MUSLIM ‘FEMINIST’ WOMEN IN MODERN-DAY TURKEY: THE CHANGING CONCEPTUALIZATION OF BODY, INTIMACY AND SEXUALITY

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- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.



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ABSTRACT

Muslim 'Feminist' Women in Modern-Day Turkey:

The Changing Conceptualization of Body, Intimacy and Sexuality

The subject of this study is Muslim Feminist Movement in Turkey which became apparent in public sphere in 1987 for the first time, following many ups and downs, this movement nowadays takes an important space among women movement in Turkey. This study aims to reveal the movement's historical process and where it stands today, by comparing the first generation in 1987 and the new Muslim Feminist generation of today. It can be suggested that patriarchy adapts itself to new conditions in new ways. Therefore, struggling against this phenomenon is always a formidable mission for women. In today's world women advanced and diversified their ways of struggling with patriarchy. The Muslim Feminist movement is crucial to analyze, since this movement tries to struggle against both the traditionally accepted patriarchy and the modern patriarchy at the same time. In this study, I focused on these women's perceptions of their sexualities and bodies, since the patriarchal public reduces women into their sexualities, bodies as well as the private sphere. Accordingly, for the methodology, I examined the writings of these women, then I made in-depth interviews considering that these texts might not be enough. Finally, It's been understood that the first generation has started a movement bravely; however, the generation of today appreciates this but takes the level in higher ways of struggling and discussing.

ÖZET

Günümüz Türkiye'sinde Müslüman Feminist Kadınlar: Cinsellik, Beden ve Mahremiyet Kavramlarının Değişimi

Bu çalışma kendisine konu olarak Türkiye'deki Müslüman Feminist hareketi seçmiştir. İlk kez 1987 de kamuda görünürlük kazanan hareket, zaman zaman kesintiye uğrasa da güçlenerek ve büyüyerek bugüne kadar gelmiştir. Bu çalışma 1987 de hareketi başlatan ilk kuşak kadınlarla, günümüz Müslüman feministlerinin bir karşılaştırmasını yaparak, hareketin bu otuz yılda geçirdiği dönüşümleri ortaya koymayı amaçlamıştır. Ataerkillik, bilinen tarihleri boyunca ve bugün de hemen her toplumun ortak özelliğidir.Türkiye'de bir yandan geleneksel ataerkil biçimler devam ederken, bir yandan da modernleşmeye bağlı yeni ataerkil ilişki biçimleri ortaya çıkmaktadır. Müslüman Feminist Hareket, hem İslamın ataerkil yorumlarıyla pekişmiş geleneksel ataerkiyle, hem modern ataerkiyle mücadele imkanlarına sahip olmak bakımından önemlidir. Ataerkil kamuda kadının ikincil konumu; onun özel alana, bedene ve cinselliğe indirgenmesiyle gerçekleştiği için, bu çalışma daha çok, Müslüman feminist kadınlar üzerinde bu söylemin etkisine ve onların kendi beden ve cinsellik algılarına odaklandı. Yazdıkları kamuya açık metinler incelendi,bunlarda kendilerini sınırlamış olabileceklerinden, doğrudan odaklanılan konulara yönelik sorularla yüz yüze mülakatlar da gerçekleştirildi. Sonuçta ilk kuşağın oldukça cesur çıkışlarına rağmen, egemen ataerkilliğin kadın bedeni ve cinselliğine dair söylemlerinin etkisi altında oldukları; günümüz kuşağının ise onların açtıkları bu yolda daha bilinçli bir beden ve cinsellik algısına sahip olduklarıve kendilerini daha çekincesizbir şekilde 'feminist' olarak adlandırdıkları anlaşıldı.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1.A brief introduction to the thesis

I was raised in a conservative family. Actually, it was not an ordinary conservative one. What is meant by the term ‘conservative’ in the Turkish milieu is understood by means of the dominant political ideology of our time (AKP government). In the ideological sense in Turkish politics, it situates traditional and religious values at the center of the political atmosphere as a strategy to deal with modernity. Tanıl Bora describes such conservatism as: “Conservatism is a restoration ideology. It is not anti-modernist, it aims to discipline modernity with traditions” (2017). What I narrate here regarding my family is mainly related to their strong bond to Islam and traditions along with their support to the “nationalist” and “idealist” ideologies of the 1980s. They met each other in those years while they were working at the youth branch of MHP (Nationalist Movement Party). As they shared the same political ideology, they decided to get married as well.

However, when it comes to be a family, they could not maintain the ideological solidarity in their family life, and they decided to get divorced. I cannot remember how they shared their roles in our home life since I was 5 years old when they broke up. I just knew that my mother, during her marriage, began to search for Islamic references regarding the inequality between woman and man. The spreading feminist movement in those years became an important guide for her as well. What I know from that time is that she took my naked photographs when I was a baby as a reaction to the tradition of taking photographs of boy babies in order to show their penises. Also, at my first menstruation, she organized a party for me in order to

celebrate my process of becoming a woman. I remember how much I was ashamed in that party. So, my body in my babyhood and childhood was the most effective instrument for her feminist protests. In our society, probably (expectedly) those attempts were not welcomed by anyone.

While living through the gendered organization of life, I had many conflicts with my mother despite her revolutionist protests. Although she tried to perform a different kind of parenthood, she could not completely break her bond with traditions. I remember each time I asked a question regarding my body, she would get nervous and tell me that I need to talk about those things quietly. I think that my mother's contradictory approach to being a woman stemmed from her strong attachment to traditions while trying to perform a "modern", feminist motherhood. Also, her contradictory parenthood constitutes the main factor that led me to write this thesis. Besides my complicated relationship with my mother, the gender norms of the society and my own particular experiences of being a woman formed a central contradiction inside and outside of me. Judith Butler in her work *Gender Trouble* describes this concept as "sedimentation of gender norms":

> Consider that a sedimentation of gender norms produces the peculiar phenomenon of a "natural sex" or a "real woman" or any number of prevalent and compelling social fictions, and that this is a sedimentation that over time has produced a set of corporeal styles which, in reified form, appear as the natural configuration of bodies into sexes existing in a binary relation to one another. (1990, p.40)

My mother's contradictions seem to have arisen out of this kind of social fictions which occurred through the "sedimentation" of gender norms. I also experienced the difficulty of discovering my body between this contradictory relationship of inside and outside encounters to my body. The reflections of these sedimentations in my relationship with my mother also appeared in my later social life. For instance, in my

early childhood, I remember that I tried to reveal my gender with reference to different symbols because my hair was always short. While I was in the kinder-garden, I usually felt the need to show my "earrings" to my friends in order to use the "girls' toilet" which shows that my body was not a sufficient evidence by itself to prove my gender. The contradictions we were experiencing in the family were resuming in the society.

That kind of education was resumed in my later school experiences too. There were many interferences to my body, and I felt like everyone has the right to have an opinion about my body except myself. When I was at the middle school, some boys took my menstrual pad from my bag and they teased me by showing that in the class. My questioning of the menstruation process probably emerged at that time. The contradiction I had was that while my mother was organizing a party for my "first menstruation", my friends made fun of me because of it. While my body did not bother me in my family, there were always outside effects making me feel ashamed of my body. At that time, girls faced gender discrimination regarding their sexualities as part of gender norms according to which they were expected to wear, act and talk in certain ways compared to boys. Thus, it was inevitable to be not ashamed of your female body.

The feeling of shame is described in the work of Sara Ahmed called *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*:

> Shame feels like an exposure – another sees what I have done that is bad and hence shameful – but it also involves an attempt to hide, a hiding that requires the subject to turn away from the other and towards itself. (2004, p.103)

The experiences regarding our bodies are mostly established through the feeling of shame. Sara Ahmed, by referencing Sartre, describes shame as: "I am ashamed of my

body, as I appear to the other". I continued high school in a "girls' school" where there was no contact with the opposite sex. This helped me feel quite independent within my body at the school, because we did not appear to the "other". At the same period of my life, I experienced the first sexual harassment in my life when I was in public outside of school. When I was in public transportation, I was touched by a man under my skirt. Then, I started choosing longer skirts for going out in order not to be harassed, yet this was not enough for the society. I remember that I was really ashamed of my body at that time, I felt guilty and realized that I need to hide the conspicuous parts of my body in public spaces. I confronted this point also in my interviews with women, which I discuss in the final chapter of this thesis. In cases of sexual harassment, women establish a relationship between being visible and feeling ashamed, which shapes their image of the body in terms of the social fictions around them.

I spent all my life feeling the urge to balance my relations with the opposite sex because I was punished through sexual harassments in the society. The idea of "seducing men by only being visible is a sin" was spread over every aspect of my life -my movement across spaces and my encounters with others. In my university life, I was careful with my relations with men. Because my university had quite a conservative population, I felt oppressed because of being a woman. Some of the Islamist students were advising girls to wear headscarves if they wanted to be proper Muslims. What they were doing was reproducing the gender norms on Muslim female body again and again, which also includes being ashamed of their bodies. As a Muslim woman who is not wearing a headscarf, my experiences were quite different from women wearing headscarf. Male students who were talking through

the discourse of gender norms were not taking me seriously as a Muslim woman, because my appearance was not shaped by Islamic principles (veiling).

In those years, a striking event happened. The poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün' was published in the Reçel-blog (see Appendix A). I remember that I was really excited when I read that poem for the first time. It was telling something about my experiences that have resulted from the meeting of my sexual body with social norms.

> "Now tell me about my nature
> Which causing to be shamed and resistance
> Maybe my hands are the most shameless ones among the apples
> And my knees turning to you
> Make me believe to your sex's divinity
> Send me to the unconditional obedience[1]" (2014)

That poem caused a lot of debate; some were about the expressions and the others were concerned with the Muslim identity of the writer who was wearing a headscarf. Following these debates, I tried to do a social experiment by reading that poem to my friends at the university. I observed two different kinds of negative attitude towards the poem. The reactions of men were directed towards the 'sex' of the writer, which is basically related to her sexuality. This attitude is very similar to the case of a man's approach to a harassed woman in a public transportation by saying "she is asking for it". On the other hand, women were criticizing the writer because of her Muslim identity, which is also related to the feeling of shame as the writer was being 'apparent' with her poem as an improper Muslim woman. This was also probably fed

[1]Şimdi bana biraz fıtratımdan bahset
Utanca ve dirence sebebiyet
Elmaların en arsızı belki ellerim
Dizlerim sana yönelen
Beni cinsinizin tanrılığına inandır
Kayıtsız şartsız itaate doğru yolla
Nebiye Arı, 2014

by the settled position of judging each “veiled” or “unveiled” woman in terms of their attachment to Islam. Both of these two attitudes arise from the position of teaching someone his/her place by situating themselves to a more proper and elevated way of experiencing Islam.

There has been an undeniable effect of the poem on my process of determining the theme of this master thesis. It helped me to see the extent of common experiences we have as Muslim women who have similar stories regarding the process of discovering our sexual bodies by means of the given structure of the female body. I decided to compare women’s reflections on (their) sexuality, the construction of gender, and their experiences as feminist women ranging from one generation to another. I distinguished these two generations according to my experiences of the past and the present. My childhood and my recent experiences as a university student have been figurative of this divide between two generations. Building on my previous encounters with such a divide, I will be questioning the subjective positions of women that fluctuate between generations, through their approach to womanhood, in order to see how the experiences and the strategies regarding gender norms has been transformed.

I was predicting how it would be compelling for me to tell something regarding these matters, but I could not have known that much. At the first stage, I had so much difficulty in finding women to talk about the issue, especially women from the first generation. Most of them were very hesitant to speak to me and this made my work harder. This can be read again with reference to Sara Ahmed’s work;

> As Erik H. Erikson describes in shame: ‘One is visible and not ready to be visible’. To be witnessed in one’s failure is to be ashamed: to have one’s shame witnessed is even more shaming. The bind of shame is that it is intensified by being seen by others as shame. (2004, p.103)

The way these women form their bodily experiences in terms of shame leads them to be silent on the issue in order to preclude that kind of witnessing. I, as the "other", would pose a danger for these women's visibility. This was one of the most significant observations while interviewing these women. I could say that in each interview, I observed the shamefulness of women in various ways, sometimes apparent through their gestures, such as through an ashamed laughter, and sometimes through their choice to remain silent for a few minutes. Also, most of the time they asked for a promise for not revealing their real names in the writing of the thesis whenever they told me something very intimate about themselves. For the women who accepted to talk, our close relationship would be an important factor in the sense of sharing their stories with me. However, those who refused my proposal probably had much more defined borders and beyond my reach. Women of the first generation many times answered my questions during the interviews as "these are too intimate issues for me to talk". On the contrary, the women from the second generation seemed much more open to have an interview with me. They even did not demand to see the list of interview questions before we met.

Hence, the approaches of the women from these two generations have been transformed in a way from the 1990s to 2010s. In this transformation, the impact of social conditions is significant. Respectively, I will first identify the different periods in which this transformation unfolds through referring the Muslim women's acts upon the Muslim women issue. Secondly, I will review their experiences of gender norms in these two periods by using the analysis of the interviews in which their approaches to woman body and sexuality are discussed in detail in order to see their motivations for being included in the movement. So, my intention for this thesis is to discuss how the strategies of dealing with the traditional narratives regarding the

sedimentations of gender norms have been transformed among the different generations of Muslim feminist women.

1.2 Methodology

The first part of the methodology is based on the analysis of published articles written by Muslim feminist women from the two generations. First generations' articles are derived from the discussions in the newspaper *Zaman* at the end of the 1980s. That period was significant in terms of constructing a Muslim women's movement, which was maintained through a journal called "Ayça". Those women's stories constitute the main resources of my thesis as they help to identify their "subjectivity" inclusively. Also, articles from the second generation, which are mostly published in Recel-blog, will be analyzed to identify the transition between these two generations. These articles will also be used to compare their similarities and differences in terms of establishing a "subjectivity" as Muslim women towards the issue of woman body.

The interviews, on the other hand, would be useful for clarifying their positions within their experiences of different periods. Since the literature review is not sufficient for expressing these women's bodily experiences, as I will discuss, the interviews would be useful in terms of conducting their positions regarding the matters on their sexuality as well. I interviewed nine women; four of them from the first generation 1990s and five of them from the recent generation 2010s. While the literature review is useful in terms of clarifying the social conditions of the periods of both these two generations, interviews would be also substantial for underlying the motivations of these women in their struggle.

Within this framework, I will discuss by gathering the literature and the

interviews in order to clarify their struggle against the dominant male public in which women are expected to act in accordance with the gender norms. I used the term 'male public' with reference to Nancy Fraser's criticism of the Habermasian public sphere which tends to operate the advantage of dominant groups." Fraser also uses the term of 'subaltern counter-publics' in terms of identifying the struggle of groups which are excluded from the dominant public:

> I pro-pose to call these subaltern counter-publics in order to signal that they are parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter-discourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs. (1990, p.13)

However, Michael Warner re-defines the counter-publics in detail by criticizing Fraser's approach for re-producing the Habermasian "definition of rational-critical publics." Warner, who gathers publics and counter-publics as performative spaces which are originated in accordance with their own discourses, claims that:

> Counter-publics might not be organized by the hierarchy of faculties that elevates rational-critical reflection as the self-image of humanity; they might depend more heavily on performance spaces than on print; it might be that they cannot so easily suppress from consciousness their own creative-expressive function. (2005, p.113)

Hence, my intention for the thesis would be analyzing the conditions of the Muslim women's movement in terms of its constitutive strategy of their public while simultaneously it displays a discursive movement as well. In this context, I will examine how these two generations' struggle to produce and re-produce public, through identifying their discursive performance in reference to a "Muslim feminist woman subjectivity". By this regard, I intend to theorize and reveal the stories of how they first encountered with the traditional discourses of femininity and the strategies they use to struggle with these discourses for both of the generations.

CHAPTER 2

MUSLIM FEMINIST WOMEN OF 1990S

> *In an incredible way, historically they legitimated oppression and desire. The desire of men was considered as part of his creation. Rebellion of the women was something taught. Yet, we could talk with each other. We could live, act, and agree. If the God's purpose of creating woman were that, would the Prophet have gone to Hz. Hatice from Hira? While there were numerous honorable and clever men of the Kureyş, would he ask "cover me" to a short-minded woman? (Toros, 1996, p.42)*

In this chapter, I analyze the main discussions and their reflections that made the issue of 'Muslim Women' a point of debate for the first time in Turkey. I observed that the concern for Islam, feminism and tradition constitute the main themes that are discussed in these groups. What is meant by tradition in that context, is the traditional patriarchal interpretations of Islam and traditional patriarchy. Islam, on the contrary, is referred through the verses in Quran and accurate(sahih) hadiths. In the case of feminism, there are various tendencies among these women, in which some of them embrace feminism because they do not see any contradiction between feminism and Islam, while some of them consider feminism as contrary to Islam. However, they all agree upon the idea that there is need for a re-construction of Islamic discourses through women's point of view. Hence, by using the texts and the interviews, I will examine these women's approach to sexuality and body as they took place in these discussions in a public space that they try to produce by revealing their subjectivities.

2.1 Discussions among Muslims: The newspaper of *Zaman*

In this section, by taking the discussions on the newspaper *Zaman* in 1987 as the starting point, analyze basic references given by Muslim intellectuals regarding the woman issue, and its relation to Muslim women's positioning themselves for embodying a 'Muslim women subjectivity' through the articles that they published. These women are struggling for having a space in the Muslim public sphere whereas this public has its own 'settled' social fictions about being Muslim and woman. I argue that Muslim women are involved in those discussions in order to establish a counter-public in which they seek to embody the 'Muslim women subjectivity' through their experiences with gender norms within the Muslim male public. Thus, these discussions are substantial for identifying the strategies of Muslim women for struggling with ‘gender norms’ and their attempt for embodying a 'Muslim woman subjectivity' outside to purview of the male public. For this part, it is important to consider the rising situation of Islam as a political ideology in that period. Therefore, the position of Muslim women from the first generation need to be accounted in terms of their relation to political Islamist ideology which opens an area for those women to perform their Muslim subjectivity in the public life.

In 1987, discussions arose because of the article of Ali Bulaç, which was titled “The short mind of feminist women”.[2] Bulaç, who was a popular and prestigious figure as a Muslim intellectual in the Islamic milieu, represented a ‘settled approach’. This approach appeared through the social fictions regarding women in his article, which is still a prominent approach in today’s Turkey. Bulac in his article develops an argument based on his understanding of feminism by claiming

[2] “Feminist bayanların kısa aklı”

that “feminism is an occupation calling women to riot against men”. Besides his position as a Muslim intellectual, Bulaç examines the ideology of feminism in its relation to his general imaginary of Western ideologies. By taking feminism as a part of the discussions between West and East, Bulaç criticizes feminism from an Eastern “sociological perspective”. According to Bulaç, while in our society “men and women share the same bed”, feminism would be a challenge against this “partnership” in terms of convincing women to the idea that they are used by men as slaves. Accordingly, Bulaç defines the inequality between woman and man as a great lie which would be used by feminism in order to influence the ‘concrete’ positions of men and women in Turkey. This approach probably originated from the fear of the decadence in the institution of family, which is defined as the basic cell of the society. For that reason, he maintains his position throughout the article by pointing to feminism as the reason behind spreading homosexuality all over the world. I think, this is also related to the idea of family where women are only bounded with their roles of motherhood and wifehood.

In the last part of his article, Bulaç points to another issue regarding feminism. Through its body politics, Bulaç claims that feminists are not capable of supporting Muslim women because of their approach to veiling. He concludes his article with the following sentences:

> Where are the feminists who support freedom and human rights for women? Let’s say women are willing to be slaves when they wear headscarves, shouldn’t they have the right to choose to be slaves in a world where it is assumed that everything is determined by human will? No, wearing headscarf is not slavery, on the contrary, it is a way of freedom and a noble revolt against this horrible modernism which intent to kill all humanity.
>
> Feminist ladies, your minds are short and it’s in the clouds.

He conceptualizes headscarf as “a way of freedom and a revolt against modernity", and he claims that feminism is against the idea of veiling in terms of its

function in restraining (the visibility of) female body. This is crucial to coming arguments in this thesis as well, as I will show in the following parts of this chapter, the veiling practice in Islam is actually criticized by feminists from a similar standpoint to Bulaç's interpretation. Furthermore, Ali Bulaç defines feminism solely as an Islamophobic ideology. Despite his 'professional background' in the Islamic religion (i.e. his identity as a theologist), he does not prefer to make his arguments through Islamic references. His basic strategy is protecting 'Muslim women' from the perceived danger of feminism as a Western ideology. Bulaç re-produces patriarchy through adopting the idea that women are in need for men's protection which constitutes the social fiction by Islamic discourses developing mostly from its traditional interpretations.

