not to allow his heroine to appear neglectful of the "womanly" duty of housework for the sake of her "masculine" career:

Evde yalnız kalır kalmaz, başımdan çatkıyı attım. Yavaş sesle türküler söyleyerek, ıslık çalarak hanım hanım evimin işini gördüm. Mektepte günlerce erkek gibi çalıştıktan sonra arasına ev hanımlığı etmek bana öyle tatlı geliyor ki... (p. 253)

(As soon as I was alone in the house, I pulled off the scarf and started my housework, singing a little and whistling to myself. After doing a man's job for days on end at school, work in the house rather pleases me.) (p. 235)

Although Feride is initially pushed into teaching in order to support herself, she soon comes to realise the vocational nature of the work, but it is a vocation which is quite clearly more in accordance with "feminine" qualities and characteristics than with those attributes generally associated with being male:

Bu meslek, bir gün açlıktan öldürebilir. Fakat ne ziyarı var? Değil mi ki, benim gönlümün şefkate olan açlığını doyuracak, kendi hayatını (sic) başkalarının saadetine vakfetmek tesellisini bana verebilecek. (p. 302)

(This profession could certainly starve you any day, but what of it, when it could satisfy the hunger my heart felt for sympathy, and give me the consolation of dedicating my life to the happiness of others?) (p. 278)

While Feride declares herself so satisfied and fulfilled by her work, she is not shown to exhibit any sense of frustration or feeling of unproductiveness when forced to give up teaching because of her health. Her continuing concern is for her personal, emotional loss, not for her inability to render further service to society:

Benim gibi kalbi ve hayatı kırılmış bir kızın ne kadar mesut olması mümkünse o kadar mesut oluyorum. Kendime bin türlü iş icadediyorum. İhtiyar sütniniye yardım, evi düzeltmek, bahçeye, yemeklere, hatta doktorun hesaplarına bakmak, daha böyle bin türlü iş. (pp. 332-3)

(As far as happiness is possible for a girl like me, whose heart and whose life have both been broken, I am happy. I invent a thousand different occupations for myself: I help the old nurse, I tidy the house, I keep an eye on the garden and on the food and even on the doctor's accounts, and a whole number of things of that kind.) (p. 304)

The fact that Çalılıkusu was among Atatürk's favourite novels²⁰ conforms to Atatürk's vision of women in society as well-educated and capable of earning their own living, willing to serve society but not subordinating marriage or motherhood to a career.

The other work which I have selected from this period which is concerned with women and work as a career is Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's Kadın Erkeklesince. The main female character in this play, Nebahat, subordinates her role as wife and mother to her role as worker, with disastrous consequences for the family. Nebahat seeks the removal of male authority and command within the family through the achievement by women of economic independence; she argues that a woman who is dependent on a man cannot be free. So she continues to work after she

marries Ali Süreyya, but household duties are neglected as a result, and then when she has a baby it becomes even more difficult for her and her husband to cope with their domestic and career responsibilities satisfactorily in a joint way. Her husband Ali Süreyya tries to persuade Nebahat to accept the traditional division of labour, adding his personal opinion that his own job is the more important of the two, in order to add weight to his argument. Nebahat's refusal to forego her "independence", although expressed in ideological terms as a part of women's new consciousness that they can live by their own labour and without men, is in fact presented as an act of stubborn selfishness, since the work she does as a minor clerk in an office is quite clearly to be considered of secondary importance to the serious work of her husband. Finally, the baby dies through neglect, and this tragedy is presented as a direct consequence of Nebahat's selfish and irresponsible disregard of the duties of motherhood for the sake of her place in the "man's world" of work.

There is an element in Kadın Erkeklesince, and in Meyhanede Hanımlar of Hüseyin Rahmi's recognition of the need for women to be recognised as individuals and to be allowed a degree of social and economic emancipation, but there is also quite clearly the caution that such freedoms should not be abused, and that the care of home and family is women's responsibility by nature and should take precedence over any other activity or function. While Hüseyin Rahmi is obviously criticising the notion that women's independence means doing without men, or abolishing old concepts of the sexual division of labour in society, it is nevertheless unclear in these stories what exactly is the nature of the independence and autonomy that he would like to see

women enjoy. He is preoccupied with the dilemma of how to ensure the performance of household duties when the subjugation of women to their domestic role is removed, with the result that no-one is obliged to carry out such tasks. In Meyhanede Hanımlar he voices his anxiety on this subject through the ramblings of the old drunkard who is featured, but in Kadın Erkekleşince the story itself demonstrates the dire consequences which he fears may ensue.

None of the other stories which I have selected from the Kemalist period deals with women seeking fulfilment through paid employment. Only in Esat Mahmut Karakurt's romance is there a brief mention of a young woman lawyer, but the author displays a marked ambivalence towards the professional competence of this young woman. Zeyneb, the heroine, is on trial for her activities as a member of her father's band of rebels, but she wants to lose her case and be found guilty so that her unhappy life can come to an end. It is for this reason that she chooses a young, newly qualified woman lawyer, and the author adds the comments of a couple of disinterested male lawyers for emphasis:

..."Bir erkek avukat bulamamışlar mı?" "İstememiş...
Fakat kendisine, mahkemenin mecburen bir avukat tayin edeceğini söyledikleri zaman, şehri aratmış, taratmış, nihayet bu kızı bulmuş." (pp. 141-142)

(..."Couldn't they find a male lawyer?" "She didn't want one apparently. But when the court instructed her that she would have to appoint a lawyer she searched the whole city and eventually came up with this girl.)

The young lawyer in fact wins the case for Zeyneb, but her role in this seems to be negligible in comparison with the personal impression Zeyneb makes on the judge, or her lover Adnan's romantic declaration of his love for her in court. While the general lack of confidence in the young woman lawyer is shown to be attributable as much to her lack of

experience as it is to her being a woman, the implication is clear that the combination of being both female and inexperienced puts her at the very bottom of the ladder of expectations of success. However, there could have been very few women practising in the legal profession at the time Esat Mahmut Karakurt wrote this book, and the innovation might at least be commended for its familiarising the public to the appearance of women in the professions in a relatively balanced way.²¹

In Yakup Kadri's Yaban and in Sabahattin Ali's stories Kazlar and Sıcak Su there are women characters who, in the absence of their husbands, whether due to death, imprisonment or other cause, manage the daily running of the household and the family farm. These are competent, self-reliant women whose industriousness and ambitions are channelled into the day to day struggle for survival for their families and themselves in the harsh conditions of rural life. While the young wives in Sabahattin Ali's stories are still totally "feminine" in their willingness to serve the best interests of their husbands or carry out their husbands' wishes at whatever cost to themselves, Zeyneb in Yakup Kadri's Yaban has been a widow for twelve years, and is not credited with any "feminine" qualities; her harsh life has taken its toll: she carries loads which are too heavy for the donkey without even sweating; she works for hours on end in the fields without even straightening her back, and when foodstuffs and fuel have to be prepared for winter storage Zeyneb and the other women of the household work ceaselessly, from morning until night. Yakup Kadri does not, however, appear to endow the village women with a natural and willing industriousness, for he complains about their

using the nearby fountain to do their washing because they cannot be bothered to walk as far as the stream with their laundry.

There is some inconsistency in the Kemalist period in attitudes relating to women and work, as they find expression in the literary works I have included. While there is a high level of idealisation in the portrayal of women entering vocational careers there is apprehension and disapproval of their careers taking precedence over wifely or mothering duties. As Peyami Safa wrote in an article published in the journal Hafta in 1935, "We should not give work to those women who want families, and we should not allow families to those women who want to work".²² Rural women, meanwhile, are described in realistic terms; their hard work and self-reliance are not sublimated by the authors into culturally or socially higher attributes, but such women are certainly shown to be worthy of respect on a par with the men to whom they so unquestioningly continue to offer their allegiance.

The divergence in the portrayals of women in paid employment in the works of this period illustrates the ambivalence present in attitudes prevailing at the time. There is a connection between acceptance of women working outside the home and vocational work which can be seen as an extension of traditional female roles. The dilemma faced by a woman trying to combine a career with domestic and familial duties arises but is not resolved: in Vurun Kahpeye! the female author avoids facing up to the dilemma by imposing death on her heroine before the conflict between career and marriage can arise; Reşat Nuri in Çalıkuşu presents his heroine's career as a contingency measure and quite naturally

subordinates it to her marriage ambition when the time comes for her to make her choice; finally, the main theme of Hüseyin Rahmi's plays concerns the disastrous results of a woman subordinating her domestic and familial duties to her career or any other consideration.

THE 1940s AND 1950s

There is evidence of a growing awareness by the 1940s and 1950s in Turkey of the failure of the Kemalist reforms instituted in the early years of the Republic to really affect the lives of women in society, and a growing consciousness among women themselves of the need for recognition of the full potential of women both as a group and as individuals in the family, the work-force and in society as a whole. The expression of these developments found an outlet in the reactivation of women's organisations during this period: in 1941 the Kadınlar Birliği (Women's Union) started up again, and by 1949 it had become a national organisation with branches in 41 vilayets and over 10,000 members. The avowed aims of the organisation were to protect women's rights as provided by the law, and to develop them further; to work for the solution of social and educational problems affecting women; and to develop the full social status of women.²³ The very much smaller and more academic Türk Kadının Sosyal Durumunu Tetkik Kurumu (Society for the Investigation of the Social Position of Turkish Women) established in Ankara in 1950, was set up in order to survey and analyse **scientifically the** conditions of life of women and to develop their social status according to the principle of "respect of the individual".²⁴

Furthermore, following the introduction of the multi-party system the Republican People's party began to show a specific interest in women: the party programme in 1947 made equality for women and men citizens, in terms of their rights and duties, a fundamental principle of their policy; in the same programme the party raises the question of the "protection of workers who are expectant mothers", and the Türkiye Köylü Partisi (Turkish Peasant Party) founded in 1952, in their manifesto express the aim to secure the "advancement and progress" of women in every way, especially in making their "duties within the home" easier.²⁵ However, no radical solution to the problems of women in society were put forward, and indeed it was in the interests of the political parties to maintain the status quo in terms of male-female relations in society.

During this period State policy to maintain Turkey as an agricultural country, in line with the Marshall Aid Plan, meant that the female work-force was best kept in agriculture.²⁶ The nature of the work undertaken by rural women is described in a number of village studies carried out during this period, and a common characteristic seems to be the clear division of labour according to sex. Behice Boran describes how women may at times do men's work, although men very rarely participate in women's work, except where a certain product starts to be produced for the market, in which case the men may contribute. She concludes that women generally work more than men, and perform the routine tasks, while men do the jobs requiring greater experience, skill, strength or responsibility, and the work involved in production for market. A woman's activities are generally confined to the village and she will only venture beyond her house and field or

vineyard for special purposes such as washing laundry or fetching water. Women may go to town to visit a doctor, to see relatives or to buy items for their trousseau, but not for reasons of economic activity, since a woman is not the owner of the produce of her own labour and so the management and expenditure of income from that property is not under her control.²⁷

Paul Stirling too points out that daughters' rights are not allowed to take precedence over a man's being able to possess enough land to support his family; and women will often only inherit if they have no brothers, since brothers frequently ignore their sisters' rights.²⁸ Examining the division of labour within the home, Stirling observes that men spend as much time as possible away from the home. Much of household activity is considered to be beneath men's notice, and so women enjoy a certain degree of autonomy in managing their own affairs and consequently derive some satisfaction from the knowledge of the indispensability of their own activities. He points out, however, that women cannot have authority in any household which has a grown man in it, and that men decide all matters concerning farming routine, major sales and purchases, the marriage of children, visits to the doctor and anything else of importance; women can only try to influence these decisions by persuasion. While concluding that such aspects of male superiority in village society are reinforced by the general exclusion of women from male social gatherings in the village guest-rooms or in the public sphere generally, he nevertheless suggests that women's "immersion in a world of their own greatly mitigates their inferiority".²⁹