In a similar vein, Yusuf Adıgüzel, in his article "Women: Security Deposit of the Future"[3], describes women as creatures who need to be 'protected and cared', by referring to their 'weakness' by nature. In order to support his idea, Adıgüzel defines women's position through Islamic discourses that argue that women need to be protected because of their precious position in Islam. Parallel to that idea, headscarf is also considered as a part of this protection of women from the 'evil eyes'. According to Adıgüzel, women's bodily appearance should also be part of that protection. Additionally, similar to Ali Bulaç, he refers to feminism in terms of its opposition to Islam. Likewise, he maintains his ideas by talking behalf of women:

> Our woman is pleased by her position. She knows that her only duty is to be a mother to her child and a wife to her husband. Valuable things are worth protecting. Because woman is so precious, she should be protected in the rarest spaces of the house like a treasured vase and she should be kept away from social life as much as possible for her femininity not to be damaged.

[3] "Geleceğin Teminatı: Kadın"

Bulaç and Adıgüzel's way of using the words of 'our women' and 'our culture', reconstitutes the idea that women need men's protection, which is mainly derived from patriarchal discourses of the tradition. In the patriarchal discourse, gender norms are constituted through the concept of family in which women's responsibilities and nature are assumed to be interconnected in order to make a coherent argumentation regarding women. That is why both writers base their articles mainly on the concept of family. So, the family is a very useful concept to explore the positions of Muslim women in terms of their relation to private life. Women, in that sense, are defined in terms of their reproductive feature which, in turn, positions women as the foundation of family on the basis of their 'motherhood'.

Kamla Bhasin (2003), in her study of "Patriarchy"[4], identifies the function of the mothering concept in relation to maintaining patriarchy:

> The patriarchal system does not content itself in terms of forcing woman to be a mother, it also decides the conditions of mothering. This mothering ideology is seen as one of the bases of the "oppression" for the woman. This is because, this ideology produces the models of woman and man that perpetuate the patriarchal system and intensifies the division between private and public. It also restricts the freedom and development of women's movement and re-produces the idea of patriarchy. (p.5)

So, Adıguzel and Bulaç take on the patriarchal discourse by establishing their arguments by appealing to the family as the place for women. Dicle Koğacıoğlu (2007) in her study of 'honor killings', considers the foundation of family in terms of its function of reproducing the traditions in which women are defined by the patriarchal ideals (p.128). In the Turkish modernization process, the foundation of

[4] Patriarchy: According to Gittins (1991, p42. Türköne) who puts the family at the center of the patriarchy, "patriarchal norms are spread naturally in families, but they are not only peculiar to family. The effect to each stage (politics, economics and ideologies) of the society. However, these are including a social order which is originated especially by the power of the 'men', and foreseeing the woman, child, and all of the subalterns as dependent to them.

family has been always defined through its relation to women. Feyza Akınerdem (2019), with her conceptualization of 'Turkish family regime', defines the institution of marriage, "which is formed and debated within the regime of the family in Turkey, depends on the preservation of inequality as the norm, which puts men (as breadwinners) and women (as caregivers) into vulnerable positions from different respects." (p.11) So when we look at the articles of Ali Bulaç and Yusuf Adıgüzel, we see the reflections of controlling the space of woman through the family institution.

Against the framework that is represented in these two articles, Muslim women formulate their own responses against the ideas of Muslim men. These reactions mainly arise from three important reference points: tradition, Islam and feminism. On the one hand, some women embrace feminism because they do not see any opposition between feminism and Islam. On the other hand, some women make references to Islam from a position that is distant to feminism. However, all of them share the idea regarding women's secondary position in the male public, and they seek to establish counter arguments regarding the women issue that is basically shaped through the patriarchal framing of traditions. In other words, while those women refer to feminism in terms of relating it to their movement, they mainly make a distinction between tradition and Islam in order to criticize the patriarchal approach to women.

Because of the previous articles that has targeted feminism, Mualla Gülnaz in her article "The things that Ali Bulaç made me think"[5], prefers to begin with her interpretation of feminism. She mainly provides her story through her feelings on the

[5] "Ali Bulaç'ın Düşündürdükleri"

first day of publication of the ‘feminist journal’. This journal attracted her so much, because she hopes to find herself in this feminist struggle:

> That day, I learned that it will be published in the honor of Women’s Day. My heart was beating so fast while asking for the magazine called “Feminist” at the dealers. My belief “For sure they will have good contents” was mixed with my hope “Inshallah they will have good contents”. I was worried, curious, having all those mixed feelings. I wanted to get to know who they are, I was thinking that their heart was broken, disappointed and sad but at the same time they were brave women who were aware of the disadvantaged people in the society and didn’t accept the fact. And definitely, they were very smart!

This point is important for considering the effect of feminism in these discussions. As it will be analyzed in the following parts, feminism has a beneficial function for Muslim women to develop their approaches to the social fictions that are fed by Ali Bulaç and Yusuf Adıgüzel’s ideas. Gülnaz, in that sense, supports feminism which is used in the article of Ali Bulaç as ‘Islamophobic ideology’ through giving examples from the journal by claiming that feminism does not have any problem with ‘veiling’ or ‘Islam’. However, Gülnaz’s idea would be changed by the reactions by feminists, as we will consider in the following part.

> The patriarchal oppression is a whole another matter of fact in addition to the capitalist or socialist or technological oppressions. Our history and culture are also quite fed by this oppression. The suggestion that our history and culture was not affected by this oppression is a big lie.

Gülnaz gives detailed descriptions regarding the dominant Muslim public by emphasizing its construction through 'patriarchal oppression'. She criticizes the idea of dehumanization of feminism, suggesting that Muslims firstly need to question the reasons behind feminism, which she points as the 'patriarchal repression'. This way of conceptualizing the issue could be seen as a part of these women's effort for separating Islam from tradition in order to protect their Muslim identity as well. While they highlight the importance of the transformation in the male public, they

basically refer to the traditional practices of religion, which is settled to each part of their lives, especially through the institution of the family:

> The fathers who pride on their seeds, should share the responsibilities with women, schools and kinder gardens should increase, women's conditions of working should be re-examined. Moreover, the problem of abortion has also easier solutions such as that the men who praise their sperms can pay more attention.

Against the emphasis on family life where women are constructed only through their reproductive feature, Gülnaz expresses a counter argument by reminding the idea that "men are also responsible in this reproduction process". While the Muslim public restricts women based on their 'mothering' role that establishes the boundaries of the private space, Gülnaz questions the excluded position of public men from the private sphere. This is quite important for describing the women's position who aim to establish a public in which reproduction and family were not defined with only reference to fertility feature of the woman sexuality. I think that Gülnaz's expression of 'the fathers who pride on their seeds' need to be considered with its relation to those women's approaches to their bodily practices, in this context.

Tuba Tuncer, similar to Mualla Gülnaz, criticizes Bulaç's claim that women did not suffer like Western women in "our history and culture" in terms of the implementations which take place through traditional values:[6]

> Women might not have been forced to work in the factories like slaves, however they are forced to work in farms with their kids tied behind their backs (in addition to kids waiting at home) for day-long hours. They are being sold in return of bride prices. In contrast to the Islamic school of thought, they are not asked for their opinions while they are forced to get married. The logic of "long-hair, short mind" has inspired our writers. Moreover, while all these are being done, Islam is referenced (especially in Anatolia).

[6] "Kimin Aklı Kısa?"

By referring to a certain kind of tradition -arranged marriages- Tuncer questions Islam in order to identify its approaches to this kind of traditions. Tuncer questions the dichotomy between tradition and Islam in order to address the impact of 'patriarchal' interpretations of Islam, which is settled as 'social fiction' in the form of such 'traditions' in the Turkish society. Like Gülnaz, Tuncer also attempts to protect her Muslim identity by dissociating Islam and tradition. Tuncer maintains her article by emphasizing feminist women's approach to the female body:

> Feminists are against the sexual harassment of women as sexual beings, in contrast to the suggestions of the writer. He would also have seen the fact, if he had looked at a one or two books in the literature. But he himself must be regarding women as sexual commodities, since he is worried that women will leave the beds of their husbands. Yet, the main discussion of women is not even sharing or not sharing their beds with their husbands. Women are struggling for existence, equality, and for a life which is humane.

Through revealing the position of the feminists regarding women's sexuality, Tuncer also challenges the idea of women as sexual objects, by giving examples from Ali Bulaç's article. Additionally, Tuba Tuncer argues that women's struggle against patriarchy, demands an approach in which women are not considered by their sexualities. Similarly, to Mualla Gülnaz, Tuncer also establishes discourses by both referencing feminism and making a distinction between tradition and Islam. Following the attempt of those women for separating Islam from traditions, Halime Toros's article is also significant in order to show how these women are re-telling their experiences of the patriarchal traditions. Besides her distinction between Islam and tradition, Toros also distinguishes between feminism and Islam[7]:

> In a patriarchal society, the woman has to be confined with the rights which are endowed to her by men, and there is no rational reason behind it. So, the feminist movement, is a struggle for establishing themselves as 'human' to the men who are monopolizing the world, or to be able to live by themselves, alone…

[7] "Feminist Kime Derler?"

After giving a description of the patriarchal society, Toros reveals the purposes of the feminists by arguing that they are demanding to be human. This argument is important for these women since in Islam they see the reflection of that idea of humanization, as Toros considers that as:

> So what about us? While God includes all the believers without dividing them as man or woman in all addresses in Quran, our Prophet in his last speech addresses Muslims as ‘humans, believers, my companions’. So we do not have to prove ourselves as humans to anyone.

By referencing Islamic resources, Toros argues that in Islam women do not need to put effort to 'provide' their humanity, because it is already given by Islam. So Toros by taking distant position to feminism compared with Gülnaz and Tuncer, argues that the demand for a 'Muslim women public' would be handled through taking Islam at the center of those discussions. She also emphasizes the importance of the division between tradition and Islam, in which she also highlights the effects of 'patriarchy' in the processes of constituting the traditions:

> Islam and tradition are being confused, we are confusing them. We could not organize our relationships in family life as proper Muslims, maybe the Muslim men just as the Bektaşi, apply the disciplines of Islam which are benefiting them, while not taking the ones that they seemed as not beneficial for them, maybe because they forget to take off the glasses gifted to them by the patriarchal ideology once upon a time.

Toros's approach to the women issue is mainly constituted through her references to Islam. According to Toros, the issue emerged from the Muslims' inability to apply Islamic principles in a proper way. She suggests a perspective that is very much accepted among the other Muslim women writers as well. While what really Toros meant by 'constituting a proper family life' is not clear, she basically establishes an essentialist approach to Islam which requires to have a 're-reading' of the resources and practices. According to Toros, this point of view would already give the solution

formulas for the transformation of patriarchy in the Turkish society. In short, Halime Toros establishes her discourse through mainly giving references to Islam in which, according to her perspective, there is no such kind of patriarchal representations of the gender norms.

2.1.2 Further Articles

After publishing various articles, there was an increase in the numbers of the women who were also discomforted because of this 'settled' patriarchal way of living Islam. Standing against discourses produced by Bulaç and Adıguzel, Muslim women began to search for their representation in the Muslim public. With this purpose, they started sharing their ideas on the matter by taking different concepts into consideration. As Ali Sali who is included in the process of publishing those articles points out "sexual identity is gained in the end of a social process"[8]. He further suggests to "discuss the base of this social process, in terms of how much it is originated through Islamic criterions, and how much it is causing a fascism which is constituted on the images of 'power and body'".

Ali Sali's attempt to emphasize the role of Islam in that kind of social process basically derives from the criticisms that these Muslim women get from the Muslim community. These criticisms are based on interrogating the position of these women in terms of their relationship to Islam. In short, those women are *reacted as if they are the betrayers of Islam,* which leads them to have many/multiple references to Islam in their articles. While Bulaç and Adıgüzel present a woman figure who is 'responsible' towards her family as a result of her need for protection, these women

[8] "Davaya ihanet edenler"

establish their counter arguments through giving reference to the foundation of family and motherhood.

Tuba Tuncer, in her article "Women, again women"[9], describes “the importance of mother's role in the child's development process, as a social fiction”. Opposite to that idea, Tuncer claims that "the child who grows up alone with the dense care of the mother in the house, would show the characteristics of being irresponsible, selfish, and asocial″. She criticizes the traditional approach to motherhood, which is the basic component of patriarchy for attaching woman to the private life. In order to highlight motherhood in terms of Islam, she describes the opportunity of 'wet nursing' which is given by Islam to each woman. Tuncer, by referring to the Islamic practices, takes a position against the criticisms that are occurring in the name of Islam.

Gülnaz, on the other hand, criticizes this traditional approach to motherhood by separating Islam from the other holy religions[10]. "When it comes to our 'motherhood', we are not interested with the ideas of Tevrat and the Bible in which the birth is seen as a punishment. According to our belief, the woman who dies during birth, would be martyr″. Gülnaz's approach to 'motherhood' as 'privilege' becomes prominent as she is adopting the discourse of ‘holiness’ of motherhood in Islam. However, she refuses the traditional approach that consider woman as 'weak, and indigent to protection', and she constitutes 'womanhood' as an 'association' among women, which is formed through their common silences.

> The pain of the birth and the motherhood are benefits of the silent relationship among the women and making them see the world in a different manner. This way of looking is a social, mature and patient one. If we are weak and naive (also short minded and lacking religiosity) creatures, why is

[9] “Kadınlar yine Kadınlar!”
[10] “Biz Kimiz?”

> the most important and difficult task of raising a child commending to us? How come those precious vases, which need to be hided in the most secret corners of the house, do not break in front of the huge laundries and dishes?

In this part Gülnaz reveals the contradictory approach of "holy mother" and "weak natured" woman in traditions. While Islam considers "motherhood" as a holy duty, Gülnaz asks how this kind of holy duty is given to the weak natured women. In this way she aims to disclose the contradiction between Islam and traditions. Also, against the patriarchal approach of motherhood, Gülnaz draws a new way for understanding of motherhood by considering it as the common 'pain' among the women.

Hatice Çağlar, similar to Gülnaz, highlights this contradiction regarding motherhood, by saying "Islam, does not position the key of the heaven under the feet of mother without any reason. This shows the importance of women"[11]. While Çağlar reproduces the discourse about 'holiness' of motherhood in Islam, she also questions its reflection to the patriarchal approach to private life. These women's views are important for seeing their intention for distinguishing tradition from Islam. While Islam is defining the importance of woman through her ability of being a mother, the patriarchal public restrains the woman in 'between four walls' in which women are considered as only responsible of the 'house-work'. Giving an example from the Prophet, Çağlar reminds Muslim men's responsibilities in the private life as well, by pointing to the embodiment of the figure of a Muslim man, as a counter discourse to patriarchy.

Moreover, Gülnaz[12] questions the position of woman in Islam by referring to events in the history and hadiths. By emphasizing the violence against women, she

[11] "Eteklerimde Yığınla Taş"
[12] Cont. to the article of "Biz Kimiz?"

criticizes approaches towards the woman body through Islamic discourses. Also, Gülnaz reminds women to be aware of the patriarchal way of defining the woman's bodies, and calls women to refuse that approach because she argues that the female body would not be restricted to her sexuality.

> Someone needs to say "stop right there!" to men who are beating women by ignoring the hadith of "not beat the woman who are the creatures of God". What to do with us-the women submitting everything- and the companion women who are standing among the men in a Mosque to make Hz.Ömer silent, working in the trade, or asking men to marry? Women in this society, are made to degrade to the situation in which they called their bodies as their 'subsistence'.

This is critical for understanding these women's approach to their bodily practices. As they refuse patriarchy by means of its approach to women, they also constitute a discourse in which their sexuality and body are defined by themselves. By taking the examples of the articles written by Mualla Gülnaz and Halime Toros, we could see their intention for criticizing the existing situation of the woman's bodies. Through Newal al-Saddawi's novel "Women at the Zero Point", Toros describes the women's situation in a marriage within the example of prostitution:

> Both in Earth and in the Heaven (!) in a world in which the men pull the strings, the cost of being free and demanding freedom, passes from 'prostitution'. It is a conscious preference. And it is claimed that all the women would be claimed as the prostitutes either in this or that way, in a patriarchal society.[13]

This phrase might be one of the most radical discourses of the time. Because marriage is defined as a 'holy' institution which is also related to the idea of family, criticizing the position of the woman in marriage through the concept of prostitution, would get a lot of reactions, as it does in that time. From a similar perspective, Gülnaz defines the position of women in a traditional family as "obligator of providing all the needs and services of man"[14]. According to Gülnaz, in a traditional

[13] "Kadın Sıfır Noktasında mı?"
[14] "Yolun Sıfır Kilometresinde"

family in which women are expected to fulfill the sexual needs of men, their position in that marriage could only be defined as being the 'prostitutes' in that relationship. As a conclusion to these discussions, Muslim women took the advantage of sharing their demands through referencing different concepts related to those discussions. Through the articles written by Ali Bulaç and Yusuf Adıguzel, Muslim women reveal their position by making a distinction between Islam and traditions. Because their common experiences regarding patriarchy arise through the traditional practices that do not coincide with Islamic principles, they aim to establish discourses on the subjectivity of Muslim women by making references to Islam. Their suggestions are mainly derived from their view of Islam in which they believe that women's rights are already given. Because their discussions take the form of a reaction to Muslim intellectual men's articles, Muslim women permanently express themselves by addressing the issues provided in those articles. Accordingly, their struggle is not capable of separating itself from the approaches to Muslim public that they struggle against. Even though some of them are influenced by feminism, they did not define themselves as feminists. However, they all share the idea of re-reading Islam in order to have a place for themselves. Yet, in terms of opening space for having those discussions, those women's reaction against the articles of Muslim intellectual men can be considered as the very beginning of the process of constituting a Muslim women's public, which is still an important area of struggle for Muslim women in Turkey.

2.2 Discussions among Feminists

In this part, I review the discussions among the feminists of the time, because their encounter with Muslim women signifies various important points for Muslim women of the first generation. Before going through the articles written by the feminists of that time, I need to specify the discussions about the 'feminist subjectivity' in order to clarify the approaches of these women in relation to the feminist movement. Feminism has been an matter of controversy in terms of its boundaries for a long time. Today, even though there are many ideas regarding the issue of subjectivity in feminism, that basically arises from the post-colonial approach to feminism through the 'representation', it has begun to be discussed among different genres of the feminist movement in detail. According to those discussions, there is a tendency among feminist women who began to question the reflection of the women that are represented by feminism, in terms of considering the diversity within the feminist discourse.

Lila Abu-Lughad (2002, p.789) for instance, within the term of ‘colonial feminism’ with reference to Leila Ahmed (1992), criticizes the feminist approach in which the subaltern women are positioned as in the need of ‘saving’ as:

> When you save someone, you imply that you are saving her from something. You are also saving her to something. What types of violence are entailed in this transformation, and what presumptions are being made about the superiority of that to which you are saving her? Projects of saving other women depend on and reinforce a sense of superiority by Westerns, a form of arrogance that deserves to be challenged. (2002, p.278)

In this context, Sara Ahmed’s question of what kind of futures are imagined by feminists, and what kind of orientations towards the future exist for feminisms crucial in terms of addressing Abu-Lughod’s point, since Ahmed also highlights the importance of encountering with 'others'. As she points out,

> It is through particular encounters we have with this other, as the one whom I am presented or faced with, that we open up the not yet, as the possibility of being faced by other others. It is this facing that ties the 'not yet' with a past that is living in the present. (2002, p.559)

According to Ahmed, our encounters with others in the present produce our future. Each encounter is beneficial for us to constitute a future in which "the world is organized and engender new ways and forms of living". Because, through our encounters, we would be able face the others' conditions of being other. So, Ahmed claims that even if it seems to be impossible to face others today, it would be an indicator of what is not yet seen.

Through considering Sara Ahmed's suggestions to feminism, I would like to claim that feminists' encounters with Muslim women of 1990s constituted today's Muslim feminist movement which is going to be analyzed in detail in the following chapter. While the feminists of that time, seemed as aiming to distinguish themselves from the Muslim women's discourses through referencing the contradictory points between Islam and feminism, there were substantial discussions which point out the 'future' Muslim feminist movement from that time.

Following the debates in the newspaper of *Zaman*, the journal *Nokta* published an issue titled "feminists with Turban(headscarf)"[15] in which they placed the interviews with those Muslim women. Because the issue of *Nokta* basically formed the discourse regarding the movement of those women, by a 'journalistic' way of sharing those women's ideas and experiences, those Muslim women are represented as the producers of a 'scandal' event among the Turkish public. However, this issue is significant as it reflects a lot of discussions in which the secular feminists in Turkey are also included. While Muslim women appeared as the

[15]Nokta Dergisi "Türbanlı Feministler"

main actors of the debate in the issue of *Nokta,* secular feminists were also asked to evaluate those Muslim women's positions. For instance, Yaprak Zihnioğlu (1987) who describes herself as closer to those Muslim women for being in solidarity with in feminist movement, highlights the significance of the movement for its future. "The generation of today is politicized and has something to say. There will be others to be included in this generation. And those might be the driving forces for reforming Islam."

Similar to Sara Ahmed, Zihnioğlu also points to the importance of the movement in terms of its reflection on its future generations. Although she shares her idea on how those women's attempt is difficult in terms of struggling against religion, she believes that this attempt would be the beginning of transformation in the prevalent Islamic discourses. Yaprak Zihnioğlu, in that sense, could be considered as producing a 'hopeful' approach regarding those women. There are also others who establish a 'hopeless' approach by pointing to the 'impossibility'.

After the movement's appearance in *Nokta*, Muslim women's discussion regarding the issue of women became much more apparent to the public, as well as to the feminist circles. While there were numbers of feminist willing to meet those women, some of them published articles in different journals in order to evaluate their position. According to them, those Muslim women's attempt for discussing feminism in terms of Islam could not be possible, and they reacted against those women's attempt from a 'feminist' perspective.

Feminists' approach to the Muslim women issue is important for my argument especially for drawing the general picture of feminism of the day. Muslim women of the time faced double exclusion in which they were criticized both by Islamists and feminists. Besides their struggle with the men who are pioneers of the

debate, some of the Muslim women preferred to struggle to find a space for themselves in feminism, while some of them remained distant. For the women from the first generation, this had an important impact in defining their movement as it is explained through the interviews that I had with them.

The first article, titled "Women issue in the agenda of Muslims"[16] was written by Sedef Öztürk in 1988. Öztürk, by giving reference to the articles published in the newspaper *Zaman*, argued that these Muslim women suggest Islam as a solution to the women issue. However, she criticized them by arguing that they were not capable of giving a proper argument regarding that. By taking the existing political environment of that time, Öztürk draws a general frame of the "Islamicizing" project after the coup of September 12, and she criticizes the contradictory approach among Muslims regarding the system of the Turkish government. According to Öztürk, the Muslim followers of the government were struggling for a government based on the sharia law. From that point, Öztürk discusses her opinionon the rising Muslim women movement as following:

> The thing that I can say, as a feminist, to the women who are willing to wear headscarf, “You should have the right of organization regarding any kind of issue and headscarf, but everyone else do.” That’s it. The thing that I actually talk with you, is different. Have you ever thought of the issue of contribution of veiling to the women’s oppression, or confining their sexuality into reproduction?
> The meaning of having a dialog with Islamist women for me is to tell the concepts of feminism and its methods of struggle; how Islam could not be a solution to the women issue; discussing the common points of our oppression and sharing our experiences about being a woman.

From Öztürk’s explanation, we understand that Muslim women's appearance leaves a strange impression on the feminists of that time. Their approach regarding Islam and religion also reflects their approaches regarding those Muslim women. However, this

[16]“Kadın meselesi İslamcıların gündeminde”

approach would be understandable considering the existent political environment at that time as well. Yet, their position regarding "cultivating those women", could not be read separately from the position of the Muslim men who are, in their encounters with those women, adopting a similar approach. So, Muslim women's struggle of embodying a Muslim women subjectivity became an issue both for the feminists and the Islamist male public. Feminists, in that sense, basically prefer to take 'Muslim women' as an issue to debate in a similar vein to Islamists.

Another article is published by Gül in the journal of *Kaktüs* with the title of "both Muslim and feminist"[17]. Gül provides a feminist approach to those Muslim women's struggle, from a very similar position with Sedef Öztürk. Yet, Gül reveals a much more detailed frame of the issue with her references to Islamic resources (hadiths and verses). Accordingly, she highlights the impossibility of Muslim women's attachment to feminism as:

> As I understood from the women who came to talk with us in the Tuyap book exposition, there is a group of veiled women who really believe that they can be Muslim and feminist at the same time. Some of them, for example Cihan Aktaş, believe that this is not possible. It's not up to me to decide on everybody's feminism and Muslimhood. However, according to my readings on this subject and my readings of Islamic resources after that, I believe that real Muslim women can't be feminists. Some Muslim women say that, salvation for women is in Islam and there is no need for movements like feminism. I think these women's point of view is clear and understandable, but the others who say "We are both Muslims and supporters of women's rights, we believe there is need for struggling for women's rights" is a little bit complicated.

Gül argues that feminism cannot be merged with Islam. She gives Cihan Aktaş as an example, who thinks feminism is not necessary in her struggle for women's rights, because Islamic discourse would be sufficient for doing that. In line with Aktaş, Gül argues that the position of a Muslim woman claiming that she will struggle for the

[17]"Hem mümine, hem feminist"

rights of women as a feminist, while she is defining herself as a Muslim, is contradictory. In the following parts of her articles, she denies the possibility of encountering with those women as:

> I do not think that I am contradicting the struggle of the women who were interviewed for the Journal of Nokta. Each struggle that women have for their freedom is meaningful and important to me, but not each of them is a feminist struggle. As a conclusion of all these, even there are women defining themselves as feminist, I think, we could not come together with our Muslim fellows in terms of making policies for women.

So Gül came up with her idea that they cannot share anything with those women just because they are struggling within the feminist discourse, because of their 'primitive' and 'descriptive' Muslim identity. By comparing these two articles, it can be said that Sedef Öztürk's affirmation of those Muslim women is much more inclusive than Gül's approach, even though Öztürk is positioning herself as the 'teacher' of those women, which is one of the basic points of opposition by the women of the movement.

These two approaches regarding the struggle of Muslim feminist women signify various issues. In the articles, both writers put Islam in front of the Muslim women as an 'insuperable' belief system for the formation of a 'feminist' identity. Also, defining veiling as obligatory for Muslim women's sexualities, feminist women contributed the reproduction of the 'patriarchal discourse' regarding the female body which was also discussed in the articles of *Zaman*. I would like to underline my main argument that Muslim women became actors of the debate concerning themselves in response to men who dominated the public debate. I argue that this is the same for feminist interventions into the debate. Furthermore, Muslim women developed a discursive struggle against the mainstream feminism and by this way, they began to

shape both feminist and Islamist publics in their own way. This is how their complicated relationship with feminism has also begun.

Muslim women published an article in response to those criticisms, titled "For women, despite women".[18]They criticized the approach of these two feminists by speaking almost patronizingly from the above, in terms of appearing as the 'advisors' of ‘true’ feminism. However, they need to highlight their Muslim identity once more as a contrast to those feminists' approaches to Islam. They also consider the argument on the impossibility of 'solidarity' within the predicted boundaries of these women, and narrate their position regarding women issue as:

> We are only interested in women and the bunch of issues that women face because of being woman. We have no time to spend with any artificial denotations and stereotypes. We would like to remind you that you cannot save women through a discourse in which “you cannot emancipate women, it is in our monopoly to do that” without any attempt to understand and intend to do that. We consider the discourse of “For women despite women” as antidemocratic and unfavorable for women.

As can be discerned from the title of the article, the main criticism of those Muslim women emerged as a response to feminists' approach to the women issue. Muslim women consider that approach as contradicting the purpose of feminism. They suggest a more inclusive discourse for feminism in order to encourage participation from different zones. Also, they indicate that they do not see any contradiction between Islam and feminism:

> So right now, if there is a contradiction between being Muslim and rejecting to be dominated as women, this might upset you, but there is no contradiction! -this is totally our own problem. Well, just like the issue of your commitment to fashion- which is a phenomenon that was created by capitalist consumption and the fact that you’re following the traditional female clothing is your own problem; whether the headscarf is imprisoning us in sexuality and fertility is our own problem.

[18]“Kadınlara rağmen kadınlar için.”

The important point here is that Muslim women's way of describing their struggle as a 'rejection to be dominated as women'. However, they seem to hesitate calling that position as feminism. There might be two reasons behind that. One of them is that this article is written by a group of Muslim women in which there are women who already do not adopt the identity of feminism in their struggle. Another reason might be the reactions of secular feminists that derives from their framing of feminism. However, they all agree on the idea that their struggle is against patriarchy in which there is no contradiction with their Muslim identities. Lastly, Muslim women criticize the authors of the articles, by challenging the idea of 'veiling restrains your sexuality and fertility' as a discourse which reproduces the patriarchal approach to women's body, by referring to its similarity to all of the bodily practices of women.

This counter article was also published in a feminist fanzine called *Bihter*, in which some other secular feminists were announced the article with the quota of 'we are not accounting ourselves as the respondents of this article'.[19] I think this is also crucial in terms of identifying the various feminist subjectivities of the time. In addition to that, as I will review in the following part, the fanzine of *Ayça* could be also considered with regard to its similarity to *Bihter* which are also placed at Appendix B and Appendix C in this thesis. Although some of the Muslim women were not adopting the feminist identity, they seemed as substantially inspired from the feminist movement of the time in Turkey.

This encounter is important for revealing the diversity among women in Turkey within the feminist discourse. Its reflection to feminism is still a dissention that could not be completely surpassed. However, from that day to this, those encounters have emerged in different ways for both of these two groups of women.

[19] Bihter, is a feminist fanzine, firstly published in 1988.

The encounters are shaped by sometimes getting much closer, and sometimes having distance, however the relationship between those women persisted in a way. After 2000s there was an increase in the numbers in those encounters which emerged through the veiling issue. Various platforms emerged for maintaining dialogue among those women. However, I could say that the Muslim women in the future generation would have much more space for themselves to be placed in the feminist movement, as we will discuss in the second chapter of this thesis

2.3 *Ayça*; for their 'own'

In this part, I review the fanzine of *Ayça*, which was published firstly in 1989 by the Muslim women of the movement. This fanzine consists of five issues. There are various kinds of articles in those issues, in which Muslim women are sharing their experiences regarding the 'gender norms'. This fanzine is quite important for me to review because it signifies a Muslim woman figure who struggles against the patriarchy which is quite different from the figure that has appeared in the discussions in *Zaman*. As I mentioned above, the fanzine of *Ayça* has similarities with the fanzine of *Bihter* with regard to published articles in the fanzine which were mostly about the woman issue. In that sense, it is clear that to see *Ayça* would be a substantial area for Muslim women in terms of performing a Muslim woman subjectivity. By giving less references to Islam and feminism, these women establish their tone which narrates the existent situation of women in Turkey in an ironic manner. Actually, after the discussions among the feminists and Muslims, those women seemed as searching for a 'free' platform to share their ideas without any possible judges. Although this fanzine has similarities with the Reçel-blog of the last generation of Muslim women, especially in terms of its 'ironic' language, *Ayça*

represents the women who establish their discourses on the women issue through a much more individualistic perspective in which they investigate their situation of being Muslim women. In the first issue of the fanzine, *Ayça* declares its purpose as:

> "If we could be well-natured women, what would be the need for those?" We understand that we are not. Maybe one day by writing… We decided to publish a few pages; Undemanding, only for ourselves. [20]

As it is clear from the description of themselves as 'not being well-natured women', their attempt occurs in response to the reactions that they get from Muslim men. That means, those women seem to be disappointed by being the 'other' in the Muslim public in which they struggle to find a place for themselves through their Muslim woman subjectivity. Probably for that reason along with their effort to acquire a space for their own, they maintain their effort to provide their 'acceptability' in the Muslim public, but this time by using intimate expressions regarding that. The debates in *Ayça* have two main targets: first, the Muslim men who accuse Muslim women of betraying Islam, and second the feminists who are positioning the Muslim identity in contrast to feminism. Through their writings, the women of *Ayça*, seemed to appeal to either one of these two responses.

The women of *Ayça* express themselves exactly as they wish. Sometimes they use a romantic tone in their writings and sometimes they just want to have fun. In both ways, they struggle to take a 'woman' position against Muslim male writers. Nevertheless, this position was still confined to the patriarchal definitions of the Muslim woman. That was because they remained within the public that was created by men. Probably their experiences were multifarious, yet there were discursive limits to the reflections on these experiences:

[20] Ayça, February, 1989.

> I died that day. That was the day that I found myself in the kitchen while I was backbiting your power in wet, black whispers with my dear friends who are aged behind the rusty iron doors. I was reminded the close relationship between the words of 'power'(erk) and 'man'(erkek) for the first time that day. The powers that we struggle against with our lovely ones, and the power of our lovely ones. I saw in that day: we were not the last representatives of humanity, because we did not love each other; neither you, nor ourselves. We were not interested inhumanity anymore, because we were not able to do that. We loved only the curtains, walls, and lights of our houses. We desired your power, and we only love backbiting your power. We became the little parts of the huge-machine-organization systems that we were fighting with. You and us. It was not your fault.[21]

In this quotation, we see a woman who imagines a world where the traditional narratives of gender norms about femininity and masculinity do not exist, because she believes in love. She challenges this patriarchal system together with their 'loved ones', rather than blaming them for being guilty of it. She consistently refers to the relationship between the two sexes through the idea of love. Hence, the narrative of love could be considered as one of the discursive limits that the women of first generation were permanently faced with, since they were seeking to establish their struggle within the boundaries of the male public.

> Your letter made us happy. We were really wondering how to find a husband and it helped us so much. We will learn to cook eggs as soon as possible. But you did not write anything about what we need to do after we bought a dish-washer. If writing, thinking, reading would be loss in terms of not being 're-productors of the nation', what would you suggest to do for us, for instance, should we have cooncan parties?
> And, please! Why do you see yourself as our brother? We will follow your advices, of course. We are not against polygamy, by the way. As we know, you have three wives. Could not you save one of us from becoming an old maid by choosing as your fourth wife? [22]

Ayça also provides space for the reactions by Muslim men in the fanzine. The quotation above is written in response to one of those reactions. Besides their ironic style of writing, they also maintain their subjectivity through criticizing the Muslim

[21] Ayça. March, 1989.
[22] Ayça, December, 1989.

men's way of practicing Islam. By using the concept of 'national productions' they basically criticize the conservative approach to their bodies, in terms of its reproductive feature. As it is discussed in the previous part, because these women encounter 'mothering' as an obligation for being included in the public life, they permanently re-define motherhood from their perspective. When we compare articles in *Ayça* to compared those of *Zaman*, we see that there are articles which are written through the self-talks of those women:

> What does impertinence look like? Does it have a width, length or height? Is it angled, or circled? At each place and time of human existence, while there is various impertinence going on; how could be possible for a girl descending from Havva to be willing to talk about that? By not taking the word to their mouths, even not giving a little bit example? Is this being well-behaved to not talk about the rudeness by acting as if they are non-existent? Do you say that men would talk in any reason? We could not understand the reason behind such kind of monopolizing, could you please tell us? [23]

The writers of *Ayça* constitute their discourses by addressing the patriarchal institutions of the society. Muslim men's approach to their womanhood is questioned throughout their writings. They are in search for answers to their questions. Through the reactions, they question their position of being a Muslim woman as well as being a Muslim 'feminist' woman,

> While the World women were celebrating their day,
> We cried
> Feminists did not hear
> While their fellows were crying
> They emancipated the 'woman'
> It is a story,
> Some men desire to see hair
> If I, for instance, desire to see leg
> And also a man's leg
> The secular generals and
> The honorable members of the council
> Would take off their pants? [24]

[23] Ayça, December, 1989
[24] Ayça, April, 1989.

While they establish a discourse regarding being 'Muslim women' through highlighting the issues among the Islamist male public, they also criticize the feminists for not supporting their struggle within the discourse of feminism. When we think of their position within the discussions among feminists, and Muslims, the women of *Ayça* write in order to indicate their outsider position in both of these two sides. Because these women are aware of their secondary position in the patriarchal society, their effort to establish counter discourses regarding the Islamist male public originates from their reactions to feminists as well. In short, *Ayça* expresses the anger of women of the first generation towards the reasons behind the construction the discourse in the public in which those women are positioned as the outsiders. Therefore, the stories of the women of the first generation cannot be read separately from these two agents. In their struggle, they take different positions that need to be evaluated in terms of their relation to the outside influences. However, I could say that those women were in the search for being accepted in the male public. I considered their positions as being 'in between' since they constitute their own positions through their quest for being a Muslim woman, which would be also analyzed in the following part.

I have conducted interviews with the women who have taken part in the literature in order to clarify their approaches regarding the issues of woman body as I mentioned earlier. I will seek to complete the picture of 1990s by navigating the narratives of the women by analyzing the interviews I conducted with them. By considering the conditions of the time as it was discussed through their articles, their perspectives and motivations of their position regarding the Muslim woman subjectivity will be analyzed in terms of their experiences. Referencing the discussions that they had engaged in that period, their current positionalities to the

issue is also examined. Through reviewing the stories of these women, I will try to analyze their position with regards to the traditional narratives of gender norms. Also, in relation to those narratives, their perspectives on sexuality and body will constitute another significant discussion in the following part.

2.4 Interviews of 1990s

The interviews I have conducted with the first generation of the movement include significant data, both for revealing a transformation in the first generation – today they re-look and re-analyze the happenings of the past-, and for a comparison between the first and second generation of the movement. Through these interviews, I investigate the factors that have made these women get closer to feminism and factors that have pushed them away. I will mainly make a comparison between the beginning of the movement and where it stands today and point out the main transformations that took place in this field.

Before going through the interviews, there is a crucial point that needs to be considered in order to identify the positions of these women from 1990s. As it is stated in the first part of the thesis, finding interviewees from this generation was notably difficult for me. Among the women who are included in the debates in the newspaper *Zaman*, only three women accepted to talk to me. One of them accepted only on the condition that there would not be any record of the interview. As I would examine in the following chapter, compared to the next generation, women from that generation are more hesitant in sharing their experiences of their private life.

I therefore aim in this part to describe the social conditions that are determinant in the narratives of the women from the first generation with regards to their approach of Muslim woman subjectivity. Their struggle, which is described in

the previous part, will be re-read through considering their narratives as well. In that sense, I will first describe those women's encounters with their bodily experiences through their references to Islam and tradition. Later, I will try to convey an understanding of their encounters with feminism. Following that, I will try to depict their position of being a Muslim 'feminist' through their narratives.

2.4.1 "Femininities" of the bodies

One of the key terms women used in the interviews is femininity. Women's narratives about their bodily experiences emerged from the idea of their feminine appearance, which is concurrent with their appearance in the public life considering that the male public considers their appearance through the image of the female body. Therefore, women are forced to constitute their femininity through the patriarchal approach, originating in the 'eyes of men'. This has an impact on their attempts of 'hiding' their bodies in order to participate in the public life. Therefore, veiling[25] practices might constitute an effective way for being included in the public life while maintaining their privacy. Regardless of whether their veiled bodies are the indicators of their sexualities, I suggest that veiling as a strategy emerged from the need of queering themselves in the public life. Femininity appears in the narratives of the interviewees through the term of gendered bodies in which the female body is socially constructed from a patriarchal point of view. Mehtap narrates her bodily development as:

> Because my body developed so late, for instance, I was swimming with only my briefs just like the boys. Our social environment was not that much repressive. There was a stream where we were going to swim. Our mothers

[25] I used the term of veiling(tesettür) for narrating the all attempts for 'hiding the bodily appearance', rather than signifying only the women who are wearing headscarves. Because there are women who do not prefer to wear headscarf among the interviewers.

> were swimming as well. Even they were swimming braless. Because my breasts did not grow up so much, I was also swimming with only my briefs. I remember that after my menstruation process, I began to think that I cannot do those things anymore. For instance, before I was playing football with boys, after that process I thought as "I should not do it anymore". Because your body necessarily affects you. I began to feel the oppression of what others are going to say."

Mehtap's narrative on her physical appearance demonstrates the conditions that make a woman to feel uncomfortable about her body, in which the female body is constituted through a social fiction. In the case of Mehtap, her breasts emerged as one of the signifiers of that social fiction. Since her breasts developed late, she experienced her 'femininity' through menstruation. In Mehtap's narrative, her menstruation constituted the 'milestone' of her experiences with regard to gender norms. Mehtap establishes her womanhood in relation to her biological development (of her reproductive system). According to the Islamic discipline girls' encountering with menstruation is considered as their first step for becoming a woman. This is a moment of passage (or rite of passage) to womanhood and adulthood after which girls are expected to begin the prayers of Islam.[26] However, Mehtap's idea about experiencing menstruation seems to be established by the gender norms in her environment. Although she defines the reason behind that recognition as a 'natural reflection of her body', by pointing to the importance of 'what others' are going to say', she further produces a discourse that is derived from the social construction of the patriarchal approach regarding the female body.

Deniz also narrates her bodily development through the idea of amplification of her femininity. As she points out:

> "In the period that my breasts started developing, I was really ashamed. I experienced a lot of sexual harassment in my early ages. Even, I was not wearing a bra and I was just bonding my shirt with needles in order to press

[26] Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslam Ansiklopedisi. 17.Cilt syf 51-53

> my breasts. I felt discomfort because I thought that there was something wrong with my body. It was like “damn on me, I have something that seduces men”

Through the narration of her bodily development, we see that Deniz’s bodily experiences are also shaped by her ‘physical appearance’, similar to Mehtap. However, because her breasts developed in her early ages, even before her menstruation process, she came to be ashamed of her body. Indeed, the condition that made Deniz to hide her breasts occurred due to harassment. So, her tendency to hide her body could be read as a strategy for averting this kind of traumas. Deniz established a relationship with her body based on despise, because she thought herself as the reason for the traumatic interventions into her body. As a part of that idea, Deniz considers her distant position to sexuality in terms of her settled understanding of ‘faith’ and ‘sin’. Her continuous emphasis on her ‘decent’ religionist background leads us to see how she constituted the concepts of ‘sin’ and ‘faith’ through the traditional narratives of gender norms.