Girls' education generally was still receiving official support and encouragement until the 1950s,³⁰ but the need to keep the female work-force in agriculture discouraged any attempt to really educate women for work outside agriculture or the domestic sphere. Moreover, in the 1950s the Democrat Party's attempt to win popularity by encouraging conservative and religious views and practices brought about increased social pressure against advanced schooling for girls, with the result that the number of girls registered in vocational schools decreased quite visibly in the 1950s although entries to high school were not affected in the same way.³¹ This can be explained at least in part by the fact that girls in rural areas are much more likely to have no access to lise, and that the factors inhibiting girls' higher education are strongest in the rural areas. Even in the towns there may be evidence of parents' preference for boys' education over girls' at secondary level, despite higher rates of achievement among girls at primary level.³²

The disadvantages suffered by **females in terms of education in this** period are illustrated by the number of girls attending primary school: 34 per cent in 1950 compared **with** 50 per cent of boys; and the literacy rates: about 25 per cent of women were literate in the late 1950s, compared **with** about 55 per cent of men.³³ It was during this period that newspapers were publishing articles by Peyami Safa advising against the education of all women in career oriented subjects, and recommending that a woman who was going to be a mother should not have the same education at lise level as a woman who was going to be a doctor, on the basis that not every girl finishing high school would go on to higher education and enter professional life.³⁴ Another article by the same

author expressed his fear that women, kept secluded for centuries, would be dazzled by their new freedoms and abandon the home, which is their proper domain, for the outside world, which is not for them; he wrote: "The prison-like life which they have led for centuries seems to have eventually aroused in women a deep loathing for the family", and he feared that this was at the root of the spate of divorce cases brought by women.³⁵

Despite the calls for domestic orientation of women's education, the continuing disparity in male-female school attendance and the low level of literacy among women, a study carried out in 1957 claims that the number of girl students at lise, technical or higher educational establishments increased eight-fold in the years between 1927 and 1955.³⁶ Most of the women included in the survey which forms the second part of the study were civil servants and office workers, plus a few teachers, the majority of whom had received some education beyond primary school level. Most were members of households in which they were not the sole bread-winner, and it was found that although a very small minority kept all their earnings for themselves even though the per capita income in the household was lower than their individual income the majority of those who did contribute to the household budget (80 per cent) gave all their earnings; the rest tended to keep a certain amount back, not to spend on luxury goods for themselves but to save as exigency money available for family use. However, since most of the women were working through economic necessity only a small proportion were able to save money (and of those who did the great majority opened savings accounts in their own names). On the other hand, even in households where the woman was the sole earner she was

unlikely to actually manage the household budget herself. In other words, the results of the survey showed that being sole bread-winner in the family does not guarantee a woman the right to take the status of household head.³⁷ The survey also found that disapproval of women working was most often experienced by those women who were working because of professional interest rather than because of financial need.³⁸ So, for a woman to work outside the home she first has to gain the approval and consent of her husband or father and then, if she is not working in order to make a necessary contribution to the support of her family, or is entering a profession through personal choice, she is likely to be subjected to censure from the people around her. Finally, if she is forced to work in industry her choice will be limited to those sectors of industry employing a high proportion of women, such as weaving and related trades.³⁹ In short, in the period under consideration, a woman's place is still considered to be in the home, or on the family farm, unless circumstances force her to enter the industrial work-force or other paid employment outside the home. This attitude is summed up in the words of Alparslan Türkeş (written in 1939):

...women are spiritually and physically quite different from men and are endowed with many qualities quite contrary to those of men. For this reason women are unable to take on the duties performed by men, and even if a woman were able to carry out such tasks, this would alienate her from her duty of bearing children.... A woman's soft nature, her tender and patient character require her to undertake domestic work, and especially the raising of children.... The situation today shows that women who enter working life do not or cannot marry. If they marry they do not have children, and even if there are those who do have children they are unable to raise those children in a way suitable for social and national life.⁴⁰

I did not find this view stated explicitly among the literary works selected from this period ~~there has been~~ a marked absence of women portrayed as paid workers, whether in agricultural or other occupations. A striking exception is Orhan Kemal's Cemile, in which the girl Cemile works in a factory in order to help support her father who is unable to work outside the home due to disability, but who lightens Cemile's obligations by performing household tasks such as mending clothes and cooking meals. Cemile is industrious and virtuous, but she is vulnerable to attack by unscrupulous males because she works outside the home. Cemile's marriage to a young clerk at the factory where she works averts the danger of her abduction by the villain of the story, and provides the happy ending for the book. The author is careful to present women as hardworking, responsible and valuable members not only of their immediate families but of the community and society as a whole. And he emphasises the sincere desire of women to make a contribution to the household budget, while at the same time ridiculing the notion of the idle husband who exploits the labour of his wife. These points are illustrated in a conversation between two men, Deveci Halil and İzzet. The latter has been out of work for twenty days and is trying hard to make a living by doing odd jobs in order that his wife, who is ill, need not work. The other is the good-for-nothing, unscrupulous villain who cannot quite hide his admiration for the husband who appears to be living off the labour of his sick wife:

Deveci Halil: "Senin köroğlu da çalışıyor mu?" "Çalışıyor..."
 "Hastalığı noldu?" "Bildığın gibi..." "Yahu sen akıllı
 adamsın... Hasta avrat, hasta hasta çalıştırılır mı?" "Beni
 dinlediği var mı ki? Evde bunalıyorum diyor, öleceksem
 makinemin başında ölim diyor." "Ne avrat be! Demek öyle
 diyor..." (p. 5)

(Deveci Halil: "Is your wife working too?" "Yes, she's working." "What happened to her illness?" "It's just the same." "Well, you're a clever fellow. You shouldn't make a sick woman work." "Do you think she listens to me? She says she is bored stiff at home, and if she is going to die she wants to die at work." "What a woman! So she says that!")

Bekir Sıtkı Kunt portrays women working to support themselves: in Gönül Bu! Şehir works as a washerwoman to support herself and her daughter, and when the daughter Zahide is grown up and married to a man she does not like she goes to work as a washerwoman in order to support herself too, so that she can leave her husband. In Zeynep Kadın middle-aged Zeynep is forced to earn money when her husband goes blind. First she tries to get by on the money she can make by spinning wool and knitting socks to sell in the village market. Then she joins other women, walking for seven days to reach the plain; there they follow the harvesters, gleaning three or four handfuls of grain a day.

Samim Kocagöz too describes the harsh conditions endured by women in rural communities. The men of the village in Fındık Yaprakları justify the division of labour in traditional terms of sex-role differentiation saying "Fındık da böyle bir mahsuldu ki, kızlara mehsus bir işdi" (Hazelnuts are a kind of crop exactly suited to girls to work on) (p. 80). While the men pass their time in the coffee houses waiting for the harvest so that they can sell the crops and have some money to spend, the whole work of harvesting and collecting the hazelnuts falls to the women, whose health is ruined by the hard and heavy work. On the one hand the women are held responsible for bringing in sufficient money to support the family and provide "spending money" for their husbands, but on the other hand it is the men who control expenditure.

However, rather than the "working" women, it is the women of the villages who, rising against oppression and exploitation of the community as a whole emerge as strong, independent and determined figures, rousing the men to active resistance against injustice. Such striking female characterisations appear in both of Yaşar Kemal's works which I have included. In İnce Memed HÜRÜ, a middle-aged woman, is the hero Memed's most active supporter in the village. She goes from house to house, to persuade the villagers to maintain solidarity against the local landowner by not giving his stewards any share from their crops. The men of the village agree with her arguments:

HÜRÜ sevinçten uçuyordu: BÜTÜN yaz gezdiği, çene çaldığı boşa gitmemişti. Hiçbir köylü Abdi Ağa'ya bir zırnık vermemişti. (p. 367)

(HÜRÜ was elated with joy. She hadn't spent the whole summer canvassing and cajoling for nothing. Not a single villager had given Abdi Ağa a brass farthing.)

It is also HÜRÜ who encourages Memed to kill the wicked landowner instead of taking advantage of the general amnesty to give up his life as an outlaw. Her strongest weapon is her tongue, and she shames Memed into aggressive action by her words, using comparisons with "feminine" timidity as an incitement to "masculine" courage:

Gene Abdi Ağayı başımıza bela mı edeceksin? Nereye avrat yürekli Memed? Teslim olmağa mı gideceksin? (p. 407)

(Are you going to let Abdi Ağa cause us trouble again? Where are you going, woman-hearted Memed? Are you going to surrender yourself?)

The author portrays in HÜRÜ a woman of intelligence, independence and self-determination, but her desire for total retribution from the landowner has to be satisfied vicariously, for the act of taking another's life cannot be perpetrated by one who is a giver of life: even though HÜRÜ is something of a virago she is nonetheless a mother figure.

The character of Iraz in the same novel is not developed as subtly as that of Hürü, and although her story of active vengeance for her son's death is perhaps some preparation for the emergence later of bold, aggressive qualities, her transformation into a bandit of considerable prowess is nevertheless somewhat unconvincing, supported only by bald statements such as

Iraz en namlı eşkiyadan daha atik, daha nişancı, daha cesurdu. Tek başında üç gün bu candarmaları oyallyabilirdi.
(P. 404)

(Iraz was more active, a better marksman and more courageous than the most famous bandit. She could have led the gendarmes a dance for three days entirely alone.)

However, it is significant that the author has dared to present a woman totally competent in a very masculine world and role.

In Teneke by the same author, women as a group are shown urging their men into action. The village is in danger of being flooded for the sake of the rich farmers' rice cultivation. Trying to shame the men out of apathy by calling into question their "manliness" and comparing them with the brave men of the past, the women insult and humiliate the men of the village for their reluctance to take action. The most outspoken and provocative of the women in the group is Zeyno, who eventually does manage to provoke the men into action:

Kadınlar: "...Nerde o günler. Nerdee öyle erkek!"
Bir kadın arsız arsız: "Zeyno ana," dedi, "o eskidendi. Memed Ali şimdi iğdiş oldu. O gün Okçuoğlu söğdü söğdü de ağzını bile açmadı. Eski camlar bardak olmuş."
Zeyno Karı içini çekerek: "Erkek kalmadı," dedi. "Eskiden olsa gökte yerlerdi Okçuoğlu gibi adamı. Erkekler de avrat olmuş. Kurt gibi bir adam eskiden olsa kendisine laf mı söyletirdi. Hep erkekler iğdiş olmuş."
Birkaç ses, gülmeye karışık: "Şu halimize bakın. Herif ortalığı göl etti. İğdişlerin köyünü."
"Herif köyü göl etti."
Zeyno Karı: "Herif köyü göl etti. Bizi sürgün etmek için. Köyde iğdiş olmamış bir tek erkek olsaydı..."

"Bir tek erkek..."

"Erkeğe benzer bir tek erkek..."

"Böyle olmazdık. Su altında kalmazdık."

Zeyno köpürdü. Sesi köyün üstünde, gecenin karanlığında dalgalandı. Böyle olurdu her zaman. Durur durur, sonra ateş kesilirdi.

"Bana da Zeyno derlerse, eğer ben Zeyno karıysam... O Okçuoğlu deyyusuna, orospu avratlıya, parlak çizmeliye, ağzı sakızlıya yapacağımı bilirim. Başını avradınıninki gibi açmazsam, bana da Zeyno karı demesinler. Ben de Zeyno karıysam... Şu iğdişler erkekliklerinden utansınlar. Utansınlar da başlarını toprağa eçip, Okçuoğlu'nun gönderdiği suya baksınlar..."

Önce kadınlar, sonra erkekler kısmında bir hareket oldu. Ortalık kaynaşmağa başladı. Söğen söğene... Gürültü patırdı. Atıp tutmalar, gidip gelmeler... (pp. 37-38)

(The women: "...what happened to those days? What happened to those men?"

One woman said impudently, "Mother Zeyno, that was before. Memed Ali has lost his manhood now. That day Okçuoğlu swore and swore and he didn't even open his mouth. Times have changed a lot since then."

Zeyno, sighing, said "There are no men left. In the old days they would have seen off a man like Okçuoğlu. The men have become women. In the old days they wouldn't have let anyone insult them like this. The men have all lost their manhood." A few voices, mingled with laughter: "Look at the state we're in. The fellow has turned the place into a lake. A village of castrated men."