Nazlı, on the other hand, narrates her physical development from a very similar point of view with Mehtap. As she describes her body as not appearing ‘that much’ feminine, she adopts the idea of ‘appearing as childish’ with regard to her bodily appearance. That type of conceptualization makes Nazlı to think that she was not in need of having a consciousness about her sexuality. However, her narrative about her brother’s approach towards her is quite substantial:

> I just remember that it was popular to wear mini-skirts at that time and I liked wearing mini-skirts when I was going to high school. My three-years older brother was saying me that "I will not go anywhere with you if you do not wear a pants under that skirt". I could not understand his reaction, how the appearance of my legs can be a reason of sin? Later, when I was at the last year of high school, I saw two men who were looking after a girl wearing mini skirt. They were looking at her legs loathsomely and laughing at each other. At that time, I felt like it was not right to wear that kind of skirt

> outside. I comprehended the reason why it was disturbing my brother that much. After that I began to not wear such skirts by my own will.

Nazlı's brother, in that narration, emerges as the figure representing the traditional approach with regard to gender norms. After her brother's intervention, Nazlı began to interrogate the reason behind that. Yet, she could understand his approach just after experiencing another girl's harassment, who was also wearing a mini skirt. In this way, she encountered the patriarchal approach represented by her brother. Following that, she decided on her 'own' to not to wear mini skirt in order to avoid experiencing that kind of harassment. From that point, the narratives on the physical appearance seem to be similar to each other. The intervention of patriarchal type of organization of gender norms can be seen as effective for those women to strengthen their tendency to be veiled in order to make their 'femininities' invisible. As I mentioned above, this could be also read as an attempt for 'queering' themselves in public life, which is coinciding with the approach of the 'first wave feminism'.

While two participants (Mehtap and Ayşe) are wearing headscarf, one of them (Nazlı) is not wearing anymore, and the other one (Deniz) has never been veiled. However, all of them have experiences about attributing a similar function to veiling(tesettür), which is to make their femininity invisible. Yet, they all have different stories with regards to the veiling process. Mehtap, for instance, narrates her story of veiling as: "while I was going to high school, there was a meeting of Erbakan in Diyarbakır. When I saw that there were various styles of veiling, I was really surprised. I felt like there are also others just like us." What Mehtap meant here by 'others just like us' signifies the image of veiled woman at the time. The intention of Muslim women to separate Islam and tradition from each other was also reflected in their image of veiling. For that period, they established their veiling style

in parallel to their idea of Islam, which was a different style from the women of Mehtap's village had. This also represents the Muslim woman figure who is struggling against the traditional approach to Islam. These women became the figures of the Turkish public life as well-educated, intellectual, and modern women. In a way, Mehtap's narrative about her way of veiling is constantly originates from this fact. As she dissociates herself from the traditional veiled women, she also distinguishes herself from the radical Islamist women as well. Because she did not wear pardesü[27], her specific way of veiling is found strange among the Muslim public of that time as well. She had a disagreement with her sister about wearing an overcoat, which made Mehtap feel alienated to herself. Yet, while we were talking about sexual harassment, she referred to this overcoat issue as:

> "While I was on the bus, I remember that I had these kinds of stories, I mean they were groping me. In these cases, I did not feel that it was happening because of me but I just felt anxious and angry towards those men. I was saying myself "My sister was right. I need to wear a larger overcoat, maybe in that case a man could not touch me."

Despite expressing "I did not feel that was because of me", she searched for ways of averting this kind of harassment in public life by making modifications on her physical appearance. Whereas this was not only about her clothing, Mehtap claims that while she was trying to adapt herself to the life in Istanbul, she might have seemed timid in the crowd. That was also the cause for her harassment stories according to Mehtap. So, she makes connections between her private body, private feelings and the sexual harassment in the public life, which is actually formed around the patriarchal approach to woman body.

On the other hand, Gülnaz narrates her idea about veiling through references to Islam. Her encounter with veiling occurred after her university life. Because she

[27] Pardesü is a long outwear.

considered that as ‘the command of Allah’, she did not feel any need to search for it. However later as she narrates her approach regarding veiling has changed, as:

> So, I chose to veil because it was a command from Allah without questioning its reasons. Later, I began to think that "avoiding all of the men, except your loved one" is better. Also, the idea of fashion imposed by Western culture- rather than being the woman that the Western culture was expecting but being a woman according to your own religious identity gave me a higher motivation for veiling. I did not think that is related to sexuality. I also did not see "hair" as something seductive, it was much more related to the idea of identity- Muslim woman identity- something about challenging Western culture.”

Nazlı’s approach seems as a contradictory one. While she establishes her position as a veiled woman, she constitutes her body through its meaning for the opposite sex. Yet, by seeing her further expressions, we could see that she is still in the search for a reason that would legitimize the headscarf for her. Her position against the Western culture could be read in terms this legitimation process. That means that headscarf has been crucial for her appearance as a Muslim woman. However, her further narratives are also related to her experiences in the married life. As Nazlı narrates, her husband’s approach to women who were not ‘veiled’ led her to be uncomfortable with her headscarf. In order to establish a ‘visible’ appearance to her husband, Nazlı began to perform a ‘femininity’, which coincided with the gender norms of the patriarchal society. Through her narrations we could see that Nazlı’s performance of womanhood occurred based, first on her brother’s approach. Then she transformed her idea according to her husband’s expectation, even if this did not coincide with her approach to being woman.

Ayşe, who is still covering herself with headscarf, narrates her decision to veil by taking on the responsibility to stand against her family’s reaction. She points out that she did not have any tendency to be veiled before, as she did not feel the tension of existing as a ‘sexual object’. After she became visible in public life, she points to her university life as the effective process for that. She took on the

responsibility of wearing headscarf in order to appear in the public without her sexuality. Similar to others, Ayşe also establishes her approach with regards to veiling in terms of its relation to hiding her 'feminine' parts of the body, which Ayşe renders as "a strike against the sexuality of men". Ayşe constitutes her position as a veiled woman through the patriarchal approach to sexuality rather than relating to it with her sexuality. Yet, as our conversation progressed, she admitted that today her approach changed as a result of being harassed despite her position of 'a veiled woman with two children'.

Overall, the interviewees' veiling practices are formed in relation to their approach to bodily appearance. Veiling, specifically headscarf, are used with the purpose of hiding their 'femininity', which is basically coinciding with the idea of patriarchal gender norms that made those women to be ashamed about their bodies from time to time. However, the point that made them suffer appeared at the point when they recognized that the veiling strategy is not sufficient for averting the interventions of the patriarchal approach to their bodies. Even though their practices of veiling are constituted in various ways, their experience of 'appearing as a woman' is reflected by their practices of veiling.

2.4.2 Traditional narratives of sexuality versus 'Adamım Büyüksün'

In this part, I describe the positions of women with regards to their sexuality by analyzing them through their readings of the poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün'. Actually, I need to admit that making the participants read the poem during the interview was very effective for revealing their ideas about the issue comfortably. Through my questions with regard to their approaches to sexuality, they constantly referred to the traditional narratives that appeared in the environments that they grew

up. In addition, they narrated their 'own' approaches to sexuality by referencing mostly the Islamic discourses through the poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün'.

Mehtap narrates her knowledge regarding sexuality by referring to the stories that she heard in the childhood as:

> I remember a lot of stories told in the neighborhood in my childhood. One of them, for instance, is a story about Hz.Fatma. In the case that one's husband desires her, she has to leave her task, even if she was cooking bread just as Hz.Fatma.

Rather than accepting this account as an Islamic one, she prefers to call that as a 'story'. This shows that Mehtap makes a distinction between traditional and Islamic approaches to women's sexuality. This is probably the reason why she did not feel any need to research this issue in Islamic sources. Since there are many contradictory narratives with regards to woman sexuality, Mehtap tends to establish her own approach to the issue by considering the sexual relationship between man and woman as a 'humanitarian' relationship, which does not also contradict with her understanding of Islam. According to Mehtap, woman and man in a marriage are both responsible for designing their sexual life within the privacy between them. Thishas also reflections in other issues concerning marriage. Therefore, by taking the example of Hz.Fatma she claims that "when a man recognizes that his wife would not enjoy a sexual relationship in the cases that she does not desire, then their attitude for demanding that from their wives would be changed."

Mehtap, in that sense, relates the discourse of "women's secondary position" to traditional narratives while she establishes an approach in which Islamic discipline produces an independent position for women. While she narrates what she perceives as the contradictory accounts of leading women regarding themselves, she also suggests to identify the Islamic discipline within its own historical boundaries.

According to her, being the object of those discussions satisfies Muslim women. By giving the example of Sema Maraşlı[28], Mehtap claims that there is the kind of a tendency that is described and identified by certain discourses in the male public. She argues that because we are experiencing Islam in different ways, we all produce our own knowledge of it regarding the female body. She states that "for example, a woman wearing a skirt criticizes a woman wearing pants, or a woman who is putting on her face make-up criticizes the other who wears court shoes. All of them have their own degrees to be well-accepted in the Muslim population." So Mehtap's way of approaching the issue shows that knowledge regarding women's body is produced by the Muslims themselves. Also, she considers the poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün' as a reaction to all types of definitions of woman body. Mehtap explains her interpretation of the poem by regarding it as an expression of the anger of those who do not want to be judged by their femininity. Besides its referrals to sexuality, according to Mehtap there is a substantial indication of Muslim women's anger in the poem. She narrates that "Nebiye seems to be a woman who is completely broken by the judgments of the people, and desires to tell 'that's enough' to them." In this manner, she criticizes the reactions to the poem by questioning the double standards among the Muslims towards the consequences of committing a sin differentiated between men and women.

Deniz, on the other hand, during our conversation about the poem, highlighted the importance of sexuality in human life. According to Deniz, sexuality is the determinant part of our lives, which is also affecting the other parts of life. While she compares her position in the past and present regarding sexuality, she

[28] Muslim women writer who recently writes in the newspaper of Yeniakit. She is basically popular with her criticisms about the Muslim feminist women movement in Turkey, also important figure for producing the patriarchal discourses with regard to woman issue.

narrates her encounter with feminists in the period of 1990s. She narrates that those women were living together with their boyfriends in that time, which seemed strange to Deniz in that period. While she describes her reaction to this situation as ‘it did not bother me’, she also takes her position to the story as ‘I could never do that’, because of her ‘religious’ beliefs. However, she further expressed that ‘My parents would kill me’. Although Deniz establishes her approach through Islamic discourses, referring to her parents as also responsible for her decision making processes reveals her position.

After Deniz read the poem of ‘Adamım Büyüksün’, she narrated her story by giving a similar poem from their period. As she narrates,

> There was a poet girl from Eskişehir, she wrote a lot of beautiful poems. I remember that one of our friends said "she need to find someone to marry for getting rid of this situation". This was an intellectual man; even he was supporting our struggle in that time. However, it is settled in our minds as "if a woman writes these kinds of poem, it is because she cannot find someone to marry".

Deniz’s emphasis on this event highlights how the settled approaches in which these women are considered as in the need of ‘having sexual relationship’ have been maintained until now. The perspective of that man is so similar to the reactions to the writer of ‘Adamım Büyüksün’. Deniz considers this situation as two-facedness of our (Muslim) society where people adopt the ‘modern’ practices on the one hand, while they also criticize them on the other. Through giving the example of belly-dancing, she criticizes one of her friend’s approach by saying that ‘this is halal in the case that you do it only to your husband.’ Deniz criticizes this as ‘we repeat the world that we closed our doors to’. In that sense, Deniz considers the poem of ‘Adamım Büyüksün’ as a reaction to that two-facedness among the Muslim society, and she claims that

the reactions of the Muslim population need to be read in terms of its relationship to this hypocrisy.

Nazlı, on the other hand, narrates one of her experiences in her neighborhood after her marriage as:

> In that period, we were living in a shantytown. I used to talk with the women of the region consistently. They were religious, conservative and veiled women and they were seeing themselves as in exchange for their husbands ' money, they serve them sexually. I witnessed that a lot. For instance, there was a woman wearing chador[29], and having religious talks at her home. She told her daughter about her vagina that it is her bread and butter, and she needs to take care of that. I was shocked when I heard that.

It is clear that from Nazlı's highlight of the 'religiousness' of her neighborhood, what shocked Nazlı is their representative position of Islam. Similar to Mehtap, Nazlı argues that the relationship between husband and wife in a marriage needs to be organized in a humanitarian way, especially with regards to sexuality. Therefore, she considered the positions of those women as 'contradicting' the Islamic discourses. This made Nazlı to have a detailed research on the issue in Islamic sources. She gives an example of a hadith which says "If a man marries with a woman for only his sexual desire, he will be culprit as a fornicator."[30] As a result, while Nazlı describes the narratives of her neighbors within the traditional construction of gender norms, she positions herself in reference to Islam in order to separate herself from this traditional perspective.

Within this framework, Nazlı also considers the poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün' in terms of the contradiction between the traditional narratives and Islamic principles. Nazlı evaluates the reactions against the poem by pointing to the concepts of 'shame' and 'sin' that have been already constituted through traditional

[29] Çarşaf 'a large piece of cloth that is wrapped around the head and upper body leaving only the face exposed, worn especially by Muslim women.
[30] Waddy Charis, Women in Muslim History, Longman, 1980.

narratives about sexuality. By comparing the reactions within the debate in *Zaman*, she argues that "The opposite side never changed. There is a 'concrete progression' with regards to the patriarchal construction of gender norms". However, Nazlı points to the importance of publishing that kind of poem in terms its objection to this patriarchy. Moreover, Nazlı considers the poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün' as an important indicator of last generations' position with respect to the women's struggle, in which the 'newly arising' women's movement is evaluated as something beyond the first generation's struggle.

Eventually, when we take the narratives of these women together, we see that each one establishes its own approaches with regard to sexuality of women. While most of their knowledge towards the issue is endured by the social fictions that are constructed through traditional narratives, they reject those narratives by constituting their approach in terms of the Islamic discourses that depict all human beings as equal rather than dividing them as man and woman. They constitute their position regarding sexuality through reconstructing it as a part of the human affairs in which the 'private' relationship between husband and wife is deemed essential.

2.4.3 The private is Political: Encounters with feminism

The narratives about feminism are revealed through Muslim women's stories about encounters with other feminists and also with feminist publishing. I prefer to use the term of 'other' purposefully, because, as it will be clarified by further accounts of Muslim women, there is a continuing tendency among the narratives of those women for positioning themselves as the 'others' of the feminist women. The reasons behind this tendency become clear when we think of this together with the criticisms of the feminist women through which they were questioning the positions of Muslim

women in terms of their capacity of demanding rights for women. Yet, within a general framework, I could say that the struggle of Muslim women has been carrying the idea that 'the personal is political' affected from the second wave feminist ideology.

Mehtap narrates her position in women's movement as "I am known as a feminist in my family. However, I do not have any claim about that. I do not think that you have to express that by calling yourself as a feminist, if you are a feminist." Mehtap's narration is substantial for revealing her negotiating position. While she does not adopt the 'feminist' identity, she refers to her 'feminist' appearance in her family in order to relate her position with regard the women issue. Reflecting on her encounters both with Muslim women and the secular feminists, she describes that process as an 'unfactual' one. According to Mehtap, such encounters between different groups in Turkey was a dream of the early 2000s:[31] "In the case of the women issue, there was a conflict between the Muslim women and the feminists. Muslim women permanently expected an "acceptance" from those feminist women of the time, through their Muslim identity, just as the feminists."

What Mehtap points here is the tension of being the 'other' for both sides. Muslim women's 'acceptance' needs to be read through their 'otherness' among feminists. However, while Mehtap considers the recently emerged distance between these two groups, she claims that "Of course, there is an important impact of the purification politics of the government". Yet she believes that if their encounters could have been 'factual', today they would not have experienced this kind of distance.

[31] Mehtap actually refers here to a feminist platform of 'Birbirimize sahip çıkıyoruz' – in which Muslim women were also included.

While Deniz narrates her story of being engaged in the woman issue, she refers to the feminist movement as a prominent influence on her approach:

> There was a book- I forgot the name of it- like "*being woman*" or something else. Its title was strange, I mean it could be understood in various ways, even I remember that I was really ashamed while I was buying that. I think that the book was critical for most of the stories of being feminist. While I was reading it I said "Oh my God, she thinks just like me". It was about my personal world in which she was also willing to be equal, and sharing my anxiety regarding inequality.

In the time of her first touch with feminism, the article of Ali Bulaç was published in *Zaman*. As Deniz narrates, they were working as assistants at a university with one of her friends when they decided to write against that article. Deniz describes her friends' position on the women issue as 'sharper' than hers because her friend(Nazlı) was married while Deniz was not. So, since the institution of marriage is considered as the basis of 'inequalities' between woman and man, Deniz points that the approaches of those women regarding the issue were shaped through their own private experiences. Comparing her position in the 1990s to today, Deniz remarks that she has now a more distant relationship with Muslims. By referring to the recent policies of the government, she also admits her perspective on veiled women has changed. The important point here is that she considers her recent position by likening herself to the 'secular' women who fear from the rising 'religious' tone within administration of the government.

On the other hand, while Nazlı narrates her encounter with feminism for the first time, she also refers to a period of depression in her marriage that was triggered by experiencing the inequality between woman and man:

> For example, my husband's friends used to come to our house, and I was just serving them. Before we were talking together at the university's cafeteria, I became to be a woman who is looking after the children and making tea for the men. And they maintained their intellectual activity. It seemed very offending to me, I got depressed at that time. And I became to read those

> feminist writings, and I was touched so much. After I engaged with those issues, I got reactions from my family like "It needs to be like that, the order of world is instituted in that way, God created us like that" etc. Because this did not seem possible to me, I started reading the Quran, and by searching much, I saw that there is a discrepancy between the traditional narratives and the Quran.

Feminist ideology had an important place for Nazlı to perform her 'Muslim women subjectivity'. Her experiences with regard to patriarchal constructions of gender norms are understandable through her readings on feminism. In her struggle against the Muslim public Nazlı points to feminism as a substantial resource of their approach. Even her emphasis on the idea that she does not see any contradiction between the approach of feminism and Islam with regard to the women issue, she still prefers not to define herself as 'feminist' as a strategy which would make her struggle more acceptable among the Muslim public. Because, in her opinion, 'feminist' identity causes their struggle to be marginalized among Muslims from the very beginning, she develops her strategy of 'struggling within the concepts of Islam' in order to be accepted. However, at the end of our conversation she concluded her position towards feminism by saying "I need to admit that there is a substantial effect of feminism in establishing my own approach with regard to being woman".

As a final note to this section I would like to revisit Ayşe's account in which she shares her concerns and critiques on secular feminists. Ayşe criticizes feminist women for not being able to distance themselves from the 'Kemalist' discourse, which makes feminist women to have a distant position with regard to the Muslim women's movement. According to Ayşe, their fear of 'sharia' is one of the main obstacles for establishing solidarity between Muslim women and secular feminists. Hence, she highlights the importance of providing a space to have discussion among

women in the feminist movement. As Ayşe narrates: “This would allow us to establish solidarity among women by adopting our ‘differences’ as well”.

As I have mentioned before, the encounter between Muslim women with the feminists originated through the discussions that question the possibility of holding Muslim and feminist identities at the same time. Through the narratives of the women mentioned in this section, we could say that they do not see any contradiction between feminism and Islam. While they benefit from feminism, they aim to re-read Islam in terms of its reflection to women issue by enabling them to reject the traditional narratives of gender norms. Also, there is a substantial effect of the outside definitions of the positionalities of these women. These women seem to be discomforted by being defined within certain categories such as Islamist feminists, Turbaned/veiled feminists etc. Since their struggle emerged due to subjecting themselves in the male public, their main purpose is to challenge the traditional interpretations of Islam that consolidate patriarchy. Also, these women agreed on the impact of the recent policies of todays’ government as a contributing factor in the increasing distance between these two groups.

CHAPTER 3

MUSLIM FEMINIST WOMEN OF 2010s

3.1 A Criticism of Modern Muslim Woman

Dücane Cündioğlu in his book *Philosophialoren* discusses the positions of Muslim women in terms of their relation to modernity. Very similar to Ali Bulaç, Cündioğlu positions 'feminism' at the center of his discussion with regard to its 'negative' impact on Muslim women. According to Cündioğlu, women have a tendency of revealing their 'femininity' based on their nature and Islam suggests those women to be veiled in terms of educating them to struggle against their essence (nefis). In this context, Alev Erkilet's description regarding that dichotomy would be crucial, as she claims that "The composition of domestic space/veiling was placed at the point as it is indicating the traditionality, while public space/uncovering was placed to the other side of that scale as it is indicating the Turkish modernity."(1998, p.77) Within this framework, Cündioğlu regards feminism as the driving force for making those women to return to their uncovered nature with its claim of 'freedom'. In other words, while Cündioğlu constructs Islam in relation to its 'function of nurturing the woman nature', he argues that the discourse of feminism damages Muslim women's belief system by pledging 'freedom':

> In short, one of the most important sedatives, is feminism which aims to deprive woman's 'womanhood' before her humanity, by making the modern woman lose her ability of searching herself and retaining her to be distant from the question of 'where am I going?'. Just as the deceptive bright sedatives which make Islamist women to release in deep sleep in order to retrain them from missing themselves. Whereas, decency was once a great opportunity for our women. (2008, p.55)

By saying that, Cündioğlu actually assumes a feminist discourse that is against Islamic principles, similar to Ali Bulaç. However, he is not capable in referring to

Islam without separating it from tradition. Within this framework, Cündioğlu forms the traditional and Islamic values around his imaginary of 'grandmothers' (babaanneler), while describing Muslim women who struggle within the feminist movement as women who hesitate to resemble their grandmothers. Building on these assumptions, Cündioğlu perpetually refers to tradition through symbolizing 'grandmothers' as the main source of his arguments, as he also refers to modern women in terms of their relation to feminism. Thus, Cündioğlu defines modern Muslim woman by attributing different titles. For instance, somewhere he called them as the women who are 'willing to be an academician', or 'working outside'. However, his main argument is based on his ideas about women who are not able to cook 'jam' comparing them with their 'grandmothers' who are the carriers of the tradition. Briefly, Cündioğlu attempted to construct a modern Muslim woman figure defined as the counterpart of tradition and Islam within her relation to modernity through the idea of feminism.

> In short, since the modern Muslim woman ceased her visits to graveyards, she also ceased making jams. The modern Muslim woman prefers to put 'Nutella' on the tables instead of 'jam', as soon as she started considering reading Quran and Yasin to their dead as superstition, and considered the prayer of 'hatim'[32] as an unnecessary repetition without any meaning, further they identified 'mosque visits' in Ramadan as 'meaningless visits'. Since they think that they can pick over the traditions from Islam just as like they do with the rice by defining the practices which they could not find in the Book with the concepts of ritual and cult, they could not succeed in imitating their mothers and grandmothers. Moreover, they could not foresee the costs of defining their mothers and grandmothers as miserables of their fathers and grandfathers.
> Maybe some of you could ask "what about men? What did they do in the meantime?". I tell you: men, by brazening, will going to say, "we are innocent, because we were shopping Nutella, we could not have any idea about what was going on in the home" (p.105)

[32] Hatim refers reading the Quran from its beginning to the end.

In brief, Cündioğlu defines the situation of the Muslim women within the framework of the modern-traditional dichotomy. In that sense, he considers the attempt of Muslim women for separating tradition and Islam, which I mentioned in the previous chapter, as an unsuccessful endeavor because they constitute the counter-discourses to patriarchy by referring to the idea of modernity. As a part of that debate, modern Muslim women are thus looked as deviant based upon their ways of distancing themselves from their 'grandmothers' who are defined as the 'traditional' carriers of the male public by Cündioğlu. Similar to Ali Bulaç, Cündioğlu also defined the positions of the Muslim women through their tendency to adopt feminism, which is one of the most effective forces for those women to distance themselves from their traditional and Islamic values. However, the generation that responds to Dücane Cündioğlu, has actually much more concrete boundaries in their political agendas regarding their distinctive identities compared to the women of the first generation.

I argue that the women from the recent generation are much more visible in terms of their multiple identities that distinguish them as 'woman', 'feminist', and 'Muslim'. On the one hand, they consider that 'feminist discourses' are required in terms of its power in re-constructing the Muslim male public and beneficial to constitute women's solidarity among different groups. On the other hand, they adopt a type of Muslim identity that stands for struggling against 'colonial feminism' in which these women are regarded as in the need of 'saving'. Moreover, they also adopt the Muslim identity as a means for struggling against the political government's (AKP) religious discourse which I will elaborate on more in the following part. In a general framework, women of the 2010s seem to have established a stratified struggle in which they adopt the Muslim feminist woman identity. In order to understand the differences and similarities of the two

generations, I describe what problems Reçel blog and publications of KŞKMI brought into the agenda of Muslim feminists of today.

3.2 Kşkmi (Initative of Muslims Against to Women Violence) 2013

KŞKMI is a foundation established with the purpose of struggling against violence against women. This organization was originally formed by Muslim women who aimed to struggle against male public within the framework of Islamic concerns. Their claim of being a political initiative is substantial for accounting for their diversification from the first generation with regard to their tendency to produce a Muslim woman policy. Their main purpose is expressed as:

> KŞKMI is a political initiative that aims to produce discourses and a movement regarding the political agenda from the perspectives of Islam and woman. KŞKMI is against patriarchy, which is constituted in each sphere of life through specifically the state, husband, and the employers. KŞKMI supports all persecuted women without questioning their identities. KŞKMI is open to solidarity with all women's organizations.[33]

The remarkable point in their declaration is their attempt to gather the public and private spheres by considering the husband and the state as analogical forces for producing patriarchy in the Muslim male public. Therefore, their discourse is based on an denunciation of patriarchy as a part of their political struggle in which they seek to take part in the solidarity among women through their Muslim identity.

The very first activity that they organized was a panel discussion with regard to the issue of 'Man in Islam'. This was crucial for establishing a counter discourse to the male public in which the women have been a point of debate within the Islamic framework. As a reaction to discourse of scrutinizing the Muslim woman's position in Islam, KŞKMI attempted to establish the position of the Muslim men as an issue

[33] http://kskmi.com/biz-kimiz/

to debate, or rather as problematic. While the debates ranged from the issues of sexual harassment and to stories of rape that have taken place through their relationships concerning their female body, these women were also effective in including the Muslim men into the conversation. Following this, KŞKMI also organized a forum with the title of 'Man and Family'[34] which was also the part of the discursive construct in which they developed an alternative way of reading the institution of family.

Through searching for Islamic resources and practices, the women of KŞKMI aimed to produce their own discourses against the traditional approach to woman body. One of the women in the KŞKMI narrates their position as:

> We researched about the position of women in the Prophet's period. We were, of course, aware of the historical existence of sexism from the beginning of the world. However, we found out that some sexist perspectives which were claimed as originating from Islamic sources were actually established later. For instance, one of the wordings of Abdullah Bin Ömer is like that: "We were behaving well towards our women in the period of Prophet, since we were afraid of there could be revelation about us. However, after Prophet we began to behave towards them as we wish." This wording tells that there was a deterioration after Prophet. [35]

Through re-reading Islamic sources, these women interrogate the position of women in Islam in order to establish their own discourses counter to the traditionally settled approach to womanhood, which they would later callas the approaches of 'fabricated religion'. In addition to these forums and workshops that they organized, KŞKMI also took upon the responsibility to get involved with the trials of the women who were exposed to harassment or violence. Through participating at these trials, they established their position as being in solidarity with the women who are victims of the male public.

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[34] http://kskmi.com/islamda-erkek-forumu-gerceklesti/
[35] http://marksist.org/icerik/Kadin/4068/8-Mart-dosyasi-Kadina-Siddete-Karsi-Musluman-Inisiyatifi-uyeleriyle-roportaj

Moreover, KŞKMI was also effective in organizing funeral prayers in absentia[36] of the women who were brutally murdered by men. Since the women's appearance in the funeral prayers (or any prayers which are settled as the duties of only men – Friday prayers – etc.) is not approved in the Turkish society, this attempt would be also substantial for re-producing the public in which Muslim women started to be involved. I argue that, as one of the dominant parts of the male public, funeral prayers constituted a platform for protest for their struggle as the women of KŞKMI. In this way, they re-produced the Islamic practices in relation to their purpose of establishing a Muslim woman public.

While they acted in solidarity with the secular women organizations, they also criticized the feminist public's approach of othering their struggle as:

> One of the most annoying issues is the attempt of 'welcoming' us in each protest. Some of them behave us as 'guests' by putting themselves at the center of the struggle. We associate the acts of those women's organizations with the acts of men, in which they situate women on the backstage, and put themselves on the forefront. Of course, each women's organization is not like that. We act in solidarity with some of them without any problem such as, Kadınlar için Acil Eylem Grubu, Barış için Kadın Girşimi, Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız. [37]

As I mentioned in the previous part about the issue of 'otherness' of Muslim women among the feminist community, KŞKMI also uttered their discomfort with regard to similar approach. Still, their Muslim identity appears as a tool for marginalization of KŞKMI within the feminist community. However, compared to the first generation's women, it does not affect their adoption of the feminist identity in their struggle. I argue that there is a significant impact of the AKP government's religious discourses among the women from this generation. So much so that, the women of first

[36]Gıyabi cenaze namazı – Özgecan Arslan ve Emani Arrahman
[37] http://marksist.org/icerik/Kadin/4068/8-Mart-dosyasi-Kadina-Siddete-Karsi-Musluman-Inisiyatifi-uyeleriyle-roportaj

generation has also revealed their struggle against the Muslim women's image produced by the AKP government. However, they also challenge the idea of being part of the debate as an epitome of Muslim women with regard to decisions about their bodily practices,

> Our last word to those who express their revenge to AKP through the veiled women, is that; neither the girls' nor the women's body is a domain of ideological battle field against AKP. Take your hands and words away from our bodies! [38]

This quotation is taken from the KŞKMI's response to the manifesto of a women's organization (SFK) about the freedom of headscarf in middle schools. Opposite to the idea of emancipating the girls from the 'headscarf' in their early ages, KŞKMI criticized its approach to headscarf as an obstacle for women's emancipation. Very similar to the perspectives of the women of 1990s, the women of KŞKMI claimed that there is no difference between the approaches of mainstream feminists and the dominant patriarchy when it comes to veiling, since both of them approached to woman body as something in the need of 'saving'. While one of them suggests that the female body needed to be veiled, the other one argues that it needs to be 'emancipated' from veiling in order to free those women. Precisely for this reason, women from KŞKMI tried to make their voices heard by saying 'take your hands and words from our bodies!'.

As a conclusion to this part, KŞKMI formed an approach for struggling against one of the physical effects of patriarchy. While doing that, these women were capable of adopting a Muslim feminist discourse on the female body. Despite their contrast to mainstream feminists, they established their discourses through referring to Islamic principles and feminism, in which they highlighted the importance of women's solidarity. In their own words: "When the male violence was diffused in

[38] http://www.islamianaliz.com/h/10411/kadina-siddete-karsi-muslumanlar-inisiyatifi-ortaogretim-caginda-bir-kisi-pek-ala-kendi-karari-ile-ortunebilir

various ways to each part of our lives, even it did not leave us space for breathing, we organized the social opposition up front by saying 'women's solidarity keeps us alive'".[39]

3.3 Reçel-blog (2014)

A year after the foundation of the KŞKMI, Muslim feminist women established a platform named 'Reçel-blog'. This platform has been central in placing various types of writings of the Muslim women together. Today, there is a significant archive on the website of Reçel-blog regarding different issues. As the founders of the website note, "We wish to have a channel in which we could utter our own words concerning women, especially Muslim women's everyday experiences, approaches to social issues, interests, sufferings, hopes, worries and struggles".[40] Reçel-blog makes an effort to give voice to Muslim women from different backgrounds by enabling them to share their common experiences. Of course, compared to *Ayça*, there is an important impact of technological developments on Reçel-blog's success in promoting itself across different fractions of society. However, similar to *Ayça*, the writers of Reçel also employ an ironic language by which they reveal their experiences with the male public. So as the editors claimed from its start, Reçel would be able to introduce itself to the public in time.

As it is understood from the title of the website, by making reference to Dücane Cündioğlu's conceptualization of the modern Muslim women who are not able to make jams, Reçel-blog aims to extend the meaning of making jam from an opposite perspective. In the early writings of Reçel, there is an explanatory article

[39] http://kskmi.com/suriyeli-kadinlar-yalniz-degildir/
[40] http://recel-blog.com/recel/

that establishes the blog's perspective in contrast to the male public by imitating Cündioğlu's methodology of categorizing women and depicting the men who are not able to do chores such as changing a tap wrench:

> One's ability to change a tap wrench is the guarantee of a peaceful family in which the children can wash their hands with the water while they are joking each other. In my case, a tap wrench which is changed by the father represents the warmth in a home, love of a family.
> Some of you might ask "What about the women? What did they do?". I tell: by brazening they will say that "we are innocents, because we were going to call a repairman, we could not have any idea about what was going on in the home?"[41]

As it is clear from the article, the author establishes the discourse of 'Muslim men who cannot change the tap wrench' as a response to the male public, by responding to Cündioğlu in particular. The author's attempt is also crucial for identifying the conditions upon which the platform of the Reçel-blog is established. While the discussions have been revolving only around the Muslim women in the male public, Reçel aimed to create their own community by taking the Muslim men's positions into the question. Probably for that reason, these women chose to use the metaphor of Reçel for their movement.

There have been various articles published in the Reçel-blog up to now. Since Reçel opens up a free medium for women to express their feelings, ideas, and experiences, many issues with regard to Muslim women have been discussed through the articles of Reçel. As a reaction to the discursive limits of the male public regarding the female body, the women of Reçel produce their own approach in which they establish counter arguments through making references to their own experiences with the patriarchy. Especially, as it could be seen from the following article, the male public's approach in which the Muslim woman's body appeared as one of the

[41] http://recel-blog.com/conta-degistiremeyen-musluman-erkekler/

substantial area that could be controlled by Muslim men, constitutes an important part of the discussions in the Reçel-blog:

> What was God saying to that situation? What was my headscarf signifying? For me, there was no difference between my headscarf and the other commands, it was just one of the suppositions of the God, like praying, fasting or not eating pork. However, the doctrines were postulating another thing, they were expecting us to perform sinlessness behind our patterns and aiming to retain us from being human. Can a veiled girl ride a bicycle? Can a veiled girl raise a laugh? Did a veiled girl kiss her boyfriend? Does a veiled girl smoke? The veiled girl is swearing, wearing pant, criticizing us, playing guitar, singing! The end of the world is at the fingertips of the veiled girl, I am saying that we are all responsible for the acts of the veiled girls, why don't you warn them? [42]

In this way, these women started developing an approach peculiar to themselves regarding their bodies by refusing the interventions from outside or the male public. By looking at the framing of their refusal to commit to those interventions, these women positioned themselves as the decision makers of their bodily practices, even in the case that they chose to be veiled. In addition to that, the writer of the article reacted against the idea that veiled women are instrumentalized and objectified through their 'Muslim' appearance, while there were not any interventions to Muslim men regarding their appearance. Similar to that, another woman criticizes the question of 'Aren't you ashamed of the headscarf that you wear?' and she argues ironically that the reason behind the recent position of the ummah would be "not taking serious enough the 7th pillar of the faith which would be 'belief in men'."[43]

Since these women reacted to any kind of intervention into their physical appearance, they also stood against any controlling attitude towards their sexualities, as sexuality is assumed as their intimate spaces. A writer of Reçel criticized the reactions to the poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün', specifically Sema Maraşlı's article on

[42] http://recel-blog.com/bayrak-midir-basortusu/
[43] http://recel-blog.com/golgelerin-gucu-adina-vurun-kahpeye/

'Acceptable Sexuality'[44], which accused the poet for talking about sexuality despite her Muslim woman identity. Sema Maraşlı's reaction could be considered as a reflection of her adopted position as the advisor of the 'Acceptable Sexuality' which is overall beneficial to the male public.

> So, my friends, the issue is not about talking on sexuality. Even, the issue is not about a woman mentioning sexuality. These were because we do not flatter men's masculinity, we do not accept their attempt to teach us our places. As long as we go to bed or kitchen at the time that they tell us, our writings will not be significant. [45]

By looking at these expressions on the female body and sexuality, I argue that the women who write in the Reçel-blog establish their discourses based on their bodily experiences as women. This is very crucial, since their point takes the form of a re-construction of the community of Muslim women in which their sexualities and bodies are also included, against the male public. Accordingly, they have also expressed their views on the issue of virginity, which is one of the most ingrained taboos among the Muslim public, as well as the Turkish society. Through criticizing the social constructs around the concept of virginity, a writer shares her experiences of losing her virginity by saying "I was emancipated from this virginity damn". The author narrates that as her conscious decision made in a period when she was questioning the importance of the virginity. She seems as willing to be emancipated from that virginity damn as a reaction to the male public, which constitutes virginity as sanctified. However, the crucial point in the article is her experience in a further relationship. As she points out, her recent partner is being jealous of the man whom she 'offered' her virginity, rather than focusing on what the author highlights as a more essential point to their relationship: the man who she really desired and fell in

[44] http://www.cocukaile.net/yatak-mucahidelik-karisik-meseleler-uzerine/
[45] http://recel-blog.com/makbul-cinsellik/

love with. In this manner, she suggests that her partner's jealousy implies: "Your desire is not important, your desire has no power, no ability to change. Only your hymen has that ability, and you left that ability to somebody else before me."[46]

Similar to the previous one, in another article the writer questions her father's approach regarding the issue of virginity. Since she relates her father's position with the male public, she narrates her period of depression after she lost her virginity, which made herself feel 'half' and 'sinful'. At the end of the process, she decided to take off her headscarf since the double standards of the patriarchy regarding the female body affected her belief to Islam, which is mostly based on the traditional perspective. After uncovering herself, her father reacted to her by advising her to 'wear modest clothes, and not to show her backside'[47]. Through the narratives of these women, I argue that their bodily experiences have been shaped in terms of the patriarchal point of view, against which they struggled. Besides the gender norms, they were constituting their own approaches regarding women's bodies, they also had contradictions with the image of the female body presented by the patriarchy. Since that image is formed by references to religion, they attempted to research further about Quran, the original source of Islam, in order to find the meaning of being a woman:

> If the God were the one saying only the truth, then humans would be liars. While the humans were interpreting religion for their benefit, there was no contradiction among the verses of Allah. The Creator was saying "turn your eyes and look" by signifying the created one, "would you find any deficiency or failure". Then what was the thing which made us deficient? The women creature's minds were diminished by whom or what? [48]

[46] http://recel-blog.com/cinsellikle-olan-ikircikli-bagimiz/
[47] http://recel-blog.com/kicim-mi-onemli-basim-mi/
[48] http://recel-blog.com/varolusumun-problemi-neydi

While God's speech in the Quran is associated with the 'truth', the writer targets humankind as the manipulator of religion. Therefore, for establishing a counter public against that, those women from the last generation also aimed to take the Quran as the source of truth towards the patriarchal perspective in the male public. Even one of the writers searched for the traditional approach regarding Adam and Eve in Quran, and she argued that:

> Opposite to the Bible, Adam, who is mentioned in the Quran, is not a man, in abstract. S/he is a human. With regard to the narrative of Adam, Quran never uses the word of 'man' or 'adam'[49], on the contrary it placed to expressions of 'human'(beşer), 'nafs' and 'khalifa' independent from sex. Creator has created humanity from 'only one soul', he shaped it from loam and whiffled from his 'soul'. Human is bipolar as well as everything had been created. The mate(zevc) of the human, called as 'zevc' in the Quran, would be a part of it. In the ayeth of "He created you as mates (zevc) for one another that you may find tranquility in them", the word 'mate'(zevc) is used in both for 'feminine' and 'masculine' meaning. In this narrative, there is reference neither to sex, nor to a chronological event. [50]

The writer, in her following article that is written in response to reactions that she received, argued that the understanding of woman's creation as a waste product of the man needs to be re-read in terms of Quran. As she points out, this kind of an approach, which she considers in humane, cannot be considered as an Islamic one as well. The human oriented understanding of Islam is also supported by the women from the last generation. Since they believe that there are no mentions regarding the hierarchies between the sexes in the Quran, their suggestions of 're-reading' Islam could be considered as one of the most fundamental discourses of the Muslim women public.

Among the women writing in the Reçel-blog, there are also various discussions regarding the idea of feminism. As I mentioned elsewhere, these women

[49] Adam is used as man in Turkish. However, it originally comes from 'Adem' which means 'human' (insan).
[50] http://recel-blog.com/adem-bir-erkek-miydi/

are more likely to adopt the identity of feminism in terms of establishing their struggle against the male public, compared to the women of the first generation. However, through the articles of these women, it could be seen that there are some conflicts between them and the mainstream feminists. While they establish their counter discourses with reference to Islam and feminism, they are still open to be questioned by different fractions. This issue mainly originated from the attitudes of the Muslim men and mainstream feminists. For instance, one of the writers narrates the situation as:

> Before you begin to speak, you need to submit a knowledge regarding whether or not you are a feminist. I am not talking regarding only those who have a negative interpretation of feminism. The opposite side could also act in a similar way. If you are a feminist, they would say "let's drink a tea together", but if you are not, they would be questioning "how come that is possible?". We need to realize that there is not a clear boundary between everyday practices and political acts. If we could have something in our hands to measure how much a woman is a feminist, and measure the everyday practices of the women who are not defining themselves as feminist, we could see they are much more feminist than the women who are adopting this identity politically. [51]

While establishing their counter discourses for Muslim women public, those women consistently seem to be responding to the question of 'are you a feminist?' However, as the supporters of the woman's solidarity in their public, they search for the possible conditions of being together. As one of the writers[52] pointed out, the distinction between 'identity' and 'belonging' is substantial for preparing these conditions. In order to establish a common discourse among feminist women, the writer suggests that they need to establish their struggle through considering the differences without any conflict. In another article, we see a similar aim in which the

[51] http://recel-blog.com/hemen-burada-soyle-feminist-misin/
[52] http://recel-blog.com/recel-kimlik-aidiyet/

writer highlights the significance of the 'proper method' for securing solidarity among the women. She argues that,

> We have been experiencing that women are powerful together along the history of humanity for maybe 30 or even 300 years, as long as they follow proper methods. I witnessed a lot that, women discover those methods by discussing sincerely, even sometimes by paying the price of it, yet by endeavoring, even if they argued, they would be able to do that by feeling goodwill to each other. [53]

So, the perception of feminism among these women writing in the Reçel-blog is aimed to benefit their struggle, independently of whether or not they are adopting the identity of feminism. However, similar to that idea, one of the writers criticizes the position of women hesitating from adopting feminist identity by referring to Wollstonecraft: "After almost two centuries, in a completely different geography and sociopolitical context, as well as Wollstonecraft, we support the rights of women who are pushed to world with equal potency with men without injuring the masculinity of the 'father'."[54] The author clearly points to the tension among the Muslim women who are being distant to feminism, as 'they are being dispersed between acceptance and refusal' in order not to be excluded from religion. Even though almost all of the Muslim feminist women agree upon the idea that there is a woman issue in the recent practices of Islam, they are not able to talk about the 'secret hand' which places the 'fabricated religion' instead of the 'inspired religion'. The author's distinction between these two is substantial for constituting the discourse from a different manner. Rather than defining the male public through its formation of traditional patriarchy, she establishes a counter discourse in which patriarchy is disclosed as a fabrication. In this way, she positions their struggle by referring its relation to being 'inspired by religion'.