"The fellow has turned the village into a lake."

Zeyno: "The fellow has turned the village into a lake in order to drive us out. If there was just one real man in the village!"

"Just one..."

"Just one who could call himself a man!"

"We wouldn't be in this mess. We wouldn't have been flooded."

Zeyno got excited. Her voice swept over the village in the darkness. She was always like this. She would wait and wait, then she would catch fire.

"If my name is Zeyno. If I'm Mother Zeyno, I know what I'll do to that cuckold Okçuoğlu, the bastard; what I'll do to his shiny boots and his gum-chewing mouth. My name is not Zeyno if I don't put a split in his head like his wife's... If I'm Zeyno... May these useless men be ashamed of their manhood. May they be ashamed and bend their heads to the ground and look at the water Okçuoğlu has sent."

There was a movement, first among the women, then among the men. The crowd of people began to swarm. Cursing and swearing, a rumble and roar. Ranting and raving, coming and going...)

Thus Zeyno emerges as the leader of the whole village in the revolt against the rice-growing landowners who are prepared to ruin the whole village for the sake of their valuable cash crop cultivation. She

persuades the leading men of the village that the best course of action is to take their complaint to the District Governor, and she then goes round the village telling the people of the decision and calling on them to go with her to the town. The whole village sets out, with Zeyno at the head. When they arrive at the town it is Zeyno who calls for the governor to come out, but two of the men silence her at this point and go up to the Governor themselves. However, when the situation worsens and they go to see the Governor for a second time, Zeyno manages to speak with him herself. In the face of the Governor's inability to take any action beyond waiting for the gendarmes to arrive, Zeyno decides the village should find its own solution. The men are once again reluctant, preferring to count on the intervention of the government and the gendarmes:

"Hükümet var, candarma var. Başkaca biz ne yapalım?"

Zeyno Kari ellerimi kasıklarına koyup hışımla Üstlerine yürüdü: "Tuuu size, utanmazlar, utanmazlar. Çare mi yok? Candarma para yemiş bakmıyor. Suyu kesmiyor. Siz ne güne duruyorsunuz? Gidin de bendi siz bekleyin. Hükümet karar vermiş. Kanun bizimle birlik."

Baş baş bağırlıyordu:

"Tuuu size... Okçu'nun avratları."

Memed Ali: "Ane doğru, çok doğru söyler."

Bu arada, Zeyno'nun sesine köyde kim varsa, kadın, erkek, çoluk çocuk, kim varsa toplandı. Dursun'un çardağının altında doldu. Erkeklerde bir kıvılcık, bir homurdanma oldu.

Zeyno Kari: "O namussuz, hükümetin kanununu hiçe sayıyor. Kaymakamın emirlerini hiçe sayıyor. Candarmasına rüşvet verip, bizi su altında bırakıyor. Kaymakam parmak kadar bir çocuk. Kurutma emrini verdi. Başına da candarma dikti. Candarma suyu keseceği yerde, suyu bekliyor. Haydi yürüyün bende. Bendi yıkıp biz bekleyelim."

Memed Ali bağırdı: "Ane doğru, doğru, doğru söyler. Ben giderim." (p. 55)

("There's the government. There are the gendarmes. What can we do more than them?")

Putting her hands on her hips, Zeyno walked up to them, enraged: "Shame on you, shame on you. So there is no solution? The gendarmes have been bribed, they aren't keeping watch. The water hasn't been cut off. What are you waiting for? Go and keep guard at the dam. The government has made its decision. The law is on our side."

She was shouting at the top of her voice:

"Shame on you, Okçu's women."

Memed Ali: "Mother Zeyno is right, she's very right."

By now everyone in the village, women, men and children, were assembling to Zeyno's voice. Dursun's meeting place was full. There was a shuffling and a murmuring among the men.

Zeyno Karı: "That ignoble wretch counts the government's law as nothing. He counts the governor's orders as nothing. He bribes the gendarmes and floods our village. The governor is a mere child. He has given the order to drain. And he has posted gendarmes at the dam. But instead of cutting off the water the gendarmes are waiting for it. Come on, march to the dam. Destroy the dam and we'll keep guard."

Memed Ali shouted: "Mother Zeyno is right, she's right, she's right. I'm going.")

The women are roused to action even before the men; with pickaxes and shovels in their hands and Zeyno at their head the women, and behind them the men, set off for the dam. Zeyno is the first to strike a blow at the dam with her pickaxe. Eventually one of the men suggests to Zeyno that the women should go home to bring some food and guns for the men who will keep guard at the dam. So, although the women of the village are ultimately relegated to a domestic role once more, and are protected from physical danger, they have played a vital part in the preservation of the village, and the real saviour who has led the villagers, both men and women, against the injustice they were suffering is the exceptionally strong woman character Zeyno.

Samim Kocagöz, in his short story Çalılı Köy also describes how women, refusing to comply with the men's instructions to stay in safety, arm themselves with sticks and fight alongside their men in the struggle against another village which has staked a claim to some of their lands.

Thus, at a time when the memory of women's vital contribution to the Independence War was perhaps fading, or indeed had become nothing more

than hearsay to the new generation, there appear examples in the literary works of the period of women fighting and struggling against injustice in their communities. These are women of no education but endowed with great sagacity; women who, although unable to take the role of physical aggressor themselves, nevertheless do not hesitate to incite their menfolk to action. They are women for whom passive support is not enough, they must participate and lend active assistance to their men. Significantly, however, these impressive women leaders are depicted as older women, past child-bearing age and implicitly asexual. The contradiction between "femininity" and qualities of leadership is thus resolved by denying any trace of femininity to these women in the present, other than some residual attributes of motherhood which reinforce the image of righteousness and benevolence which lie behind the actions of these women.

Women's work in the economic sphere is justified in this period not in vocational terms but by economic need. The fear that employment outside the home might result in the neglect of domestic and familial duties appears to have receded, but the dangers to which women working outside the home are exposed are still given credence. While women's entry into paid employment remains an economic decision, and while the woman working outside the home remains in need of physical protection, men are able to retain both economic and social control over their women, and women's paid work poses no threat to the status quo, since it does not provide women with the means to independence.

As a final comment in this section I should like to **mention briefly** Memduh Şevket Esendal's short story Feminist, written in 1946. In

fact, although the word "feminist" was chosen as the specific example for this story, any other "-ist" might have served the author's purpose as well: that is, to illustrate the vacuous intellectual snobbery of people who use such words without even knowing their meaning. However, in so far as the author has taken the particular word "feminist" it is true to say that the story highlights the merely superficial nature of the interest and enthusiasm for feminism in Turkey, even among those organisations which supposedly should be the most informed on the subject. In the story women's organisations and women's journals invite Salim Bey to speak on "feminism" unaware of the fact that his only interest in feminism is his desire to find out what the word means, and they remain oblivious of his ignorance even after he has spoken; Salim Bey becomes a celebrity speaker on a subject about which he knows nothing.

THE 1960s AND 1970s

Inevitably with the continuing growth in industrialisation and in the marketing of agricultural produce women have played an increasingly important part in economic production. This in turn has an effect on the attitudes towards women's participation in the production process. Conversely, it can also be shown that attitudes towards women working affect both the nature and the extent of women's participation in paid employment outside the domestic sphere.

An illustration of changing attitudes towards women working among women themselves is provided by Deniz Kandiyoti's survey carried out among

girl students at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul and their mothers. According to the results of this survey, while the great majority of women of both generations were in overwhelming agreement with the suggestion that women should leave work if it was detrimental to the family, less than half the mothers, and only about one in ten of the daughters thought that women should avoid responsible jobs. And yet mothers who stressed self-sufficiency and self-fulfilment as personal goals were in a small majority, and most insisted on not compromising their qualities of good spouse and mother, whatever other achievements they may have made.⁴¹ These findings lend support to an observation in an earlier paper by the same author that reluctance to let women work is not due to any belief that women are incapable of having a successful professional life. Kandiyoti cites instead factors such as the fear that outside employment might result in neglect of the home and the family; that the danger of promiscuity through contact with unrelated males will be increased, and that women's increased economic power is seen as a threat to male authority.⁴²

The attitudes of women themselves seem generally to conform to these ideas. A survey carried out among women employees at a State Agricultural Bank in Ankara found that women justified their work in economic terms, looking upon their employment as a necessity in order to become a better "family woman" rather than as a means to becoming an independent person; even those women who admitted working for love of their jobs rather than out of financial necessity nevertheless stressed that family life still held priority over their working lives. In practical terms these attitudes were reflected in the fact that almost half the women interviewed stated that they added their entire income

to the family budget, while only a small number of the women, whether married or single, were found to be working despite facing continuing negative attitudes among members of their families.⁴² These findings follow very closely those of the earlier survey carried out by Hamide Topçuoğlu in 1957, which was discussed in the preceding section.

In fact the number of women in paid employment is still very low overall,⁴³ but this is only to be expected, given that in Turkish society the sanctions invoked against women working can become "impenetrably prohibitive", so that only when traditional ideas of kinship liability for the economic support of female relatives start to be questioned do the prerogatives of male members to censure their women start to be threatened, and do women become free to enter paid employment.⁴⁴

Furthermore, since having a job does not, either in social or economic terms, liberate a woman from traditional family restraints, it is hardly surprising that marriage remains the more attractive alternative in view of the relatively greater freedom it affords.⁴⁵

Certainly the economic advantages of working would seem to be severely limited for the majority of Turkish women, on several counts: first, the large number of women working as unpaid family labourers not only in agriculture but also in industrial work;⁴⁶ second, average earnings for women are lower than for men;⁴⁷ third, when a woman does receive a cash wage this is likely to be contributed to the household budget; and finally, as a family worker a woman would not generally retain control over the produce of her own labour. Thus a woman's hard work and substantial contribution to the household economy is no guarantee that her status will improve. Kandiyoti ascribes the working of these

mechanisms against improved status for women to the male fear of a challenge to their authority should women gain economic independence:

As long as a female contributes to family production and does not receive payment in cash such a threat is not perceived. When cash payments are forthcoming, due both to economic necessity and the increasing availability of job opportunities, their importance to the household economy is downgraded.⁴⁸

Ferhunde Üzbay points out that the mass of women working as unpaid family labourers in agriculture are perforce kept out of those occupations which would provide them with access to or opportunities for political or economic power.⁴⁹

An illustration of the way in which the exploitation of women's labour is served by such attitudes and mechanisms is provided by Peter Benedict in his study of a provincial town in Southwest Turkey. He points out that the household can provide "a reservoir of inexpensive labour for those tasks which would require a large overhead in wages in a factory-type setting"; as a result the only jobs with social prestige commonly open to women in the town are those which can be carried out in the home, such as the making of clothing, or machine-knitting of sweaters etc. so that the woman is not required to enter the market area.⁵⁰

A contrasting picture is provided by the same author, in his account of women agricultural workers where the predominant crop is tobacco. All activities involved in the production of the tobacco crop, from planting to stringing the harvested leaves, involve women, and the decision-making entailed in the course of the agricultural cycle is done almost solely by the women of the household. The crop is thus

largely the responsibility of the women, although men may occasionally help in specific tasks. Accordingly, the resulting income, which is an important economic supplement for the average household, is largely distributed according to the wishes of the women. Moreover, women's engagement in the main agricultural activity of the household gives them a keen interest in inheritance, and a daughter here loses none of her right to claim inheritance if she is married.⁵¹

It seems clear that for many women the lack of both opportunities and incentives to enter paid employment are broadly the factors keeping them out, but in addition the mass media and large circulation magazines play a large part in reinforcing the traditional view that a woman's prime function in society is as a wife and mother, and in encouraging women towards greater conspicuous consumption and away from a role in economic production. One of the attractions of conspicuous consumption lies in its appearance as a means to achieve upward social mobility, but as Nermin Abadan-Unat points out, freedom for consumption does not necessarily secure the liberty of choosing a different way of living: while for some women the ability to spend what they earn according to their own wishes may appear to be the most relevant aspect of their new freedom it is not a source of liberation but rather an escape mechanism.⁵²