[53] http://recel-blog.com/kadinlar-birlikte-guclu-dedigimizde/
[54] http://recel-blog.com/inananlarin-erkek-kardesligine-reddiye/

This article is also substantial for addressing the tensions of first generation's women as well. I argue that since the women from the first generation engaged in their struggle through distancing themselves from the feminist discourse as a strategy, they would face the discursive limits of the male public. Hence, although their movement seemed as the beginning of the Muslim feminist movement, they could not be successful in separating their discourses from the traditionalism of the male public. Contrary to the first generation, women of KŞKMI and Reçel-blog, establish their subjectivities and discourses from an antagonistic point of view, in spite of the discursive limits of associating the tradition and Islam which are produced by the male public. I argue that the discursive space, in which a Muslim feminist woman subjectivity is performed, has advanced by the struggles of this generation's women. In that context, it would be appropriate to emphasize to the article revealed by Funda Şenol Cantek and Aksu Bora. (2015, p.26) In their article about '5 harfliler[55] and Reçel blog' narrate the significance of these two platforms as being agencies in which women could be flown freely:

> We wish to say hi to 5 harfliler and Reçel in this paper. We know that there are women who are hesitating to call themselves as "feminists" among them. However, it is required to accord that, what they do, is stands at the core of feminist struggle.

3.4 Interviews of 2010s

Similar to the first generation, the women from the last generation, also account themselves as the decision makers in their process of veiling. However, they are distinguished from the first generation in two ways. First, women from the later generation were veiled at younger ages (12-13) compared to the first generation. The

[55] 5 harfliler, similar to Reçel-blog, is a platform which is revealed by feminist women.

motivations for veiling are also constituted in two ways. On the one hand, some women veiled for the wish of their parents. On the other hand, there are women who veiled despite their parents' reactions urging them to not to do so. However, all of them agree upon considering veiling as a requirement for their Muslim identity. One point of distinction is their ages to do that, which is discussed in this part in detail.

The second distinctive feature of the recent generation is their approaches regarding 'femininity'. As I mentioned in the previous part, the women of the first generation formed their opinion on veiling in terms of hiding their 'female appearance' in the male public. In the narratives of the women from the last generation, I observed a general tendency to be veiled for 'appearing as a woman' during their process of deciding to wear headscarf. Actually, this is not related to being visible in the male public. Mostly, as they desired to manifest themselves in the family, they considered veiling as a fundamental requirement for doing that. Those who were veiled in accordance to their parents' wish, also narrated their subjective position in making decisions regarding their bodily appearance at some point in their trajectories. I argue that the women from the recent generation are much more knowledgeable regarding their bodily practices which would also be effective in their discursive movement as Muslim feminist women.

Çiğdem narrates her story of veiling as a decision of her family. She points out that although she was not willing to be veiled in that period, when she was 12 years-old, later she experienced veiling as a conscious decision. Yet, she regards her family's decision as an early decision. Evaluating that period now, she thinks that it would have been easier for her to be veiled after finishing high school, just as one of her cousins did. Since she was ashamed of being veiled while she was going to the middle school, she preferred to continue her education in an 'open' high-school.

> Before I started high school, my father said to me that I can remove the headscarf, if I wanted. However, since I was not willing to experience the 'tension of uncovering and covering' one more time, I did not prefer to do that. I decided to study in an open high-school after that.

Even though the decision of her veiling was made by her family, the later decisions seem as Çiğdem's own. While sharing her experiences after she veiled, she claims that she was feeling freer before. As a 'visible' representative of the religion, she would be judged by the values of the Muslim male public. The very first experience of public's intervention happened when she swore to a boy who was abusing her friend. The boy responded to her as 'how could you do that while you are wearing headscarf?'. This seemed as having central impact on her later experiences, narrated by her as "Up until now, I have been trying to wear my outside to inside". I think this is substantial for identifying the societal approach regarding the Muslim woman's body, in which there are certain rules of appearance. In Çiğdem's story, for instance, these appeared as riding a bicycle, or swearing, while others could be also added such as smoking, laughing etc. So, the discourses of the male public regarding gender norms are effective in those women's early ages, which are coinciding with their articles in Reçel-blog as I discussed in the previous part.

Aynur also narrates the veiling story as a decision of her family, in which her early physical development was also effective:

> It was the summer of 4th year in primary school that I veiled firstly. I was a stalwart child among my peers. I was tall and my breasts grew earlier. Therefore, my family decided that I need to cover myself. I did not cover willingly. Now, I can take off that, but I do not want.

Aynur was clear that her 'female' appearance in her early ages is one of the substantial reasons why her family made her to be veiled, which also had an impact in her process of getting married at an early age. While Aynur was not ashamed of

her appearance, her family motivated her to be veiled. In that sense, I argue that Aynur tries to justify her family's decision regarding her bodily appearance as a 'proper' one by making constant references to her physical appearance. Aynur describes the position of her family within the traditional practices of Islam, in which she highlights her mother's veiling style as 'her hair could be seen under the headscarf'. As a part of that, Aynur narrates her position in the family as the representative of Islam through her opportunity to make her family live Islam properly rather than a traditional way of life. So, Aynur takes the responsibility of having an Islamic education as her own decision. This was also effective regarding her interventions to her family, such as her mother's way of veiling.

While Aynur and Çiğdem constituted their process of veiling as independent from their decision, they both seemed conscious about the necessity of it for that period in their lives, as they narrated during the interview. However, Aynur claims that she chooses to be veiled today for a political reason while Çiğdem is not sure about its necessity. I argue for the women of recent generation that there is a mediate narration of themselves through their families, in which they narrate their subjectivities from a distant position to their families. The women who chose to veil on their own also sought to establish their subjectivity towards the reactions that they got from their milieu. For instance, Simay narrates her story of veiling as:

> I wanted to grow up, to show myself. When I was at middle school, I wore the headscarf for the first time and that was the day I decided to veil. I didn't tell anyone. My mother was surprised when she saw me with headscarf, she said "You do not need to veil, you are so young now". I remember that I got angry, that day I covered my head, then every day I went outside with headscarf.

In Simay's narrative, veiling emerges as part of the process of becoming an adult, in which she believed that she would be more respected among her social environment.

So, Simay's motivation for veiling seems as her 'aspiration' to be 'grown up'. In her narration we also see that there is a conflict between Simay and her mother regarding the issue of veiling. Since her mother considers that as an early decision, and Simay's anger towards her mother's comment stems from her willingness to assert herself as an adult woman. Arzu, very similar to Simay, narrates that;

> At the 6th grade, suddenly I decided to veil by saying from now on I will wear headscarf. Before, I was wearing headscarf in Eids, private days in order to feel myself more elegant. All my role models were wearing headscarf. I decided to wear it while I was going to school as well. My mother told me that "You are so young it is not necessary for you. You will need to take it out at school in any case." I remember I said her "you cannot interfere, it is my decision". From that day, I am wearing headscarf.

Compared to Simay, Arzu is clear in relating veiling to the idea of 'having an adult appearance', which emerges out of her observation of the other women in her social environment. So, Arzu considers her mother's reaction as a reaction to her decision of being a woman. While she was expected to be veiled after her menstruation process, she was willing to do that before in order to express her 'femininity' as an adult.

Dilan, on the other hand, narrates her story of veiling by referring to different periods. One of them is the period when she was 11 years old and other one was after her menstruation. Similar to Simay and Arzu, Dilan also decided to veil in her young ages, in which she got many reactions from her social circle. However, the reactions were only effective in Dilan's decision for taking off the headscarf until she started menstruating. One year later, when she was 12 years old, Dilan suddenly encountered her 'feminine appearance':

> While I was going 6th grade, suddenly there was an increase in my length. I came to be seen as much more feminine, and my mother told me that it was the time. She did not repress me to wear headscarf, I was already thinking that. Then my menstruation began. I was waiting to menstruate since I was 9 years old, I was conscious about my responsibility of covering after that. I

> heard the practice of veiling as something positive from my mother. She told me that it was just an indicator of becoming woman, something that made me receive much more respect.

In Dilan's story, her physical appearance has been fundamental in her process of veiling. Coinciding with her prior knowledge regarding veiling, she also constitutes her view of veiling as part of being a Muslim woman, similar to Simay and Arzu. In her later experiences, because of her appearance she would begin to think that veiling is required for the women who are beautiful. However, as the interviewees claimed, there were not many changes in their way of living after they veiled in that period. At the time that they became part of public life, they also began to experience gender norms, which they also witnessed through the experiences of other women.

I argue that, at the time these women began to go outside from their sheltering homes, as they encountered the male public's approach to woman body, they had the opportunity to seek their own ways for struggling against that approach. Compared to the first generation, their struggle was held as a part of embracing their 'femininity', rather than covering that.

3.4.1 Woman body and the Poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün'

Sexual narratives of recent generation's women are revealed by their stories of harassment which were mostly appeared in a suspicious way. I argue that since these women had a conscious relationship with their bodies, they would also account their stories of being harassed after a while it happened. This would also be affective in their levels of anxiety regarding the issue of being harassed. So while they were constituting their bodily narratives in terms of their pre-knowledge of that, their process of linking the relationship between their bodies and the harassment seemed as a traumatic one. Since they did not relate the veiling issue to their bodily

appearance, they narrate their stories regarding being harassed with in an ambiguous way. I argue that the situation of harassment came to be seen as a tension between the ideas of 'It might happen again' and 'What if it is happening right now?' Actually, these women had this type of thinking because they considered harassment as separated from their bodily appearance. While the women of first the generation experienced harassment within its relation to the feeling of fear, this was also determinant of establishing a coercive relationship between themselves and the private space (Ahmed, 2004), as they returned to their bodies for averting any threat of harassment. Also, women of the recent generation reflected upon their experiences of being harassed as considering them as part of the violence towards the female body that is produced by the male public as I have discussed in previous part. Aynur for instance, narrates her story as:

> Actually, there are some stories about harassment in my past. Before I started to primary school, our homeowners' son took me his lap. Also I remember that there was an old man, we were visiting him with my father, one day he kissed my lips, and I did not tell anyone. And I did not think about how it has influenced me. I recognized that these were harassment so much later. I do not know if that's why I have so much afraid of harassment and rape.

While Aynur narrates her story of these events, she seemed as having a self-talk in which she questions her excessive fear (according to her) of harassment and rape. Seemingly, the harassment stories of the women were not constituted in their narrations as something forgotten. On the contrary, these stories shaped their view of patriarchy which is a permanent reminder to them through their encounters with others' stories. That might be the reason for the women of recent generation to regard cases of harassment as common experiences of being a woman. As they are aware of the 'danger' of that harassment not only for themselves, they are also affective in including the other stories in relation to that, which makes them to be

considerate of the other women's experiences. Simay also narrates her story of harassment as something that she had recognized after a while it happened. In fact, what is important in Simay's story is her experiences with her boyfriend, since it also turned out to be an account on harassment by Simay. Despite the romantic relationship between them, Simay positions her boyfriend as the harasser of her body in terms of his interferences. Simay explains her discomfort by saying "I was not ready to do that", which might be the reason for her to call her relationship as an abusive one. However, in the further parts of the interview, it would be clear for me to see how Simay's bodily knowledge in that time, is limited by the discourses of the male public which was appeared on her first sexual experience. Since the harassment is settled as an only way for having a sexual relationship according to Simay, she narrates her position in that time as:

> If I was knowing much more about that, I could be aware of what I want or do not want. Maybe it would not be an "harassment" in that case. When you could not choose, it would be traumatic for you, because you do not know what you want. You need to feel your own world in which you are aware of what is giving you enjoy, rather than feeling you are in a world only the men enjoys you.

While 'In a world only the men enjoy you' is a distinctive remark on women's experiences of sexual harassment; it is also quite significant for identifying women's sexuality which is produced by means of the patriarchy. Since these women are aware of their bodies are not just about the enjoyment of men, they also assume the responsibility of their bodily enjoyment. They would perform this enjoyment by distinguishing their bodies from the feeling of fear which is appeared through the interferences of the male public. Arzu, in her narration claims that there is no need for the emotions to be enjoyed from a sexual relationship. According to Arzu, since

there is a biological formulation of the woman body, the enjoyment would be happened within the use of the 'proper mathematics':

> For the women who begin to masturbate from early childhood, and have more knowledge regarding their bodies, the enjoyment could be easier than the women who do not masturbate and having first sexual experiences with a man. Because it is something physical and mathematical. It is happening when certain points are stimulated, not related with emotions. Of course, emotions are important but, it is about excreting specific hormones.

So the approach of women of this generation would be established by also distinguishing their bodily experiences from the discursive limits of being woman which establishes the female body through its feature of reproduction. Compared with the women of the first generation, these women are more capable of experiencing their bodily practices without including the limitations of love, or romantic relationships as well. By doing that they established their approaches also without reconstructing the sexuality suggested by patriarchy. Masturbation in that sense, is crucial in these women's discovering a way of the sexual enjoyment through their bodies. As one of the interviewees is narrated that "When a woman reaches climax, she feels that no one can hold her. But we do not know that until we have sex", that was actually called by her as 'the power of orgasm'. In this context Dilan narrates her experience as:

> After I got married, it (masturbation) benefited me. I had the knowledge of my body, I mean I was knowing that which part of it giving me enjoy. When I looked the anatomical diagrams, I learnt so much things as well. So, masturbating made me know that sex was something enjoyable. That's why I was willing to be married at early ages. I was feeling so much mature. So I knew that it was something that gave women pleasure, otherwise It would be like God wants us to be raped all the time.

These women are clear in defining the sexuality produced by the male public through its relation to rape and harassment. Even they consider the sexual relationship without the pleasure of the female body as dissimilar to experiencing a harassment.

In that sense, their personal experiences of their body help them establish their discourses regarding sexuality. While they were referring to their experiences in their narrations of sexuality, they also revealed that their approach as reasonable in terms of Islam, by claiming that women are not created in order to be harassed.

Within this framework, women's approaches to the poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün' also originated through the reflection of their bodily practices. Similar to the women of the first generation, they also interpreted the poem as 'common anger' towards the gender norms produced by the male public. As Dilan narrates:

> I remember that, when I first read the poem I was excited so much. I read it a few times in a row. Even if I wanted to evaluate it as any poem, it was not possible for me. Because I felt the anger and challenge. She wrote that poem from the point that every woman stands and speaks for herself. The erotic tone that she used is also the replica of the tone that we are exposed in our daily lives.

Since the poem addresses the anger among women towards the patriarchal organization of gender norms, they consider that as a 'comprehensible' challenge to that. According to Aynur, because the poem is effective in mirroring the tones and attitudes of the male public regarding woman body, women's reactions are revealed through their shame to encounter their appearance in a similar vein that is discussed by Sara Ahmed. As Aynur narrates, "The anger of women and men reacting to the poem is for expressing themselves. That poem is declaring the men and the masculinized women. The poet used a lot of words that we are not used to hear. Therefore, unfortunately it will be remembered as an erotic poem written by a veiled woman." Her emphasis on the veiling issue is crucial since the reactions mostly concentrate on the Muslim identity of the poet. Within that context, Çiğdem also mentions one of the reactions in which she says, "When those people read the Quran, they would declare God as a pervert. Actually, that is what God is talking about in

Quran". Moreover, Çiğdem also evaluates the reactions by relating them to the two-facedness of conservatism: "Sema Maraşlı, for instance, is talking about sexuality, but without distorting traditional norms. In such cases, there would not be any problems. The second wife issue makes men happy." These women criticize reactions to the poem as part of the male public in which woman sexuality is produced through its benefit to patriarchy. Lastly, Simay narrates how she perceives the position of the poet as in terms of her challenge to patriarchy:

> There is a woman who can express herself, and this type of women are not liked so much in our society. Also, she challenges men. Her conservative identity is also effective, sharing her private life etc. Normally those women are expected to stay at home, not go outside.

Within this framework, these women interpret the poem and the reactions to it with their relation to the approach to the female body in the male public. According to that approach, women, especially those who wear headscarf, would be expected to act in a way that does not disrupt the patriarchal institutions (family, sexuality etc.) of the society.

3.4.2 Women are strong together: Feminism and Islam

As I discussed in the previous parts, the women from the recent generation were clear in referring to feminism in relation to their own movement. Since they approach their struggle of Muslim women as a common issue that is produced by patriarchy, they think that there is a need of feminist discourses in their movement. In that sense, their distinctive strategy in doing so is to refer to their feminist and Muslim identities separately where their 'womanhood' appeared as the mutual determinant in order to act in a woman's solidarity. Their experiences of harassment in common seem to have been effective, as I discussed in the previous part.

As Aynur narrates, after she got divorced, her experiences of discrimination against her womanhood have increased. By also observing others' experiences she decided to take part in that movement by searching its reflection in Islam, and she points out:

> I can tell that we learnt about a male-dominant religion after my ages of 30. I do not trust the meanings and comments of Quran, because all of them are written by men. And each man gives meaning to things according to what he read by means of his own traditions.

Aynur considers the interpretations of the Islamic resources as suspicious, which is coinciding with the idea of the women of first generation. Therefore, Aynur also reveals the need of re-reading of Islam from a feminist point of view. Her definition of 'a male-dominant religion' needs to be considered in terms of that approach. On the other hand, Çiğdem seemed as having a tendency to read the Islamic sources within their own historical process. However, she still questions the reason of woman's incapability of being chosen as a Prophet, and she puts the feature of fertility, which she argues to be a permanent reason for positioning women in the background among Islamic interpretations. In that sense, Dilan suggests that feminism would be beneficial for dealing with the gender norms that are settled with the patriarchal interpretations of Islam:

> For instance, men can shake hands with women, but Muslim women cannot. Because women are going to give birth to Ebu-Bekirs and Omars, they should not use bad words, but their husbands can swear. If it is about feminism, everyone needs to be feminist.
> Feminism is something used as an instrument. It is part of my life as much as the suggestions it offers, both theoretically and practically. But being Muslim is much more ontological. For example, in case there is something not reasonable for me, I would wait until I understand that. But in feminism I would take what I like because I see that as a social theory. I think feminism could be an issue in fiqh, rather than itikad. I think there needs to open more space for feminisms. In Turkey, there needs to be a Muslim feminist movement.

Dilan's separation of fiqh and itikad is substantial for identifying the approach of these women to feminism. While fiqh is about the laws of Islam that are related to everyday practices in this world, itikad, on the other hand, is about belief (iman). So these women consider feminism as something open to change and transformation regarding its reflection to the gender norms, while religion is established as something related to God in terms of giving meaning to their existence. Compared to the first generation, these women seemed more keen to define themselves within the feminist identity. As a part of that discussion, these women's bodily knowledge also seemed as being shaped by the feminist politics of body, As Simay narrates:

> I learnt so much from the feminist movement. The body politics of feminism are significant, and I consider them as a requirement. Saying that my body is mine, demanding the streets, talking about rape and harassment, all of them are significant acquisitions.

So, the feminist discourse which is embracing the female body at the core of its struggle, influenced these women's approaches to their bodily practices as well. In that sense, they took the advantage for extending the space for the discursive movement of the Muslim women. By considering these women's veiling practices in which their motivation originated through the idea of 'appearing as a woman', it is easier to see how their bodily practices were also effective in shaping the struggle of this generation.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Muslim ‘feminist’ women in Turkey, seek to perform their subjectivity in the male public in several ways. In the thesis by comparing two generations (1980s and 2010s), I purposed to clarify the conditions of those women’s movement which is quite substantial for the Muslim women in Turkey. In addition to their bodily practices, I tried to present the different periods of these generations through literature review. As I emphasized in the beginning, literature review was also substantial for me to address those women’s positions in different periods, since most of the women, especially from the first generation, were hesitated to have an interview with me. As I mentioned elsewhere, the period of first generation corresponded to the rising period of political Islam. This would be also substantial for them to express themselves as the subjects of the male public rather than being an object of it. I think, those women’s distant position to feminism needs to be read within that situation. Since they were also struggling against to modernity, they seemed as purposing to establish their movement from inside Islamist point of view which was occurred as also a struggle against the 1980’s secular-kemalist state in Turkey. That could be also a reason for their effort to make Muslim men to be included to their movement. On the other hand, last generation of 2010s were basically the figures of a state which could be read as the outcome of that political Islam. As the opponents of AKP government’s policies, last generation’s women were established their movement through separating themselves from that Islamist position which would be also effective for them to surpass the boundaries of adopting feminist identity.