It is the urban and literate women who are most exposed to the pressures of the consumer society, and of these it is the educated women of middle- and upper-class families who are likely to experience the greatest degree of contradiction between the promise of self-fulfilment and economic independence through work, and the fate of being dependent and

ted to domestic work.⁵³ With this thought in mind it is interesting to note that the level of education of Turkish women working in Germany is considerably higher than the proportion of women in non-agricultural occupations in Turkey.⁵⁴ Bearing in mind that the financial rewards of work in Germany are likely to be substantially greater than in Turkey it would seem reasonable to conclude that women are ready to reject their traditional place in society based on the old division of labour by sex, and are able to do so if the financial rewards are attractive enough to the male members of the family, who still, after all, retain control of their wives' and daughters' freedom to leave the country. Further evidence is provided by the high number of single Turkish women working in Germany, and the fact that a substantial porportion of married Turkish women living in Germany do not live with their spouses.⁵⁵

A strange anomaly appears, however, with regard to Turkish women in Germany, for while these women are anxious to benefit from economic and social emancipation, and have generally achieved a level of education higher than their male counterparts in Germany (as well as the female home-population) they are on average less proficient in speaking German than their male counterparts.⁵⁶ This phenomenon is undoubtedly a residue of persisting attitudes towards education and learning for girls among Turkish men and women generally, to the effect that a higher level of education is necessary for boys than it is for girls to have a good start in life.⁵⁷

There seems to be an indication, however, that women and girls are becoming less inclined to be complacent about lower levels of

education for girls. Rising aspirations for girls' education are most evident among those girls and women who have benefited themselves from at least the full course of primary education.⁵⁸ Low aspirations of course play an important part in keeping school attendance figures lower for girls than for boys, although the discrepancy becomes less as one goes up the socio-economic scale, and in metropolitan areas.⁵⁹ In the villages the inequality in the numbers of boys and girls attending school increases further as one rises through the levels of education, so that, according to the results of one survey, for every thousand village women over sixteen years of age 402 had graduated from primary school, five had finished middle school and four had finished lise.⁶⁰ The low numbers of village girls attending lise is, of course, compounded by the fact that most village parents are reluctant, or inhibited by social considerations, to send their daughters out of the village in order for them to continue their education.⁶¹

In Turkey all state primary schools are co-educational and a large number of middle and high schools are too. Despite the fact that co-education may be another of the factors hindering enrolment of village girls in post-primary schools, nevertheless it has been claimed to be an important factor in contributing to the acceptance of women in public roles, as professionals, teachers, administrators and civil servants.⁶² At the same time as co-education plays a part in familiarising men to the idea of female competence and intellectual ability, the old tradition of segregation of men and women in public life can also serve to the advantage of women, by virtue of the fact that it has established a tradition of women in professions such as

medicine and teaching, and through imbuing in women a strong sense of independence in their separate lives. Attitudes towards professional women may therefore be more tolerant than towards non-professional working women in Turkey⁶³ and professional women may be seen as complementing rather than competing with their male counterparts.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that Turkish women in public life do not act as "total personalities", and certainly not as females; when at work they focus on their job skills, and practice habits of behaviour which do not necessitate orientation to men as "males".⁶⁴

In other words, a professional woman does not allow her sexual identity to structure the style of her relationships at work, nor to limit her professional identity.⁶⁵

Finally, in view of the inverse relationships education holds to fertility and marriage it is not surprising to find a higher propensity to work among well educated women.⁶⁶ Indeed, statistics show that the proportion of women in the professions in Turkey is twice the proportion of women in the non-agricultural labour force as a whole.⁶⁷ All this is not to say that prejudice against educated and professional women does not exist, even among women themselves, and articles expounding negative attitudes towards the education or employment of women still enjoy sufficient popularity and support to warrant publication.⁶⁸

While women are still facing difficulties in achieving recognition of the importance of their role in the work force and in public life in general, their struggle to gain autonomy in the home has not ceased. At a congress organised by 27 women's organisations in December 1975

demands were made for the abolition of the practice of ascribing the status of family head to the husband only; also for the abolition of the requirement that women should take their husband's name on marriage; and abrogation of the law which give husbands the right to forbid their wives to work or follow their professions.⁶⁹

Evidence of a more general concern for the struggle for women's rights is provided by the results of a survey carried out among its readers by the magazine Elele⁷⁰ which indicate that the most popular article published in the magazine since its incorporation was one on women's rights. This article, published in Spring 1978, gives a brief appraisal of historical events leading to the present women's movement internationally, and draws the conclusion that Turkish women are now awakening to the realisation that they are not mere ornaments. It ends in a coaxing tone, telling women that they know they must be friends to their men, and that they must realise that their rights are in accordance with their duties.⁷¹

Fakir Baykurt presents a very positive portrayal of women sharing equally in every aspect of household activity in the novel Yılanların Ücü. Irazca is introduced as the head of the household, and her daughter-in-law Haçca is shown not only participating equally with her husband in working the land, but also directing the work which they do. The author avoids any suggestion of male domination in Bayram's relationships with either his wife or his mother; in fact his mother Irazca tries to dominate him. It is she who takes the initiative in the dispute with Haceli, and when she tells Bayram to go to work as usual and let her deal with Haceli he agrees. Later,

when Bayram decides to go and see the village headman about the dispute she manages to persuade him not to go. However, by the end of the book, when Irazca's management of the dispute has resulted in serious injury to Haçca, Bayram appears to have at last broken free from his mother's domination and holds firm to his own decisions. Irazca's character is developed as a dominating, stubborn and somewhat self-centred old woman, but she is nonetheless a loving mother who, despite her advanced years makes a positive contribution to the household economy by taking care of her small grandchildren and performing domestic tasks. Her strength and determination do not detract from Bayram's "manliness", for his compliance with his mother's advice is in deference to her age and respect for her as his mother. Likewise, the fact that he is willing to follow the recommendations of his wife in domestic and agricultural matters is put forward simply as a matter of mature and sensible co-operation. In other words, both Haçca and Irazca operate as individuals whose views and decisions are worthy of consideration and respect; their sexuality is irrelevant to their functioning in public life, and is seen to be irrelevant. Yılanların Öcü provides a refreshing portrayal of very ordinary women as active members of the household and the community. They are first and foremost human beings, and the significance of their sexual identity is confined to activities and situations where it is appropriate.

In contrast, the main female character in Kemal Tahir's novel Karılar Koşusu appears at first to be a serious professional woman, but is then made to degenerate into a despicable creature who allows her sexual proclivity to completely override all other considerations. The author introduces this character Şefika as an uncompromising,

strong-willed woman who is determined to be treated as an equal by her male colleagues in the prison where she has just been appointed as a warder. The reader is prepared for the male prison officers' reaction to Şefika's arrival by a brief comment stating their attitude to women generally:

...bütün cahil erkeklerde olduğu gibi "karı" ne olursa olsun, kendilerinden çok aşağı, akılsız, korkak bir mahluktu. Hizmetkardan da değersizdi. (p. 206)

(...like all ignorant men, these too thought that "woman", whatever she may be, was a stupid, timid creature, far beneath themselves. Even more worthless than a servant.)

The author explains that the previous woman warder had more or less corresponded to these notions, thereby reinforcing the men's prejudice. The first confrontation occurs very soon after Şefika takes up her duties; one of the men directs her to sweep the yard, but she refuses to be taken advantage of in this way. Angered by her refusal the man tries to insist that it is her job. Outraged, Şefika replies:

...sen karına mı kumanda ediyorsun? Herif, ben senin ne mal olduğunu bilmez miyim? Herif, sen babanın malını esrara verip içmedin mi? Herif, sen kerhanede, küçük Bedriye bir temiz döğmedi mi? Sen bana vazife öğretecek adam mısın, herif? Çekil... Çekil dedim... (p. 208)

(...do you think I'm your wife that you are giving me orders? You! Do you think I don't know what sort of a fellow you are? You! Didn't you spend all your father's money on drugs? You! Aren't you the one who got a thorough beating from little Bedriye at the brothel? And you think you can tell me my job? Get out! Get out, I said...)

The second confrontation quickly follows when another of the male warders asks Şefika for a glass of water:

...kendisini bir iskemleye atıp, masanın öte tarafında oturan Şefika'nın yüzüne bile bakmaya lüzum görmeden, "Şuradan bir soğuk su ver," dedi.... Şefika hanım da...yüzünü çevirmeye lüzum görmeden: "Senin babanın burada hizmetkârı yok..." dedi. "Neyi yok, benim babamın?" "Kalk suyu iç bir de bana ver. Kendin içmezsen az yer de bir hizmetçi tutarın.".... "Ben hastayım Şefika bacı", diye adeta yalvardı, "su vermek sevaptır. Malum ya hizmet Allah için..." "Allaha benim canım

kurban olsun... Sevabı senden öğrenecek değilim. Hastaysan hastaneye gidersin. Evden paraları çaldın. Gençliğinde götürüp orospulara yedirdin. Sen adam gibi bir adam olsan şimdi boyunca oğul yetiştirirdin. Gözünü aç Hacı İbrahim, ben anam karıya benzemem. Siz karı diye bana tepeden bakıyorsunuz, ama, ben sizi erkek it yerine evime uğratmam..." (p. 209)

(...throwing himself into a chair, and not even seeing any need to look at Şefika sitting at the other side of the table, he said: "Give me a glass of cold water"... Şefika replied, withough turning her head, "Your father doesn't have a servant her." "What doesn't he have, my father?" "Get up and drink your water and give some to me too. If you don't drink, and eat less you'll be able to afford to hire a servant."... "I'm ill Şefika," he pleaded, "it would be an act of kindness to give me water. The service would be to God." "May my soul be sacrificed to God! I'm not about to learn about acts of kindness from you. If you are sick go to hospital. You have stolen money from home and taken it to spend on whores in your youth. If you were a real man you would have sons as tall as yourself by now. Open your eyes Hacı İbrahim! I'm not like my mother. You look down on me because I'm a woman, but I wouldn't let you into my house in the place of a dog!)

Şefika thus asserts her indomitable position and shows the nine warders who pride themselves on keeping under control a mob of 350 assorted rogues and murderers, just how hard a nut to crack she is going to be. However, this promising portrayal of a self-assured professional woman is slowly replaced by the image of a woman of such voracious sexual appetite that she neglects both her work and her family in order to seek sexual satisfaction. Not only is the transformation distasteful it is also grossly exaggerated to the point of caricature, and remains totally unconvincing both in terms of literary skill in the portrayal and in terms of inexplicable contradictions in the material. While Şefika is portrayed as having an insatiable sexual appetite at this stage of her life (she is in early middle age) and her husband is unable to control her, in the early years of their marriage it was her husband who was in the habit of seeking satisfaction elsewhere.

Furthermore, the author suggests, through the words of Şefika's husband, that it is Şefika's entry into paid employment outside the home that lies at the base of her having forsaken her family and entered into extra-marital sexual liaisons. One cannot resist drawing the conclusion that the author is attempting, through this novel, to discredit working women in general and to strengthen the notion that women's entry into the work-force, since it necessitates contact with unrelated males, is bound to result in promiscuity, on the basis of the assumption that women are unable or unwilling to control their own sexuality.

Adalet Ağaoğlu, in her novel Ölmeğe Yatmak, gives a very different portrayal of a working woman. In an interview with Adalet Ağaoğlu she explained that she does not consciously concern herself specifically with women's problems but that she recognises the problems women face and she sees these problems as an integral part of the economic structure and patriarchal nature of Turkish society, as well as being bound up with the contradictions within society created by the policy of westernisation imposed by the intellectual and political elites on the masses. The main character of the novel Ölmeğe Yatmak is Aysel, a woman in early middle age who is a university lecturer. The author sets the growing consciousness and self-knowledge of her heroine Aysel against the background of current events and ideological currents as well as past events and teaching which have moulded Aysel into her present form. Aysel's awakening to the need to resolve her "feminine" with her professional self, and her achievement in bringing about a final fusion of these two elements serves to arouse the reader's awareness of the problems which may exist for educated women of the generation that grew up imbued with the ideology of the new

Republic but unable to liberate themselves from traditional attitudes and notions of their own or others. In interview Adalet Ağaoğlu confirmed her aim to be that of awakening the consciousness of her reader to the problems which exist, in order that the reader might be prepared to seek his or her own solution. In Ölmeye Yatmak Aysel is shown to be consciously resistant to the old order of female submission and male precedence, even with regard to her own father. She writes to her friend telling how her own father prevented her from speaking to her friend's father in an attempt to put him off his daughter's engagement, which Aysel knows she does not want to go through with. When her father pushes her to one side and makes her keep silent she reflects:

Demek ki ne yapsak bizim söz hakkımız yok. Ama ben bu durumlara boyun eğmek istemiyorum. (p. 100)

(So whatever we do we have no right to speak. But I don't want to submit to such conditions.)

She determines early on that she will go to university and will not be content in a role similar to that of her mother. At the age of 17 she resolves that with the benefit of a university education she will be able to be more useful to her country, and that thanks to girls like her Turkey's men will no longer be alone. But she meets with considerable opposition from her family. Her brother in particular pours scorn on her ambition:

Kadın kısmına okumak nereden çıkmış? Anandan mı gördün, nineden mi? Yarın lise bitince bir de Üniversiteye gitmeyi düşünüyorsan, nah gidersin! Babam bıraksa ben bırakmam. Oralarda okuyan kızların ne mal olduğunu şimdi çok iyi biliyorum ben. Üniversite öğrencisi adı altında bir yiğın yırtık orospu! (p. 196)

(Where did the idea of education for women spring from? Did your mother go to school, your grandmother? If you are thinking of going to university when you finish high school, I'll show you university! Even if father lets you go, I won't. I

know only too well now what sort of girls they are who go there. Passing themselves off as university students they are nothing but a crowd of shameless whores!)

Aysel adopts a deliberate strategy to avoid attracting her father's attention to herself in case he should decide that she ought to be kept at home until a suitable marriage partner could be found for her:

Babasının aklına getirmemek gerek. Ne büyüdüğünü, ne de hâlâ okumakta olduğunu. Bir bardak su istedi mi hemen fırlayıp vermeli. Ders çalışıyorum falan dememeli. Böylece kendini evin içinde yeniden unutturmak için elinden geleni yaptı. (p. 196)

(She must not remind her father either that she had grown up, or that she was still going to school. If he asked her for a glass of water she must jump up at once and fetch it for him. She must not say "I'm studying", or anything like that. So she did all she could to make herself forgotten at home.)

She even goes about in old clothes in order not to attract marriage proposals. But in the end she is asked for in marriage, and her father accepts on her behalf. However, rumours about her friendship with another boy reach the ears of her prospective husband's family, and the marriage is called off. This turns out to be Aysel's greatest stroke of good fortune for her father is now convinced that Aysel will never be able to marry and so she might as well continue her education in order that she will be able to earn her own living. She also meets with scepticism from her childhood friend Aydın, who seems to not want to believe that she is capable of becoming a "civilised", broad-minded and professional woman, preferring to imagine her in a domestic role.

On one occasion Aysel is given what seems to be a chance to prove her worth to her parents, when her brother has gone missing and for the first time ever her mother appeals to her for advice as to what to do:

Aile içinde ilk kez bir şey için fikri alınmak isteniyor... Artık kendine güveni olan kocaman bir kadındır... "Ben bulur getirin onu. Bir kardeşimiz oluyor derim.... Ama siz de babama söyleyin. Üstelemesin artık." (p. 213)

(It was the first time her opinion had been sought on anything within the family. Now she became a grown woman, with great confidence in herself. "I'll find him and bring him home. I'll say, I've a brother... But tell my father too. Don't let him fret.")

But her mother immediately dampens her pride, wailing that the boy is their only son, their only hope. Aysel's new-found confidence crumbles:

Aysel içinde onarılmaz bir kırıklık duyuyor. Yeniden evin kıyıda köşede unutulmuş bir eşyası olduğunu seziyor.... Eline geçen bu ilk fırsatı ne olursa olsun iyi değerlendirmeli. Kendisinin de bir kişi olduğu akıllarda yer etmeli. Yer etmeli... (pp. 213-214)

(Aysel felt an incurable brokenness inside her. Once again she felt as if she was a piece of household furniture left forgotten in a corner.... She must make good use of this first opportunity that she had been given. She must prove to them that she, too, was a person. She must prove it.)

This is a clear restatement of the author's own driving ambition to succeed, for she recognises her own urge to write as a result of her unconscious desire to say "I exist too!" in the somewhat male dominated and old-fashioned environment that she grew up in.

Another very poignant illustration of the hurdles to be overcome by any young woman struggling to be taken seriously and become successful in her chosen profession is provided in the novel by Aysel's reminiscences about her trip to France. She sets off confident that she has now matured into "a young girl of the Turkish Republic who has managed to append knowledge to her femininity". On the steamer to Marseilles she enters into a serious discussion with a young Turkish boy Metin:

Metin'in bütün fikirlerine akıllı akıllı, bilgili bilgili karşılıklar verebildiğim ve karşı durabildiğim bir sırada; öyle işte düşüncelerimi güzel güzel savunurken; öyle işte kendi gözümde yücelip dururken; soluk soluğa saha kalkmış bir kısrak gibi yücelirken kendi gözümde ve fikirlerimi dinlediğini, dinleyip düşüncelerimden etkilendiğini sanıp dururken, "Ne güzel dudaklar!" diye birden üstüme atlayışı!.. Neden bu denli yalnız koymuşuz erkeklerimizi? Niye inandıramamışız kendimize? (pp. 317-318)

(Just when I thought I could reply to all Metin's ideas with intelligence and knowledge, and could stand up to him; just when I was defending my ideas very well, when I was growing taller in my own eyes; rising like a panting, foaming, rearing mare in my own eyes and thinking that he was listening to my ideas and being affected by my thoughts, suddenly he leaps on top of me saying "What beautiful lips!" Why have we deserted our men so? Why have we been unable to make them have faith in us?)

Aysel's inner turmoil arises not only from the realisation that to a man her knowledge and intellectual ability may appear as nothing more than an intrusion on her femininity, an irrelevant appendage, but also from her own inability to reconcile her professional with her feminine self. The conflict within her is exacerbated rather than alleviated by her attaining the position of senior lecturer at university, and she increasingly suffers the contradiction between social expectations of her as a professional person and as a woman. A practical example of her dilemma is her inability to reconcile social activities with the seriousness of her work, so when she goes to have a pedicure she tells the girl to hurry:

Pedikürün ardından bir kokteyle davetliysem, alışverişe gideceksem, ya da akşama konuklarımız varsa bunları hiç söylemiyordum. Hep ciddi görevlerim olmalıydı. (p. 184)

(If I was going to a cocktail party after my pedicure, or going shopping, or having guests coming in the evening I never used to say so. All my activities had to be serious.)

The book is set in the morning of Aysel's recovery from her crisis of identity. She has reconciled her femininity with her intellectuality and is lying down alone in an hotel room preparing herself for re-entry into life as a fully integrated human-being, a woman liberated from the contradictions and conflicts which have inhibited her in the past. At the close of the book Aysel is emerging into a future based on self-knowledge and confidence.

In contrast, the heroine Ceren in Tutsak by Emine Işınsu sees her struggle as being against the encroachment of her marriage onto her self-expression. Although she is an accomplished artist she gains no stimulation from her domestic life and loses inspiration altogether when Tarık, a man with whom she had enjoyed a degree of intellectual intimacy, dies. Unable to bring herself to paint, and redundant in her role as housewife since a woman comes to the house each day to do domestic work, and even takes care of the children, Ceren's days are empty and purposeless. When she got up in the mornings "önümde pırıl pırıl açıliveren gün, bomboş sırttı" (the bright, shining day opening in front of me grinned at me vacuously) (p. 21). Ceren's solution is to divorce her husband, but there is no suggestion as to how this measure will in fact serve to provide Ceren with any purpose in life, nor indeed in practical terms how she will provide for herself and her children. She shows no intention of taking up paid employment, and does not even understand her friend Selma's desire to take up a job which will prove herself both to herself and to society. Selma is a much more positive portrayal of a thinking, responsible and independent woman. She tries to raise Ceren's awareness of the issues which she considers are involved in women's liberation:

Kadının başına bir sıfat takılmadan, dul evli, bilmem ne bok, yani erkeğe bağlı bir sıfat takılmadan; sadece insan olarak bir şeyler yapabileceğinin ispatı; yeteneklerimi, beni hiç tanımayan bir çevrede kullanabileceğinin ispat.... Korkak olmadığının, böyle erkekli bir sığata ihtiyaç hissetmeden, hayatımı kazanacağımın ve saygı görecekğimin ispatı. Gücümün, senin deyimimle çekiştirilip, eşşğılık düzeyeye indirilemeyeceğinin ispatı... (p. 198)

(The proof that you can do something simply as a human being, without a woman having some adjective tacked on, without having widowed, married, or whatever rubbish, I mean an adjective that relates you to men, tacked on; the proof that I can use my abilities in a circle which does not know me at all.... The proof that I am not afraid, that I can earn my living without feeling the need for such a male-related adjective, and that I can win respect. The proof that my strength will not be disputed and brought down to the level of inferiority.)

This concept of work as an expression of strength and independence remains at the level of an unfulfilled dream in Tutsak, but in Korsan Çıkmazı by Nezihe Meriç, Meli is depicted as a professional woman who derives great satisfaction from her work as a teacher. And yet Meli's ability to function both as a professional person and as a wife and mother is largely dependent on the complementary satisfaction her friend Berni derives from a life of domesticity and childcare, for it is she who takes care of Meli's child while Meli works. Although happy with her life, Berni does somewhat envy Meli her modernity and sees her own character as more suited to an earlier age; she feels uncomfortable with the thought that she is not fulfilling the role now being offered to women in modern society, which requires women to take on responsibilities beyond the family or domestic sphere. And so she tries to ensure that her day passes in a way that is useful both for herself and for those around her. Despite involvement in a satisfying career for one, and immersion in domesticity for the other, and despite both women's reciprocated love for their husbands and children, Meli and Berni both remain alone in their separate worlds. The steps

they have taken, entering a profession or absorption into domestic life, have not dispelled their isolation, but neither its cause nor its remedy are revealed in the book.

In Attila İlhan's characterisation of Suat in Bıçağın Ucu there is again a strong element of isolation in Suat's increasing inability to participate in her normal life. She escapes into a world of fantasy through reading French novels. Her detachment from life is shown to spring in part at least from the soul-destroying dull routine of household chores. She is afraid of becoming the type of house-proud woman whose horizons stretch no further than her domestic experience. Her reading is the sole means whereby she can seek to go beyond these narrow horizons; without her books she would be reduced to the state of many housewives:

...bir yandan kocasının kaprislerine, bir yandan ev işlerinin akmakça düzenine bağlı: çamaşır günü, ütü günü, büyük temizlik günü, kabul günü! Dehşetli yemek yapabildiğine, dolaplarını çekmecelerine tiril tiril tuttuğuna, banyoda iki gündür damlayıp duran musluk aklından çıkmadığına göre, belki olmuştu bile öyle bir kadın. Halim bir iskemlenin yerini değiştirecek olsa bozulan, camları bugün sildim diye adamın üstüne solumasına engel olan kimdi, o değil mi? (p. 35)

(...tied on the one hand to the whim of her husband, on the other hand to the senseless routine of housework: washing day, ironing day, grand cleaning day, visiting day! Bearing in mind that she could prepare delicious meals, that she kept drawers and cupboards in spotless order, and that she had not been able to get the bathroom tap which had been dripping for two days out of her mind, perhaps she had already become such a woman. Who was it who got upset if Halim changed the position of a chair, who stopped him breathing on the glass because she had cleaned it that day? Was it not she herself?)