Moreover, women of the recent generation agree on the idea that there is a need for a Muslim feminist movement. This is crucial for both the milieus of feminists and of Muslims. Since they encountered their bodily practices in earlier/younger ages compared to the women of first generation, their approach regarding the woman body has been transformed in two ways. First, they established their discourses of rape and harassment as a social threat produced by patriarchy rather than relating to them by their bodily appearance in private. In that way, their practices of veiling could not be shaped through the kinds of interventions that they were exposed to in the male public. Opposite to the women of the first generation, the second generation seemed to practice their bodily experiences by separating them from its discursive and performative construction in the male public. In other words, they establish their struggle through including their 'female' bodies into the public rather than constituting veiling as a function for hiding them, which would also affect their interwoven performance of the private and public spaces. I argue for that part, since the women of first generation had much more concrete boundaries with regard to issue of body, they were more affected to establish their approach regarding to their body by relating it as a 'shameful object'. On the other hand, since recent generation's women tended to establish their view on woman body in terms of taking for instance 'harassment' as a social issue, they seemed as much more comfortable in sharing their stories with regard to their bodily experiences. However, during the interviews, I witnessed a lot their feeling of shame in a way. Yet, the relation between sexuality and shame needs a detailed analysis, since it was really one of the hard issues for me in the thesis.

Finally, their experiences of sexuality are also embodied within their everyday practices of locating their bodies at the center of the women's issues. That

separates their struggle from the discursive limits of the male public regarding the female body, which was a coping matter for the women of the first generation who had established their approaches through their boundaries when it comes to the relationships with the opposite sex. For that part, I need to admit that the poem of 'Adamım Büyüksün' would be really affective for me to make my interviewers to share their ideas and experiences contentedly. I think, witnessing that kind of expression of a Muslim woman might be encouraging them to talk about their stories. So that, as I mentioned beginning, the poem would also a substantial indicator for our common experiences of sexuality, and body, which was also effective in surpassing the silence regarding the issue of woman body. So that, parallel to my story, I purposed to clarify Muslim women's approaches regarding the issue of sexuality, which came to end as a general framework of the transformation between my generation and my mother's generation. In that sense, I think these changing conditions of Muslim 'feminist' movement have so many similarities with other social movements among all over the world as well. So my thesis is about the Muslim 'feminists' in particular, however it coincides with different movements in general as well.

APPENDİX A

THE POEM OF ‘ADAMIM BÜYÜKSÜN’

Adamım sana senin dilinle bir dokunuş arzuladığım

Salgıladığın tüm sıvılar ile yücesin inandım

İçimde bir kelime, dışımda bir kelime daha

Doğuramadığım tüm sancıların adısın

Bana beni göster, bana beni anlat hiç durma

Kavuran kollarını, bükülmeyen dizlerini göster sonra

Beni senin kutsallığına inandır, beni sensizliğin efsanesinde terk et

Sonra seril yatağına ağırlığınca gücün

Bu dünya tarlandır senin sars gönlünce

Adi bir tütün gibi ağzımı bir çöplüğe çevir

Geçtiği her yeri kokutan bir leş gibi sürükle gururunu da

Kökle sonra yedirebildiğin kadar kadına

Amerika’nın keşfi kadar muhteşemsin bebeğim amenna.

Bana cinsinizin tekrarından bahset,

Platon’dan başla ve bitir özel ismet’le

Gazzali’den yola çık ve devam et Ömer Rıza’larla

Şanlı tarihinizin kıllı göğüsleri kabartmasından sonra

Aklını bana ver benimki yetersiz

Aklını ver bana benimki yersiz

Sür rahmime çocuklar doğurt, neslini taşımayı lütfet.

‘Şair Arapçadır, müzekkerdir cicim

Sen ne bok yemeye yazıyorsun bilmiyoruz ama haddini aşma’

Bana beni bildir, beni olmam gereken yere biraz aşağısına bırak kendinin.

Adamım sana senin ellerinle bir dokunuş tek istediğim

Biraz morarır kızarırsa yadırgama cinnetine sebebi

Ya annesiyim ümmetin ya hiç, ya meleği yanlışlıkların ya da hiç

Şimdi bana biraz fıtratımdan bahset, utanca ve dirence sebebiyet

Elmaların en arsızı belki ellerim, dizlerim sana yönelen

Beni cinsinizin tanrılığına inandır, kayıtsız şartsız itaate doğru yolla

Meryem'in fahişeliğine, Adolfina'nın cadılığına sonra

Söylesene sevgilim kadınlar ölünce daha mı umutlu?

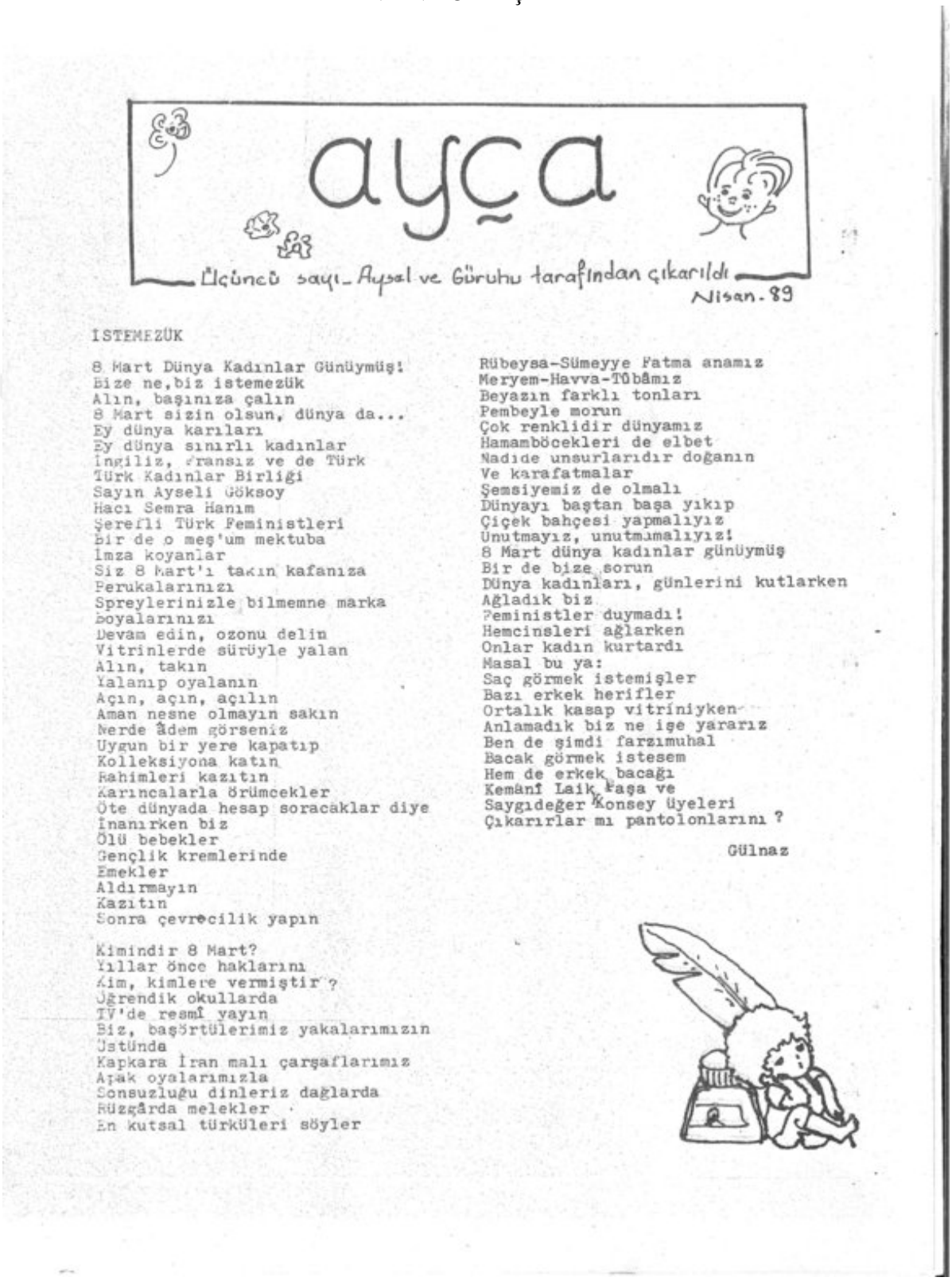
Haydi benimle raks et, benim hislerim yetersiz

Haydi takas et beni, bana dair hislerin yersiz.

Nebiye Arı/2014

APPENDIX B

FANZINE OF*AYÇA*



ayça

Üçüncü sayı_Aysel ve Güruhu tarafından çıkarıldı

Nisan.89

ISTEMEZÜK

8 Mart Dünya Kadınlar Günüymüş!
Bize ne,biz istemezük
Alın, başınıza çalın
8 Mart sizin olsun, dünya da...
Ey dünya karıları
Ey dünya sınırlı kadınlar
İngiliz, Fransız ve de Türk
Türk Kadınlar Birliği
Sayın Ayseli Göksoy
Hacı Semra Hanım
Şerefli Türk Feministleri
bir de o meş'um mektuba
İmza koyanlar
Siz 8 Mart'ı takın kafanıza
Perukalarınızı
Spreylerinizle bilmemne marka
Boyalarınızı
Devam edin, ozonu delin
Vitrinlerde sürüyle yalan
Alın, takın
Yalanıp oyalanın
Açın, açın, açılın
Aman nesne olmayın sakın
Nerde Âdem görseniz
Uygun bir yere kapatıp
Kolleksiyona katın
Rahimleri kazıtın
Karıncalarla örümcekler
Öte dünyada hesap soracaklar diye
İnanırken biz
Ölü bebekler
Gençlik kremlerinde
Emekler
Aldırmayın
Kazıtın
Sonra çevrecilik yapın

Kimindir 8 Mart?
Yıllar önce haklarını
Kim, kimlere vermiştir ?
Öğrendik okullarda
TV'de resmî yayın
Biz, başörtülerimiz yakalarımızın
Üstünde
Kapkara İran malı çarşaflarımız
Ayak oyalarımızla
Sonsuzluğu dinleriz dağlarda
Rüzgârda melekler
En kutsal türküleri söyler

Rübeysa-Sümeyye Fatma anamız
Meryem-Havva-Tûbâmız
Beyazın farklı tonları
Pembeyle morun
Çok renklidir dünyamız
Hamamböcekleri de elbet
Nadide unsurlarıdır doğanın
Ve karafatmalar
Şemsiyemiz de olmalı
Dünyayı baştan başa yıkıp
Çiçek bahçesi yapmalıyız
Unutmayız, unutmamalıyız!
8 Mart dünya kadınlar günüymüş
Bir de bize sorun
Dünya kadınları, günlerini kutlarken
Ağladık biz
Feministler duymadı!
Hemcinsleri ağlarken
Onlar kadın kurtardı
Masal bu ya:
Saç görmek istemişler
Bazı erkek herifler
Ortalık kasap vitriniyken
Anlamadık biz ne işe yararız
Ben de şimdi farzımuhal
Bacak görmek istesem
Hem de erkek bacağı
Kemânî Laik Paşa ve
Saygıdeğer Konsey üyeleri
Çıkarırlar mı pantolonlarını ?

Gülnaz

DEMOKRASİLERDE FULAR-YULAR İŞBİRLİĞİ

Yüreğim daralıyor. Tuhaf bir sıkıntı. Dayanılacak gibi değil. Tarihî günler ve anlamsız adlandırmalar, Mayıslar, Eylüller ve nihayetinde 8 Martlar. Koskoca dünya, kara bakışlı insanlarla gitgide kararıyor. Yoruldu yıllar tekerlemelerle, insanlar yorulmadılar. Sürüp giden tartışmalar ve değişmeyen tavırlar...

Demokrasi, çokseslilik, devlet düzeni ve ilâveten çağdaşlık.

Gazetelerde, mecliste, Ankara'nın nadide semtinde korkulu bekleyişler.

Birileri geliyor. Kara çarşaflı...Korkunun sarı rengi sarmış çehreleri. Yıllardır beklenip de birtürlü gelemeyen o muhteşem gizli gücü bizler de bir görebilseydik!

Yürekleri katılaşan insanlar birbir çıkıyor sahneye. Biri söylüyor, diğerleri koro halinde tekrarlıyor. Aktörler, aktrisler...Ve bu oyuncularımızın arasından esintilerle sevgili okuyucularına kupkuru kalbinden esinler gönderen bir hanımefendi yazarımız, gelecek gizli gücü çok daha önceleri haber verdiğini, duyarsız kalan okuyucularına ihtar ediyor.Tarafsız olduğunun kanıtı olarak da iki "farklı görüşte"kitabı ve tehlikenin büyüklüğünün yorumunu kendilerinin yapmalarını salık veriyor.

Diğer taraftan,önerileriyle,bildirileriyle, sanatçı-düşünür-bilim kadını sıfatıyla düzenimizi muhafaza ve müdafaa mecburiyetinde kalan üçbinbeşyüz hanıma da söyleyeceklerim var. Hanımlar! Sizler hiç yorulmayın. 8 Martlarda böyle şeylerle uğraşacağınıza kadehlerinizi kadınlarımızın birbirlerini ezme yarışında katettikleri mesafe için kaldırın. Düzenimizi müdafaa edenler elbette bu gelen tehlikenin büyüklüğünü farkederek gerekli tedbirleri acilen alacaklardır. İlk önlem olarak mağazalardaki eşarp, nam-ı diğer türban satışlarını durduracaklar,muhtemelen kadınların evlerde gizli örgütler halinde eşarp dikme faaliyetlerini engellemek amacıyla bütün başörtülük kumaşların mağazalardan yokedilmesine karar vereceklerdir.Fular olarak görünümünüze cazibe katan önemli bir aksesuardan yoksun kalabilmek gibi bir fedakârlığa katlanabilme cesaretini göstereceğinizi biz halk adına siz aydın hanımlardan bekliyoruz.

Ayrıca; siz saygıdeğer beyefendiler,enteller, bürokratlar,teknokratlar,demokratlar ve bütün ...atlar, çokseslilik, demokrasi gibi kelimelerin anlamlarını içselleştirmeden sık sık kullanırken insan olarak kendinize saygınızı hiç mi yitirmediniz?

"inanan insan" olmak belli bir aşamayı gerektirir. Bu aşamayı nerkesin gerçekleştirebileceğine, bu zorlu mücadeleyi göğüsleyebileceğine tabii ki inanmıyoruz Fakat en azından kendi kendinizle tutarlı olmanızı beklemek de hakkımız olmalı.Başkalarının duygu,düşünce ve davranışlarını hissetme ve uygulamaya geçirme konusunda her türlü aykırı düşünceye müsamaha tanırken, Müslüman kimlige karşı menfî tavır sergilemeniz teorilerinizle de çelişmiyor mu? Azınlıkların varolma hakkını nasıl gasbedersiniz? Bunu anlamak için'kalpleri mühürlü'insanları konumlarında değerlendirmek lazım.Her neyse.Fazla söze hacet yok.Geçmiş ve gelecek bütün 8 Martlar gönülleri kafeste,bedenleri seçkin köşklerde;nur yüzlü mübarek insanları tanımamakda direnen;bütün ilmî ,felsefî, ve de tüm İ-li kitapları hatmedip de, bir kez olsun gözlerini ve kalplerini Kur'an-ı Kerîm'e çevirmemiş olan insanımsılara armağan olsun.

Günlere değil, insanlığa hasret olanlar adına... GÜNAY

NE FEMİNİZMİ KARDEŞİM?

Şu feminist lâfından bana bıkkınlık geldi.Bıkkınlık ne kelime,bulantı.İnanın midem ağrıyor.Yani ağzından 'Ka' çıkan herkes feminist mi?Ya da 'Ka' demek feminizmin mi tekelinde?

Ben feminist falan değilim.Modern dünyanın bana yapıştırdığı hiç bir etiketi de kabul etmiyorum.Yalnızca inanan bir bireyim.İnanmanın cı-cu'lu biçimlerini de sevmiyorum.

Feminist değilim.Çünkü feminizm bir izm.Çeşitleri var.Radikaller,sosyalistler reformistler gibi.Dünyaya en radikal sorgulamaları birinciler gönderiyor.Onların da çeşitleri var.Amma her çeşidi kadınlara birer kadın gözlüğü armağan ediyor. Avrupa ülkelerinde, Amerika'da üretilmiş, ölçüsü, rengi v.s. oralardaki göz hastalıklarına göre ayarlanmış bir gözlük.Eh, biz de çağ atlayarak epeyce modernleştiğimize,kapitalist üretim biçimini bir iyice sindirmeye başladığımıza, biz kadınlar da şıkır şıkır onun nesneleri olduğumuza ve erkek milleti de her yerde bulunduğuna göre;benzemi göz hastalıklarına bizde de rastlanabilir demektir.Gözlüklerin de çerçevelerinden değil ama camların dan yararlanılabilir.camları siyaha boyarız,yeri gelir kırarız.Doğaya savaş açmayız.emaneti koruruz.Allah kadına güzel vasıflar vermiş,-aslında insana-sevmek, hissetmek,aklına değil kalbine sor mak, insaflıolmak,unutmamak,yardım etmek,üzülmek, ağlamak,değer vermek,zaaf ve acizden utanmamak, vurmamak, öldürmemek, kır, mamak,tükürmemek,ince düşünmek gibi.Erkekler unutmuşsa(çoğu)ve kadınlar(bazısı) , Tanrı bağışı insan doğasını ve bütün doğayı korumak daha çok kadınlara kalmışsa koruruz,unutanlara hatırlatırız. İtiyazımız için Tanrı'ya şükreder,doğururuz.Doğurmanın,bir çocukla olmanın vereceği tüm zenginlikleri kişiliğimize katarız.Bir çocukla geçirilen bir kaç saatin insanın hayata bakışını nasıl değiştirdiğini anlamaları için babalara fırsat veririz(böyle ce çocuk büyütürken kazandıklarımız yanında kaybettiklerimizi de biraz kurtarmış oluruz)Kadın doğasından söz edip onu yücelten,sonra da doğurganlığı,köleleştiriyor diye olumsuzlayan,hatta erkeklerin ve beliğini sağlamaya çalışan düşünceyi anlamıyorum(Belki ben anlamıyorum diyorum) Hele erkeklerle bütün ilişkileri kesip kadınların kendi içlerinde topluluklar oluşturmalarını hiç anlamıyorum.(bir de bize mürteci derler)Uzak bir gelecekte farklı cinslerin olmadığı ya da cinsiyetsiz dünyalar düşleniyor.Bak bunu anlıyorum. o uzak gelecek cennet bence.Maddesiz bir..(yer diyemiyorum)İnsan da erkek,dişi falan değil,ÖZ.Lâkin bu dünya böyle kardeşim,böyle gelmiş,böyle gider.

Bunlar en radikaller tabi!.Ama öbürlerine hiç içim ısınmadı .Sosyalistler,adı üstünde.Ilımlılar herşeyi mevcut yapılanmalar içinde ele alıyor.Kanunlar,reformlar falan. Birşey devirmeye niyetleri yok

(Devamı 9. sayfada)

RECAİ GÜLLAPDAN'A

Adı olmadığını iddia eden,ama adını yıllardır sağda solda bolca duyurmuş bir erkek(!)demokrasiye inanmayanların tepesine bir balyoz gibi ine yeni,yepyeni bir dergide,geleneğe uyarak feminizme savaş açmış görüntüsü a: dında kadınlara savaş açmış.Adına yaraşır bir yazı kaleme almış:Recai Gül-lapdan!Erkeksen kendi adınla yaz.O tanınmış , saygıdeğer adınla.Haklısın. "Cemil Meriç'in sadece yazdıklarından değil tavrından da öğreneceğimiz çok şey var:Tecessüs,hürmet,dikkat ve insaf.Hür düşünceye,her mâbede ve her va lığa".(A.Turan Alkan "Cemil Meriç ve Hür Düşünce",Türkiye Günlüğü,Sayı 1,Ni san 1989 s.29)

Esasen sana ve tüm erkekler klübüne verilecek en güzel cevap;sevgili der ginizin,sevgili onüçüncü sayfasında -Ali Suavi aracılığıyla- Hz. Ömer tara-fından verilmiş.(Açınız ve okuyunuz)

Doğru.Erkekler dünyayı,kadınlar da onları idare ederler."Başarılı her er keğin ardında bir kadın vardır." Değişen ve anlamadığınız şu:Artık kadınla kimseyi idare etmek,kıstırıldıkları fare kapanında sinsice desîse ve entri kalara başvurmak zorunda olmak değil;onurlu ve şahsiyetli bireyler olmak, kendileri olmak istiyorlar.Normaldir:T.Günlüğüne özgü bir demokrasi anlayı ile bu,kavranamaz."Gece müftüleri" size başka türlü fikrini anlatma imkânı bulamayan;kafanıza,sağduyunuza ve kalbinize ve engin demokrasinize bir tür lü ulaşamayan zavallı bîçare kadınların,ancak içgüdülerinize hitabederek bir şeyleri anlatabildiğinin resmidir.