Basically, Suat feels herself a failure, although she is unable to identify what it is she wishes to succeed at. She realises that the fault lies within herself, but does not know how to correct it. Finally she attempts to commit suicide, but cannot bring herself to

go through with it. The realisation of her own weakness and cowardice in this act awakens Suat to the façade of the life she has lead:

"...korkusunu, densiz bir gururluluğun arkasına saklayıp, herkes yukardan bakan!" (...hiding her fear behind a presumptuous vanity and looking down on everyone!) (p. 524). However, the solution to Suat's crisis of inner turmoil is shown to lie in the belated recognition of her husband's worth as much as in any new knowledge and understanding of her own lack of courage to live life as she really wanted to in the past. In contrast with the other urban, educated women undergoing a crisis of identity or suffering isolation within their close circle of family and friends Suat's way forward to inner contentment and self-fulfilment in life is quite clearly shown to lie within the context of her marriage, and to be dependent on her husband's continuing love and support as well as her new-found appreciation of his affection.

A number of works illustrate the difficulties which women face in trying to find a "respectable" job in order to support themselves. The criticism is directed against the system which pays women just sufficient to make it worthwhile to supplement the household income, but not sufficient to support themselves, and which therefore works against the single, divorced or widowed woman. The widowed mother in Füzûzan's story İskele Parklarında is 30 years old and has a seven year old daughter. She bemoans her age and skinniness, which will greatly reduce her chances of remarriage. She does not really want to marry again, but work is hard to find, her husband has been dead for some time and life has been a hard struggle alone. In Evlilik Şirketi by Bekir Yıldız the husband scorns his wife's belated desire to get a job: he tells her that her wages would be low and she would spend her money on luxury

consumption goods. He refuses to give her permission to work, saying that she should learn to use her head first, and think about the social order of the country, then she might work and make a useful contribution to society. But until then if she were to just stop spending money on luxury consumption goods he would consider her as working, and for a not inconsiderable sum! His wife is left confused and offended by her husband's evident contempt; she is the unthinking, conspicuous consumption-oriented woman that her husband is condemning her for being, but she has had no preparation to fit her for any other role in society.

In Aziz Nesin's play Tut Elimden Rovni Mela's participation in her husband's work is essential to his continuing success. However, while for Rovni work is the driving force of his life, Mela lives for her as yet unfulfilled dream of becoming a mother. When she finally loses all hope of realising this dream because of the abortions she has gone through in order to continue to partner her husband in his work, she also loses her purpose in life. Mela has sacrificed her life-purpose for the sake of her husband. Whether or not this is intended as a positive illustration of the belief that the dominant partner's talents must be put to their most effective use for accomplishing his particular life's work, at whatever cost to the other partner, is not clear.⁷² Certainly the balance achieved, and the casting of the male as the dominant partner are very relevant to the suppression of the woman's identity and personality within marriage in Turkish society.

Sevni Soysal, in her book Yenişehir Bir Öğle Vakti, describes a number of single women whose oppression persists **although they earn their own** living.

For example, Mehtap is a young woman who works in a bank to support her parents, but she has no control over the expenditure of her own earnings; her father squanders her hard earned cash on rakı while Mehtap has only sufficient money for her fares and other essential items. The story of another woman, Aysel shows how she has been pushed inevitably into prostitution as a child, since she is the unwanted product of an incestuous union. She sees her work as a simple solution to the struggle to survive, but then she meets Ali who tries to raise her political consciousness and encourages her to join the fight against the system which has forced her into this life.

Sevgi Soysal makes a very explicit statement of her belief that women's problems are subsidiary to the reconstruction of the whole socio-economic system. Her mouthpiece is the young politically active student Ali. Passing by a building site he points out one of the workers to his girlfriend Olcay:

"Şimdi buna kadın erkek eşitliğinden sözemenin anlamı var mı baci?" demişti. "Ya da bunun karısına? Bir ev dar geldi miydi önce duvar yıkılır. Yeni ev yapılıns bakalım bir, bacasını sonra düşünürüz." (p. 197)

("Now is there any point in discussing male-female equality with him? Or with his wife? If a house becomes too small, first you knock down the walls. Let's first build a new house, then we'll think about the chimney.")

Other works selected from this period deal with the practical problems of rural women's struggle to achieve autonomy and self-reliance in life. Pembe Kadın by Hidayet Sayın presents a determined, stubborn old woman who has brought up her daughter single-handed and runs the family farm with her help. Pembe lives by a firm code of honour and meets threats against herself or her daughter with indomitable courage and

steadfastness. She has held responsibility for her daughter's welfare and honour since she was a small child, and she has by now become considerably autocratic towards her daughter over the question of her marriage, because she cannot approve of marriage in the absence of the girl's father and strongly dislikes the prospective groom. However, her stubborn refusal even to consider her daughter's wishes results in tragedy, perpetrated by herself. Just as the daughter Kezban in Pembe Kadın is a tragic figure whose single rebellion against her mother's authority results in her own death, Sultan in Sultan Gelin by Cahit Atay is also tragic, even though she does not meet with sudden violent death. Sultan is equally deprived of any means by which to help herself or shape the future of her own life, she sees no alternative but to bow her head to her fate.

The last work to be considered is Güngör Dilmen's play Kurban. This play makes a strong statement against that quality of resignation which characterises the behaviour of the young girls portrayed in Pembe Kadın and Sultan Gelin. The heroine of Kurban, Zehra, refuses to resign herself to her fate; she stands fast against the other women's attempts to placate her and persuade her to accept her husband's decision to take a second wife. She is firmly convinced of the justice of what she believes and will not be swayed by the other women's arguments:

1. kadın: Üstüne kuma gelen ne ilk ne son kadınsın sen.
 3. kadın: Yasası böyle kurulmuş erkeklerce.
 Kadınlar: Erkeklerce.
 Zehra: Başka bir yasa var benim yüreğimde, onu izleyeceğim.
 2. kadın: Binlerle Karacaörende binlerle kadının yazgısı bu, sen mi değiştireceksin?
 Zehra: Nice çöğaltsanız örneği boş. Bana aykırı. Binler hin, ben birim... (p. 80)

- (1st woman: You are not the first woman to have her husband take a second wife.
 3rd woman: The law has been made like that by men.
 Women: Yes, by men.
 Zehra: There is another law within my heart, I shall follow that.
 2nd woman: This has been the fate of thousands of women in thousands of Karaca^hrens. Are you going to change it?
 Zehra: No matter how many examples you give, it is in vain. It means nothing to me. Thousands are thousands, I am one.)

The old woman Halime, who leads the group of women, realises the strength of Zehra's determination to resist the force of destiny, and she foresees the significance of Zehra's action for all the oppressed women of Anatolia. Zehra's determination does not waver, even when her husband returns with his new bride and her wedding party, and the village headman tries to use the weight of his authority to gain entry into her house. In answer to his insisting that she should comply with tradition and the law Zehra replies that her own law governs within the four walls of her home. However, ultimately Zehra is powerless to affect the course of events, and as she realises this her own course of action becomes more and more inevitable. She has tried to use the lives of her two children as a bargaining power against her husband, but to no avail. She has shamed the young bride in front of her husband and her own village people by making her dance in public, but also to no avail. In deep despondency she bemoans the state of the world, that it is not fit for her children to live in, and so she does not want her daughter to grow up to be a woman, nor her son to grow up to be a man in such a community. At last she becomes so sickened with despair and so desperate to maintain her integrity as a wife, a mother and a woman in charge of her own home, that she is forced into taking the most terrible and irreversible action. Too

late Mahmut decides to send the new bride and the wedding party away, rather than risk the lives of his children. By the time the men of the wedding party have broken down the door Zehra and the children are already dead. The author does not mean to imply justification for murder in this play, but the dramatic effect of this tragic end serves to reify Zehra's incontrovertible rejection of any compromise on her essential being and identity. This is woman's ultimate sanction: by destroying her children she destroys herself, and so it is inevitable that she takes her own life; but in destroying her children she also destroys all that her husband has gained from her: she removes herself and the produce of their union from the man who has so wantonly devalued that union and her womanhood; she destroys the evidence of his manhood and leaves him impotent.

A final comment which should be made on this play is the universal applicability of its basic theme which is against the exploitation which women are liable to suffer in any male-dominated society. However, the play offers no solution to this problem, it simply illustrates it, for in the author's view there is no solution to the problem of women's oppression within the parameters of present society but only in the complete reorganisation of the economic system and in education. There is certainly no intimation to the effect that women might successfully come together for solidarity or supportive action, for in addition to the "traditional" competition between two women for one man, the female chorus is shown as a disunited group offering conflicting and often negative advice to Zehra, rather than support and understanding for her struggle.

In this final period the emergence of women as socially and economically independent individuals is shown to be not necessarily dependent on their role; and the right of all women not to be forced to compromise their integrity, to control their own lives, including their sexuality, derives support from both male and female writers. However, the threat to male authority and domestic order presented by women's entry into outside employment is still feared. This fear is based on the realisation that as women gain economic independence the question of their remaining faithful to their husbands inevitably becomes a matter more of choice than of necessity as in the past. Thus, while working women may be portrayed as naturally promiscuous once external constraints over their sexuality have been removed, there has also emerged in recent years a number of more carefully analysed female characters who are shown determined to maintain control of their own lives to an extent previously only enjoyed by men and unquestionably responsible only to themselves in their decision whether or not to enter into sexual activity. This development receives particular attention from the women writers of the period, who present female characterisations with which their women readers can identify. The urban educated women who read serious novels can recognise in the inner struggles of the fictional women their own struggle to find their identity and gain self assurance. They can gain comfort in the knowledge that others too are struggling to resolve the dilemma of trying to reconcile their femininity with their non-sexual role. The women authors, while providing the vehicle for a sharing of experience, and increasing their readers' awareness of the anomalies in women's lives do not take the course of advocacy.

The single and most dramatic champion of women's rights among the authors whose works I have selected is Güngör Dilmen, with his play Kurban. In this work the gulf between the legal provisions relating to women's lives and the realities of life as endured by many women deprived of the protection of the law by male domination, at both the individual and the community level, is sharply drawn. The work is a most dramatic plea to both men and women to recognise women as equal partners in marriage and as individuals, with as much right to self-determination as men.

NOTES

1. Günseli Üzkaya, Tutsaklıktan Özgürlüğe Kadınların Savaşı, (1970), p. 360, and Pervin Esenkova, "La Femme Turque Contemporaine: Education et Role Sociale" in Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes XIV, (1951), p. 264.
2. This compares with 28 per cent of boys (Fusun Tayanç and Tunç Tayanç, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), p. 128).
3. Ibid., p. 132.
4. İbrahim Yasa's village study carried out between 1945 and 1947 records that a considerable number of parents did not send their daughters to school because they thought that the teachers were "dangerous"; in Hasanoğlan - Socioeconomic Structure of a Turkish Village, (1957), p. 188.
5. Pervin Esenkova, "La Femme Turque Contemporaine: Education et Role Sociale" in Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes XIV, (1951), p. 264.
6. Geoffrey Lewis, Modern Turkey, (1974), p. 122.
7. Fusun Tayanç and Tunç Tayanç, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), p. 111.
8. Ibid., p. 111.
9. There were 2.5 million men in agricultural work in 1927 (Günseli Üzkaya, Tutsaklıktan Özgürlüğe Kadınların Savaşı, (1970), p. 390) and 2.8 million in 1935 (Hamide Topçuoğlu, Kadınların Çalışma Saikleri ve Kadın Kazancının Aile Bütçesindeki Rolü, (1957), p. xii).
10. There were 1.6 million women in agricultural work in 1927 (Günseli Üzkaya, Tutsaklıktan Özgürlüğe Kadınların Savaşı, (1970), p. 390) and 2.7 million in 1935 (Hamide Topçuoğlu, Kadınların Çalışma Saikleri ve Kadın Kazancının Aile Bütçesindeki Rolü, (1957), p. xiii).
11. In 1927 the number was 8,656 (ibid., p. xvii).
12. For example, the İş Bankası had 86 women employees out of a total of 155 in 1930 (Pervin Esenkova, "La Femme Turque Contemporaine: Education et Role Sociale" in Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes XIV, (1951), p. 273.
13. Ruth Frances Woodsmell, Women in the New East, (1960), p. 38.

14. Tezer Taşkıran, Women in Turkey, (1976), p. 59.
15. Ibid., p. 56.
16. Ibid., p. 63.
17. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women in Turkish Society: Seminar Report", (16-19 May 1978), p. 37.
18. Halide Edip Adivar, "Women's Part in Turkey's Progress" in The Opencourt XLVI, (1932), p. 355.
19. Ibid., p. 358.
20. Cahit Kavcar, II. Meşrutiyet Devrinde Edebiyat ve Eğitim 1908-23, (1974), p. 259.
21. The first women students were admitted to the Faculty of Law in Istanbul in 1921, and there were just four of them, (Tezer Taşkıran, Women in Turkey, (1976), p. 89).
22. Peyami Safa, Kadın - Aşk - Aile, (1978), p. 14.
23. Ruth Frances Woodsmall, Women in the New East, (1960), p. 38.
24. Ibid., p. 40.
25. Füsun Tayanç and Tunç Tayanç, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), pp. 150-151.
26. Turkey was still predominantly an agricultural country with 83 per cent of the total workforce employed in agricultural work during the years of the Second World War, and at this time women comprised 47 per cent of the total workforce, with 81.5 per cent of women of over 15 years of age economically active (Gülten Kazgan, "Türk Ekonomisinde Kadınların İşgücüne Katılması, Mesleki Dağılımı, Eğitim Düzeyi ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Statüsü" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 157).
The actual number of women employed in agriculture was greater than the number of men: in 1955 for every 100 male workers in agriculture, agricultural management, and as stewards, there were 112 women, and almost 96 per cent of female labour was employed in agriculture - mostly as unpaid labour (Hamide Topçuoğlu, Kadınların Çalışma Saikleri ve Kadın Kazancınının Aile Bütçesindeki Rolü, (1957), pp. xiv-xv).
According to Füsun Tayanç and Tunç Tayanç in 1950 80 per cent of the economically active female population was working without pay and this figure rose to 90 per cent in 1965. These women were, of course, mostly rural; in Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), pp. 118-119.
27. Behice Boran, "İş Bölümü ve Kadının Sosyal Mavkii" in Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi III (1944-45), pp. 301-308.

28. Paul Stirling, Turkish Village, (1965), pp. 125-130.
29. Ibid., pp. 100-118.
30. Attendance figures for 1950-1951 at the Akşam Kız Sanat Okulları were over 21,000, while in the same year over 400 mobile courses toured the country, providing courses to about 10,000 women, (Turhan Oğuzkan, "Kadınlarımızın Eğitimi" in Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu - Aylık Konferanslar 1953-1964, (1967), p. 9).
31. The percentage of girls graduating from Middle School who entered vocational schools dropped from over 43 per cent in the 1945-46 school year and almost 46 per cent in 1950-51 to just over 20 per cent in the 1958-59 school year, (Andreas Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey, (1966), p. 281).
32. In the town of Bodrum, in 1958, 25 out of 49 girls graduating from a primary school went on to secondary school, compared to 46 out of 53 boys, and yet the girls showed a higher rate of achievement in school than boys. Fatma Mansur attributes the phenomenon of high female achievement at primary level partly to the segregation of the sexes in practically all social aspects of life, which favours girls for achievement at school; this is because girls have nothing to do but study when they come home from school, apart from a little housework, while boys are free to go out and play and are subject to a variety of tempting distractions, (Fatma Mansur, Bodrum, A Town in the Aegean, (1972), pp. 144-145).
33. Füsün Tayanç and Tunç Tayanç, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), pp. 128 & 145.
According to Perihan Onay's figures for the courses held for adults in Halk Derhaneleri (People's classes) men and women were almost equally successful in obtaining literacy certificates (just over 1 in 3) but the number of men attending far exceeded the number of women: in the academic year 1953-54 only about 1 in 15 students was a woman; in Türkiye'nin Sosyal Kalkınmasında Kadının Rolü, (n.d.), p. 186.
Mobile courses lasting five months were organised for the villages, to teach domestic subjects to girls and women, and the 55 courses held between 1938 and 1943 attracted over 2,500 students, (Pervin Esenkova, "La Femme Turque Contemporaine: Education et Role Sociale" in Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes XIV, (1951), p. 264.
34. Peyami Safa, Kadın - Aşk - Aile, (1978), pp. 23-24.
35. Ibid., pp. 179-182.
36. The increase from 1945 to 1955 alone was 75 per cent in secondary school girl students and 98 per cent in university girls. Meanwhile the number of women in work requiring a specific level of education rose from 8,656 in 1927 to 51,593 in 1955, an increase of less than six-fold, (Hamide Topçuoğlu, Kadınların Çalışma Saikleri ve Kadın Kazancının Aile Bütçesindeki Rolü, (1957), p. xvii).

37. Hamide Topçuoğlu, Kadınların Çalışma Saikleri ve Kadın Kazancının Aile Bütçesindeki Rolü, (1957), pp. 3-20.
38. Ibid., p. 27.
39. Ibid., p. xiv.
40. Alparslan Türkeş, Temel Görüşler, (1975), pp. 340-342.
41. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Intergenerational Change Among Turkish Women", (1978), Table 9 & p. 6.
42. See Oya Çitçi, whose survey finds that out of 79 married women included in the survey 13 were working despite disapprobation, and only 6 out of 71 unmarried women were going against the wishes of their fathers and families; in "Women at Work" in Turkish Public Administration Annual No. 2, (1975), pp. 167-191.
43. A report published in 1975 and based on the 1965 census figures shows that while women made up 38 per cent of the active population in 1965, 94 per cent of these women were working in agriculture (compared with a figure of only 58 per cent of active men working in agriculture), and a high proportion of female agricultural workers were not paid a wage. The report cites the figures for the province of Adiyaman, where 97 per cent of female agricultural workers were found to be unpaid family workers, (Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği, Türkiye'de Kadının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu, (1975), pp. 53 & 65.
44. Nadia Haggag Youssef, Women and Work in Developing Societies, (1974), p. 101.
45. Ibid., p. 106.
46. In weaving industries 18 per cent of women were family workers, 50 per cent were working on their own account and only 31 per cent were wage earners, (Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği, Türkiye'de Kadının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu, (1975), p. 65.
47. Women's wages have varied between 71 per cent and 93 per cent of men's average wages over a number of years, ibid., p. 62.
48. Deniz Kandiyoti, "Sex Roles and Social Change: A Comparative Appraisal of Turkey's Women" in Signs III, No. 1, (Autumn 1977), p. 66.
49. Ferhunde Özbay, "Türkiye'de Kırsal/Kentsel Kesimde Eğitimin Kadınlar Üzerinde Etkisi" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abaden-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 201.
50. Peter Benedict, Ula, An Anatolian Town, (1974), pp. 169-171.

51. Peter Benedict, "Aspects of the Domestic Cycle in a Turkish Provincial Town" in Mediterranean Family Structures, J. G. Peristiany (ed.), (1976), p. 236.
52. Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women" in International Migration Review XI, No. 1, (Spring 1977), pp. 52-53.
53. See Jean Gardiner, "A Case Study in Social Change: Women in Society" in Patterns of Inequality, (1976), p. 74, where she writes, in the British context: "Women who have experienced learning and have formed the ability to think critically will be the ones to question and resist the social expectation of intellectual subservience to men".
54. While 11 per cent of non-agricultural workers in Turkey are women, the number of Turkish women working in Germany brings the total figure up to 18.8 per cent, (Gülten Kazgan, "Türk Ekonomisinde Kadının İşgücüne Katılması, Mesleki Dağılımı, Eğitim Düzeyi ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Statüsü" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 160.
55. Nermin Abadan-Unat, "Turkish External Migration and Social Mobility" in Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives, Peter Benedict et al (eds.), (1974), p. 378.
56. Nermin Abadan-Unat found that 10 per cent of women, compared with 17 per cent of men spoke good or fluent German, while 18 per cent of men and 35 per cent of women spoke little or none; in "Turkish External Migration and Social Mobility", ibid., p. 385.
57. The results of a village survey carried out in 1968 show that over 40 per cent of villagers were content with primary school education for their daughters, or less, while only about 3 per cent of villagers considered this sufficient for their sons; the figures varied little between male and female respondents, (Ahmet Tuğaç et al, Modernization in Turkish Villages, (1974), p. 288.
58. A survey of women between 15 and 49 years of age revealed that those who had graduated from primary school were only half as likely as the non-graduates to think that education was not necessary for girls, (Ferhunde Özbay, "Türkiye'de Kırsal/Kentsel Kesimde Eğitimin Kadınlar Üzerinde Etkisi" in Türk Toplumunda Kadın, Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), (1979), p. 209).
Another survey, among lise students, found that 86 per cent of girl students and only 59 per cent of boys thought lise education necessary for girls, (Andreas Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey, (1966), pp. 257-258).
59. In 1970 the overall percentage of girls attending primary school was 58 per cent, compared to 72 per cent of boys, (Füsun Tayanç and Tunç Tayanç, Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın, (1977), p. 128.

60. Tüm İktisatçılar Birliği, Türkiye'de Kadının Sosyo-Ekonomik Durumu, (1975), p. 68.
61. Results of a survey of lise students show that the parents of 92.5 per cent of the girls had an urban background, compared with only 76 per cent of boys' parents, (Andreas Kazamias, Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey, (1966), p. 278.
62. Mary-Jo del Vecchio-Good, "A Comparative Perspective on Women in Provincial Iran and Turkey" in Women in the Muslim World, L. Beck and N. Keddi (eds.), (1978), p. 494.
63. Tezer Taşkıran records an incident which illustrates the separate identity that may be ascribed to professional women. She had gone to speak to a village audience, and afterwards a woman of the village got up to speak about village affairs. The village men, who had listened attentively to Tezer Taşkıran's speech, showed a great deal of contempt and impatience for the village woman, even though nothing she said was stupid or prejudicial to the men. When one of the men complained to Tezer Taşkıran that the woman should know her place and keep quiet, she pointed out that she herself was also "a mere woman" and so if the village woman had no brain simply because of her gender, then neither could she have one. To this the village men uttered horrified denials - as far as they were concerned Tezer Taşkıran was completely different; in Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları, (1973), p. 173.
64. Lloyd A. and Margaret C. Fallers, "Sex Roles in Edremit" in Mediterranean Family Structures, J. G. Peristiany (ed.), (1976), p. 254.
65. Mary-Jo del Vecchio-Good uses the term "neuter role" to characterise this mode of behaviour among Turkish women in professional life; in "A Comparative Perspective on Women in Provincial Iran and Turkey" in Women in the Muslim World, L. Beck and N. Keddie (eds.), (1978), p. 499.
66. Nadia Haggag Youssef, Women and Work in Developing Countries, (1974), p. 59.
67. Ibid., p. 34.
68. Hacer Hicran Göze's book Türk Kadını, (1978), makes the exaggerated claim that women, even those who are highly educated, read nothing but trashy novels, and that women's work outside the home is a negation of femininity, (pp. 49 & 56-57).
69. Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), Türk Toplumunda Kadın, (1979) in her own article "Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Kadını (1926-1976)", pp. 24-25.
70. The magazine has a circulation of 100,000, of which according to Tomris Uyar, resident journalist for Elele, about 75,000 are sold in the provinces, i.e. outside the three large cities of Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara. There is also, undoubtedly, a high incidence of

lending and borrowing which increases the readership many times over. The majority of the readership is made up of young women in their early twenties who are married and have a child, according to the results of a survey carried out by the magazine.

71. Elele, (Spring 1978), pp. 8 & 9.

C H A P T E R V I I

CONCLUSION

Having examined separately four different aspects of the portrayal of women in Turkish literature throughout the period of the Republic, I shall now try to draw out the main conclusions that emerge on bringing these four facets together.

In the first two decades of the Republic the pervasive Kemalist ideology subordinated all contradictions within society, whether of class, sex or ethnicity, to the struggle to create and establish the new nation as an "independent", "modern" and "western" nation. Great emphasis was therefore laid on the important role women could and should play in this task.

Women were encouraged to emulate emancipated western women and to enter the work-force; their contribution to the war effort was extolled and the need for their continuing efforts in working the land was stressed. However, women's entry into industrial production was hampered by the number of men returning to take up employment after years of soldiering. Another, and somewhat conflicting exhortation to women was that they should not neglect their traditional roles of wife and mother. These factors combined to present the ideal woman of the 1920s in Turkey as one who was educated and would be happy to use her education to further the good of the nation by teaching its children, while at

the same time remaining chaste and constant in her affections. Her own children and her husband would of course be immediate beneficiaries of her increased knowledge and understanding. However, the improved status, the self-confidence and the independence a woman might gain through her education and professional work were nonetheless no protection for her against the "improper" advances of an unscrupulous male, and women were still seen to be very vulnerable, although there were some attempts to break down the traditional barriers separating men and women in social and public life.

In the private, domestic sphere women gained considerable advances in their legal position, but in practice male supremacy persisted in the household, whether in the role of husband, father or brother. Opportunities for women to gain economic independence through paid employment were not only rare but also inaccessible except to those women whose fathers or husbands gave such an enterprise their consent and encouragement.

As far as the portrayal of women in the literature of this period is concerned, images of the "ideal" woman of the time provide clear endorsement of the contemporary Kemalist ideal, and can therefore be seen as more or less conscious attempts to encourage popular approval and acceptance of "modern" or "western" characteristics such as mild frivolity or youthful gaiety by embedding them within myriad traditional virtues such as constancy, chastity, innocence and modesty. There is no such innovatory approach, however, to the more delicate question of female sexuality, or the concept of honour and shame; in such matters as these, and the portrayal of women in family relation-

ships the writers of the period adhere closely to the status quo. Divergence in the manner of presenting women in paid employment in the works of this period illustrates the ambivalence in attitudes prevalent at the time. In particular, the examples of women in paid employment portrayed in the works I have selected present an indication of the connection between acceptance of women working outside the home and vocational work which can be seen as an extension of traditional female roles. Rural women, who work unpaid on the family farm, do not, of course, present a contentious issue, and portrayals of such women tend simply to illustrate the respect and recognition due to them, without touching on questions of social or economic independence, education or political rights. Consideration of such matters in the rural context was still academic during these years.

In the years following the introduction of the multi-party system in Turkey the effects of this very important political development began to permeate the whole of Turkish society: the new importance of the peasant vote, and similarly of the female vote, focused attention on these two much neglected and oppressed groups. Those who seemed to be the most severely disadvantaged and subjugated of all, of course, were the peasant women, and the need for these women to emerge from their assigned inferiority, ignorance and powerlessness, and to fit themselves for their new role as enfranchised citizens is reflected in the literary works of the time which condemn excessive passive resignation, submission and compliance in favour of active participation in community and social affairs, and even in some instances in portrayals of women as initiators and leaders in community or social action and rebellion.

Even the less adventurous characterisations of women in the works I have included from this period suggest that, while still in need of protection from male advances, actual physical control and restraint imposed on a woman herself should more appropriately be replaced by guidance and education from the man responsible for her. Allied to this shift in attitude is the consideration given to the spiritual purity as well as physical chastity in women. Overall, while traditional values pertaining to female characteristics and behaviour still prevail there is a deeper analysis and more careful evaluation of those characteristics and behaviours. This links naturally with the rationale for enfranchisement: if women are to be granted the power to vote then they must be recognised as being capable of making rational decisions and taking responsibility for their actions. In the domestic sphere, however, men were not ready to relinquish their power as head of the household and the socialisation of young girls in preparation for their future subordinate role of wife does not seem to have changed significantly for the majority of the female population. It is worth noting at this point that successful marriages in the literary works of the period which I have included appear to be those based on mutual affection and respect, and a complementarity of roles no longer based on the subordination of the female to the male. Moreover, female submission in marriage may even be presented as a negative factor in the marital relationship.

Marriage as a source of companionship, in line with the Western ideal, is now more favourably treated than traditional views of marriage. But traditional views still persist, seeing marriage as a means of improving social status or material comfort for a woman, or gaining

access to a woman's sexual, reproductive and labour services for the man. This trend seems to be an inevitable consequence of the gradual absorption of Turkey into the Western, capitalist, industrialised world, and is concomitant with the increase in wage labour and the spread of the nuclear family type in terms of accommodation and economic unit. It is interesting to note that the literary works included in this study seek not only to endorse the changes taking place within the family, but also to acclaim their inherent advantages rather than attempting to amplify or embellish the benefits of the old order.

A development in attitudes pertaining to women in paid employment is evident both in research carried out in the period and in literary works of the time: justification for female participation in paid employment is now sought in terms of economic need instead of vocational calling. Furthermore, the fear of harmful consequences following on women taking up employment outside the home now seems to have subsided in terms of the possible neglect of domestic and familial duties, although fear of promiscuity or dishonour arising from contact with unrelated males is still evident. The expression of these developments in the literary works of the period displays a certain equanimity with regard to the system whereby men maintain both social and economic control over their wives and daughters even though they earn an income, so that women's work in fact poses no threat to the status quo since it does not provide women with the means to independence. The only threat lies in the increased exposure of women to unrelated men who cannot be trusted to behave honourably outside the traditional, much more closed, village or tribal community.

The last two decades have seen a relentless consolidation of the image of women as parasites, irresistibly lured to the habit of conspicuous consumption. Even formal education has been **accused of fitting women** more for the role of consumer than that of producer, and the level of political consciousness among the mass of women has therefore remained at a very low ebb. Frustration, as well as genuine concern for the apparent apathy and general ignorance among women with regard to social, economic and political affairs, becomes very evident in the literary works of this period, especially in the works by women authors that I have included.

Expression of the need for women to become a positive force for change in society has developed from the examples of idealistic young women going out to rural areas to educate the future generations of the nation, which were encountered in works of the first decades of the Republic, through dramatic images of mature village women taking roles of leadership within the village community to fight injustice and oppression being perpetrated against the village as a whole, during the 1940s and 1950s when village themes seem to have been especially popular, to the severe criticism in works of the last two decades of women too absorbed in the ethos of conspicuous consumption to be aware of, let alone concerned for, the serious social, economic and political issues of the day. The implication of this criticism is that women have become so involved in trying to solve their own individual personal problems that they are neither ideologically nor practically prepared to participate in the wider struggle.

A number of the works of this latest period by both male and female writers has shown a major concern with the personal struggle of individual female characters to find their true identity. These characterisations are of course of urban, educated women: those who experience most acutely the dilemma of having to reconcile personal femininity with successful performance of a professional or intellectual public role. It is, after all, really only in the past two decades that the possibility of women gaining complete social and economic independence through paid employment has emerged as a real enough phenomenon for it to be seen as a direct threat to male authority and domestic order and harmony. And it is both as a function and a cause of this phenomenon that women have begun to voice their determination to be allowed to reap the benefits of economic independence in terms of autonomy and liberation in social, political and personal spheres. While both the proponents of these ideas and the beneficiaries of them are mostly urban educated women, considerable attention has also been focused on the needs of rural women for recognition of their rights and more equitable treatment in both literary works and scholarly texts of the period.

In conclusion, it is clear that there is no single discernible trend or bias in the portrayal of women in modern Turkish literature. One of the most significant changes for women in Turkey since the 1920s has been their increasing participation in public life and this has brought the most divergent response in the literary works of the Republic. Some authors have used their works as a vehicle to warn of the danger of disruption and damage to society as an outcome of women's entry into paid employment and subsequent liberation from male control. Such

authors, basing their argument on the complementarity of male and female, are able to dismiss the concept of equality; they may credit their female characters with intelligence, and they may avoid showing them to be inferior in any absolute sense, but they depict women as quite hopelessly incapable of functioning satisfactorily in the "men's world" of work without putting their "women's world" of family at risk, either through neglect of domestic duties, or through wanton indulgence of their sexual desires.

On the other hand, some authors have portrayed women endowed with great courage and determination and even with qualities of leadership, as an inspiration and encouragement to women to fight for recognition and acceptance of their rights or to take on active roles outside the domestic sphere. Others have sought to encourage women in the same direction by adopting the opposite approach and portraying the abject misery and futility of life endured by women who submit passively to exploitation and oppression.

A theme shared by most of the women writers, but not confined to them exclusively, is a concern for the problems created for women personally by participation in public life within a society which is still characterised by the dominant male ideology relegating women to the domestic sphere. In the earlier works of the Republic this concern is focused on the censure women were liable to face if they took on an active public role within the community, whereas later works concentrate on the inner conflict created within women by the difficulty in trying to integrate the "feminine" with the intellectual, the professional or the "worldly" aspects of their personalities. Works such as these provide

characterisations with which women readers may feel they can most closely identify. Only one work emerges as a clear vehicle to champion women's rights: G ng r Dilmen's Kurban, which dramatically highlights the need for recognition and acceptance of women as equal members of society, and of their marriages. My final quotation, from this play, expresses symbolically the role which works of literature, and especially dramatic works, can play as an instrument of change for women; it is taken from the scene when the old village woman Halime realises that nothing will divert the heroine Zehra from her awful and tragic course of rebellion against a fate which so many other women would accept as their destiny:

Buġ n bir eyler olacak  yleyse. Bin, bin yıldır Anadolu kadının sustuġu  iġlik belki senin y reġinden fi kırır.
(pp. 80-81)

(Then something will happen today. That cry which for thousands and thousands of years the woman of Anatolia has stifled within her will perhaps spring from your heart.)

A P P E N D I X I

SOME OF THE WORKS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY WHICH HAVE BEEN SERIALISED
OR DRAMATISED FOR REPRODUCTION ON RADIO AND CINEMA FILMS

BROADCAST ON RADIO (according to the records held by Turkish Radio and
Television between 1967 and 1978)

Adıvar, Halide Edip	Vurun Kahpeye!
Asena, Orhan	Yalan
Baykurt, Fakir	Yılanların Öcü
Cumalı, Necati	Boş Beşik
	Mine
	Tütün Zamanı (later published as Zelis)
Füruzan	Parasız Yatılı
Güntekin, Reşat Nuri	Bir Kadın Düşmanı
	Çalikuşu
Gürpınar, Hüseyin Rahmi	Kadın Erkekleşince
	Meyhanede Hanımlar
Kurşunlu, Nazım	Merdiven
Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi	Huzur
Yaşar Kemal	İnce Memed

MADE INTO FILM (from Behçet Necatigil, Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü,
Istanbul, 1972)

Adıvar, Halide Edip	Vurun Kahpeye! (1949 and 1955)
Başkut, Cevat Fehmi	Paydos (1954)
Baykurt, Fakir	Yılanların Öcü (1962)
Cumalı, Necati	Boş Beşik (1955)
	Tütün Zamanı (later published as Zelis) (1959)
Karakurt, Esat Mahmut	Dağları Bekleyen Kız (1955)
Orhan Kemal	El Kızı (1971)

A P P E N D I X II

SELECTED KORANIC PASSAGES CONCERNING WOMEN

(Taken from N. J. Dawood's interpretation, Penguin, 1974)

Surah 2, Verse 223:

Women are your fields: go, then, into your fields as you please.

(p. 356.)

Surah 4, Verses 2-5:

Give orphans the property which belongs to them. Do not exchange their valuables for worthless things or cheat them of their possessions; for this would surely be a great sin. If you fear that you cannot treat orphans (orphan girls) with fairness, then you may marry other women who seem good to you: two, three, or four of them. But if you fear that you cannot maintain equality among them, marry one only or any slavegirls you may own. This will make it easier for you to avoid injustice.

Give women their dowry as a free gift; but if they choose to make over to you a part of it, you may regard it as lawfully yours.

(p. 366.)

Surah 4, Verse 34:

Men have authority over women because Allah has made the one superior to the others, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them. Good women are obedient. They guard their unseen parts because Allah has guarded them. As for those from whom you fear disobedience, admonish them and send them to beds apart and beat them. Then if they obey you, take no further action against them...

(p. 370.)

Surah 24, Verse 32:

Enjoin believing women to turn their eyes away from temptation and to preserve their chastity; to cover their adornments (except such as are normally displayed); to draw their veils over their bosoms and not to reveal their finery except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their step-sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their sisters' sons, their women-servants and their slave-girls; male attendants lacking in natural vigour, and children who have no carnal knowledge of women. And let them not stamp their feet in walking so as to reveal their hidden trinkets.

(p. 216.)

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