Örgütünüz,sistemiyle,kültürüyle (küfürleriniz,ordularınız,töreleriniz, şarkı,türkü,atasözleriniz,şiddetiniz,rasyonalizminiz vs vs.) dünyayı başta başa demirağlar gibi sarmışken,bütün insanlık tarihi erkeklik bilinciyle yazılmışken,elbette küçücük örgütlenmelere,cemiyetlere,hele hele bilinçlen-melere hiç gerek yoktur.Örgütler ve bilinçlenme ihtiyaçları,ezilen azınlık lar içindir,iktidarlar için değil.

Beyimiz besliyor ya,karşılığını istiyor haklı olarak.Tıpkı köle sahipler gibi."Kazan,evine götür" karşılığında bigudili,suratsız bir kadın.Olur mu? Hakkı değil mi şimdi beyimizin.Şöyle iki dirhem bir çekirdek,güler yüzlü, doksan-atmış-doksan bir kadın:Binbirgece masalları.Oysa hanım akşama kadar poposunu devirip yatmaktan,aynaya bakmaya bile vakit bulamamış.Tembel temb yatmaktan kadıncağıza stres olmuş(!) durup dururken "deliricim,deliricim" diye naralar atıyor.Öyle ya,onun yerine aynaya,çocuklar,tozlar,çamaşır,bul şık,yemek,ütü,tuvaletteki pisliklerle,lavabodaki sümük ve traş artıkları çoktan bakmıştır.

Sayın R.Güllapdan sen nerelerde taş taşıyorsun bilmem ama,bizim civarımı daki beyler,akşama kadar,bol miktarda fıstığın girip çıktığı bir resmî oda da çay içip sohbet etmekten bitkin düşüyorlar.Aman kadınlar,lütfen,siz siz olun canınız çıkmış da olsa,sakın akşam kocanıza belli etmeyin,zavallı adamları kötü yollara düşürmeyin,bigudi ve türbanlarınızı çıkarın.

Ayça

(Ayça, dünyanın merkezi ve canhavli' diyen mektubunla yüreklendik. Sitemini hiç de gereksiz bulmadık. We are sor y. Ama biraz da bilmem kimle bilmem kimin dergisi diyenleri paylamalısın.

AYÇA MUSA'YI DAHA ÇOK SEVİYO...

xx Aylardır birtakım parababaları tarafından dayanıp döşenmiş bürolarında toplantı üzerine toplantı yaptıklarını bildiğim, esasen o toplantılarda neler konuştuklarını merak ettiğim, dergilerinin yayın hayatına başlamasıyla âleme nizam gelecekti meraklısı kargısında hayretlere düştüğüm henüz keşfedilmemiş değerlerimiz nihayet Türkiye Cümlüğü'nü çakardılar. Dergi çıkalı bir hafta olmasına rağmen yurdumuzda ve dünyada hergey hala eskisi gibi. Eski ülkücüler, eski marksistler yeni marksistler, ateistler ve daha bilmediğim cümle istler orada. Ve fakat, derginin engin hoşgörü ve demokrasi anlayışından birtek feministler daha doğru bir deyişle kadınlar nasibini alamamış. Recai Güllapdan ödüllü bir erkeğin ilerde yayınlanabilecek bir "fikir ve sanat dünyamızdaki basitlikler" antolojisinin ilk sayfasına konulabilecek talihsiz yazısı bizi pek güldürdü. Yazma çizme işlerindeki yeteneksizliği bir yana bu zat bir de utanmadan bulaşıkları gece saat onbirde yıkadığını itiraf ediyor. Pasaklı; o saate bulaşık mı kalırmış? Neyse, sizin demokrasinizi istemiyoruz beyler. Biz sizin demokratlığınızı biliriz.

xx Esin Afşar, Hikmet Çimşek, Timur Selçük ve burada adını sayamadığım cümle tek sesli müzik ve arabesk düşmanlarına halkımızın inanç ve tercihlerine olan saygısızlıklarından dolayı teessüflerimi sunarım. Müzikal tercihlerle laiklik, çağdaşlık, bilimsellik gibi iktidar kavramları arasında paralellikler kurarak aba altından sopa göstermek faşizmin ta kendisi değil midir? Bu millet sizi sevmiyor, onca baskıya ve şartlandırmaya rağmen. Tıpkı sizin onları sevmediğiniz gibi. Sevmiyor ve dinlemiyor. Zümbüür laik, çağdaş vs. de olmak istemiyordur belki. Orduyu göreve çağırın ne duruyorsunuz haysiyetsizler..

Dizi ajzı inceliğiz Gösterilmek Bayağı

xx Bu sayıda Orhan Gencebay'a muhabbet ve bağlılığımızı sunmayı teklif ettim Mualla'ya (oh ben de senin şapkanı koymadım). Despot kadın! "Olmaz" dedi hemen. "Çete'den gördük sanırlar" Ne yani şimdi bizim Orhan'ı sevmeye hakkımız yok mu? Hergün yollarda ne sevenim var ne soranım var diye inlerken aklınıza Çete mete gelmiyor Mualla hanım. Bana ne biraraya gelemesek de seni seviyorum Orhan...

xx Şişli'nin çiçeği burnunda belediye başkanı Fatma Girik'in ilk icraatı tam da kendisinden beklenebilecek bir şey. Bu, kendi değimiyle "erkekliğini yıldızlımız belediye binasındaki yerlere tükürmeyin levhalarını kaldıracakmış. Fatoların en erkeği kolay gelsin! Belediye binasının önünde bir tören düzenleyip bir "yerlere tükürelim" kampanyası başlatmak isteseniz? Bilirsiniz tükürmek erkekliğin ilk şartıdır. Öteki şartlarını söylerseem bana edepsiz derler. I am sorry.



Hanımlar, çocuklarınıza ve babalarına bir şans verin. "Çocukları babasız büyütmemek" gibi anlamsız bir ilkeye bağlanıp kalmayın. Sizin için hiç umut kalmamışsa eğer, bırakın çocuklarınızın her gün görüp ürktükleri bir babaları olacağına, arasıra görüp sevdikleri, özledikleri bir babaları olsun. Çocuklarınızı çok sevdikleri babalarının zaman zaman nasıl insanlıktan çıktığını görmek zorunda bırakmayın. Aslında sizin savaş alanınız haline gelmiş bir evde yaşamaya zorlamayın. Onların gidecek başka yerleri yok ama sizin olabilir. Aksi halde babalı büyüyen çocuklarınız günün birinde artık onu görmek istemeyebilirler. Görmek istememek tek başına kötü değil belki ama üstelik babalarına dair ümit de olmadığını anlamaları ağlatır onları üzer.



SINIRLARINI
TARTIŞ,
ÇÜNKÜ ONLAR
KESİNLİKLE
SENİNDİR.

Düşüncelerini değiştirip, farklı bir gelecek ya da farklı bir geçmiş seçmekte her zaman özgürsün.
R. Bach'tan..

Nermin'in Köşesi : Jale'ye Mektuplar

Sevgili Jale,

Sevgi dolu bir gönülle yine seninleyim. "Nasılsın?" diye sormuyorum. Benim içinden çıktığım bir ortamda öğretmenlik yapıyorsun, bu da seni anlamamı kolaylaştırıyor.

Yatılı okulların benim hayatımda büyük bir yeri, bir o kadar da derin izleri var Jale. İnsanları çok yönlü ele almayı orada öğrendim ben. Aynı zamanda o ortam, insanın hangi şartlarda olursa olsun, dış çevrenin etkilerinden sıyrıldığı-daha doğrusu sığındığı- bir yuvasının olması gerektiği düşüncesini yerleştiriyor kafalara. Paylaşmak güzel bir duygu, ama herşeyinizi paylaştınız mı da kendinizi yitiriyorsunuz. Eğitimcilerimiz bunu bildiği için olmalı, bir valiz özel eşyaya ve bunu koyacak bir dolaba sahip olmanıza izin veriyorlar.

Çalışmaya başlar başlamaz eşya almaya başladığımı gören erkek kardeşlerim "Kocaya mal kazanıyorsun!" diye alay etmişlerdi. Ablalarının evde kalacağı akıllarına gelmemiş olmalı!.. Oysa kadın dışarda çalışsa da, çalışmasa da hayatının büyük bir bölümünü evde geçiriyor. Bu nedenle de hayatı kendisi için kolaylaştırmak istiyor. Evlerdeki çoğu kavganın bundan çıktığına kaç kez şahit oldum. Erkeklere bunu anlatmak kâbil değil. Ehh.. Bu tutku bana da bir kocaya maloldu. Hayatımda bir kez "Evet" dedimi onda da sözünde ancak on gün durabildim. Anlatayım:

Halam bir gün telefon ederek beni özlediğini söyledi ve hafta sonunda köylerine gelmemi istedi. Gittim. Meğerse beni kocaya vermek için bir tuzakmış bu. Benim adıma karar verilmiş, davet edilmişler bile. O noktada yapacağım birşey yoktu. Çaresiz görüşüye çıkacaktım. Üstelik bütün silahlarımı da elimden almışlardı. Aynı gün geldiler. Halam mutfağa sokmadı beni. "Kahvelere şeker yerine tuz koyarı bizi rezil edersin." dedi. Halam korkmakta haklıydı. Çünkü bir keresinde istemediğimi bile bile ablamı işe karıştırmaya kalkan adamın önüne yine yerine, ona çok benzeyen bahçedeki süs ağacının zehir gibi meyvesini koymuş, kendisi için topladığımı söyleyerek yemeğe zorlamıştım.

Halam "bunlar çocuk değil, insinler asafida konuşsunlar" diyerek bizi bahçeye indirdi. Hayatımda hiç bu kadar sıkıldığımı hatırlamıyorum. Adam Türkçe bilmiyordu. Şey, şey.. diye gelen lafların şekkasını tamamlamak bana düşüyordu. Bir edebiyat öğretmenine bundan büyük ceza olamazdı. Sonuçta öğrenimim suydu: Liseyi bitirince Danimarkalı bir kızla mektup arkadaşlığı yapmış, onun aracılığı ile de oraya gitmiş. Hem işçi olarak çalışmış, hem de gece okuluna devam ederek 10 yılda dr bir öğretmen okulunun İngilizce bölümünü bitirmiş. Bundan sonra öğretmen olarak çalışacakmış. Kabul edersem ben de Danimarka'ya gidecek, oradaki Türk çocuklarını okutacakmışım. Öğretmen olduğumu duyar duymaz, "tamam, ben bununla anlaşırım" demiş. Çalışmaktan vazgeçmiş, bundan sonra hayatın tadını çıkaracakmış..falan, filân. Önüme bütün imkânlar seriliyordu. Avrupa'nın hangi ülkesini istersem oraya gidebilir, hatta yerleşebilirmişiz. "Biraz düşüneyim" dedim, gittiler. O gün halam sabaha kadar uyutmadı beni. Ertesi gün yalnız olarak yine geldi. Konuştukça adamın hayata bakış açısı beni hayrete düşürüyordu. Sonunda dayanamadım. Bütün hainliğim beynime hücum etti. Yabancı bir ülkede okumanın insana birşey kazandırmadığını, aksine pek çok şey kaybettirdiğini ince bir şekilde belirttim ve Türk kültüründen iyi bir sınava çektim. Nabii sınıfta kaldı. Maksadımı da anladı. Oysa aynı sınava o da beni çekecekti. Bu iş eğlenceli olmaya başladığı için keyfim yerine gelmişti. Sorduğum çok soruya "sen şimdi anlamazsın. Sonra anlatırım." demeye başladı. İşte buna dayanamazdım. Bitirme tezini George Orwell üzerine yapmış. Dikkat ettim, kitapların ismini hep İngilizce söylüyor. Oyunun son safhasına gelmiştik. Onun söylediği kitapların Türk isimlerini söyledim. Birkaç tanesinin konularını anlattım, yorumlarımı da ilettim. Hayretler içinde kaldı. Zavallı, George Orwell'in Türkiye'de okunan bir yazar olduğundan haberdar bile değildi... Kararımı açıklamanın da zamanı gelmişti. "İngiliz gibi düşünüyor, Danimarkalı gibi yorumluyor, Türkçe söylemeye çalışıyorsunuz. Ben sizinle anlaşamam."

Sevgili Jale, ben bunu da atlattım, diye sevinirken, aslında herşey yeni başlıyormuş. Natil olduğu için ailemin yanına gitmiştim. Olaydan annem haberdar edildi ve bütün aile fertleri tarafından sıkı bir markaja alındım. Bütün itirazlarım kulak ardı edildi. Sonunda pes ettim. Yine de bir kurtuluş ümidim vardı. Bütün vaadlerine rağmen çok cimri olduğunu anlamıştım. "Madem rahat edersin diye veriyorsunuz, zenginliğinin gerektirdiği şeyleri yapsın. Altınından pırlantasına kadar herşey istiyorum." dedim. Karşı taraf kabul etmez diye düşünmüştüm. Kabul ettiler ve resmen istemeye geldiler. Hayatımın en büyük aptallığını yap-

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ben sardım. Ne derdin varsa bana söyle"diye cevap verdi. Bizimkiler dayak yemiştan bin beter ettiler. Pastahanelerde harcadığı paraları da ödedim, almam, demedi. Ertesi günü Hatay'a gittim. Halama gidilmiş, anneme telefon edilmiş, Erkek kardeşimin çalıştığı yere gitmişler. Bir süre Danimarka'dan mektuplar gönderdi. Cevap vermedim. Benim on günlük bir sözleşme maceramda kısaca bitmiş oldu. -Ne kısa ama değil mi? Söz bir daha sana böyle uzun mektuplar yazmayacağım.-

İşte Jâlecim, tecrübelerime kulak ver, sen sen ol, evleneceğin zaman altın, eşya istemeye kalkma. Varsın kayınvalideden başını mânâlı mânâlı sallayarak "Bir kusurun olmasa oğluma altınsız askısız gelmezdin." diye söylensin dursun. Hele hele nikâhın adını hiç ağzına alma. Erkekler gâvur değil ya, nasıl olsa bir dinî yaptırırlar.

Bana gelince; annem başlangıçtaki bütün tespitlerimde haklı olduğumu görünce "Bu kızın işine bir daha karışmayacağım" deyip dizginlerimi elime verdi. Şimdilik bunu kullanıyorum. Bir arkadaşımın da dediği gibi "zincirlerimden başka kaybedecek şeyim ne var ki..."

Ankara'dan kucak dolusu sevgilerle yanaklarından öperim canım.

Nermin

— Hüseyin Hatemî'nin 'Kadının Çıkış Yolu' isimli kitabını, (Üstad, İslam ve kadın konulu bütün tartışmalara bu kitapla noktayı koymuş. Türünün klasik ve karşı klasik örneklerini bir iyi benzetmiş. Özellikle Mehmed Dikmen ve benzerleriyle, İlhan Arsel ve benzerlerini)

* — Latife Tekin'in 'Buzdan Kılıçlar'ını,

— Nuri'nin Yeryüzündeki yazısını

çok sevdim.

Ayça.

TEMBELLİKLE HASBİHAL

Kımıldayamıyorum. Damarlarımda kan yerine, ayak parmaklarımdan bütün bedenime zerkedilen garip bir sıvı dolaşıyor: Uyuşturan, acı veren. Beynimde yer yer çukurlar, dağlar, iniş, çıkış. Yorgunum. Anlamlılar, anlamsızlar. Kategoriler yer değiştirdi. Uyudum mu acaba? Rüya mı gerçek, gerçek mi rüya? Kendi kendime miyim, yoksa sen misin O? Tembellik! Ben miyim! Yaklaşma yanıma! Sesim çok mu cılız? Kollarım düşüyor, ellerim hissizleşti. Ey sevgili tembellik! Sana karşı zaafımı biliyorsun. Niçin böyle sık görüşüyoruz? Dostluğumuzu bu kadar ileriye götürmek istememiştim. Ezan vakitlerinde çok sık uğruyorsun. Seni kabul etmek istemediğimi kaç kere söyleniştim. Neden bu kadar ısrarlısın? Kardeşin uykuyu da takıp peşine, durmadan ziyaretime gelmen bize ne kazandırıyor sanki? Bak canım, dostluklar anlamlı beraberliklerdir. Anlamını yitirmeye başladığını biliyorsak eğer ve de bunca yıllık beraberlik ikimize de pek bir şey kazandırmadıysa niçin sürdürelim dostluğumuzu? Lütfen kardeşin uykuya da söyle, darılmasın. O ufaklığı ne kadar sevdiğimi biliyorsun. Onla hergün görüşeceğiz. Ama n'olur zamanınızda gelin. Sınırlı vaktimi sizle tüketirsem, diğerleri çok darılır. Bütün dostlarıma aynı değeri vermek benim insanî tavırlarımın bir neticesi. Beni olur olmaz rahatsız etmeyin. Sizi kırmak istemiyorum. Lütfen! Bak! Ellerim de canlanmaya başladı, hem de titremeye. Kollarımdan biri havaya bile kalktı. Beni fiilî bir tecavüze zorlamadan toz olursanız hepimiz için hayırlı olur. "Bizi kovarsan gururun pençesine düşersin" diyorsun. Yo, hayır, inanmıyorum. Gurur'u ileri sürerek beni suçlayamazsın. Onla fazla dostluğumun olmadığını biliyorsun. Ş aristokrat bir aileden geldiğini ve benimse bir orta sınıf mensubu olduğumu birkaç kere hissettirdiği için onunla ilişki kurmak istemiyorum. Ayrıca onu sevdiğimi de söyleyemem. Zaten öyle tane tane duraklayarak konuştuğu ve de insanların anın da tepkilerini çehrelerinde gülümseyerek vermelerini beklediği için olsa gerek onunla bir türlü anlaşamadım. Hele o başını dimdik tutarak gözlerini kırmazsa yok mu, insanlar sanki birer böcek, kendisi de böceklerin hakimi bir iri böcek. Neyse bu bahsi fazla uzatmadan keselim, çünkü sinirleniyorum. Hırsımı alır giderim. Ama o da benimle fazla arkadaşlık etmek istemiyor. Onun da büyük koltuklu, arabalı, dünyalığı çok insanlarla fazlaca sıkı fıkılığı beni sık sık ziyaret etmesini engelliyor. Hele riya adlı bir de arkadaşı var ki, hiç sorma sevgili tembellik. İlişkilerini kıskanmıyor değilim. Hırs sevkilerin en yükseğini kapmaya çalışırken riya da onu iki renkli gülümsüyor. Tebessümünün cazibesine kapılmamak mümkün değil. Herkes onun peşinde. Varsa yoksa riya! Bu kadar çok talibi varken, niye benimle olsun. Arz talep meselesi. Fiatlar, arz, taleple kesiştiği anda belirlenir. Ayrıca benimle arkadaşlık ederken klasının sarsılacağını düşündüğümü hissettim bir kaç kez. Zaten ondan soğudum. Bu tür davranışları bana, çok samimi arkadaşlarımı ondan uzak tutmak gerektiğini hissetmemi sağladı. Güzel dostluklarımın riya ile birlikte yok olup gitmemesi için elimden geleni yapacağım. Ya işte böyle sevgili tembellik, kısacık konukluğumu anlamlı geçirebilmem için lütfen beni rahat bırak. Bırak ki kendimle kalayım. İçimle kalbim, kalbimle gözüm bir olsun. Bir ben, ben olayım. İçimdeki çehreler tek tek silinsin. Girilikler istemiyorum. Labirentler bana göre değil. Biraz ışık istemek çok şey istemek mi sence?

-Günay-

"Biz toplumun yarısıyız,haklarımızı verin bakın ilerlemeye nasıl katkı mız olacak, Bilimsel, savaşsal gelişme yolundaye yarışında biz de olmalı, yerlere tükürmeliyiz "(bu tırnak yukardaki satırın sonuna aittir)söylemi.Sosyalist feministler ,kapitalist sistem içinde kadınların ezilme biçimlerini ,radikallerle birlikte baba bir şekilde dile getiriyorlar.Ama ne yazık ki sosyalistler.Bize de feminizm sol cenahtan geldi.Şemalar..Cinsler arası çelişkiyi sınıfsal çelişki içine oturtma çabaları.Batıdaki teorik tartışmalar bütün ayrıntılarıyla aynen burda.Biz kimiz,yapımız nedir,bizim kadınlar ne vaziyette kimsenin umurunda değil.Umurunda olanlar denizde damla misali.Feminizm bize bütün kadın hareketlerinin karşılığıymış gibi geldi.Oysa her kadın hareketi feminizm değildir, olmak zorunda da değildir.Farklı yer ve koşullardaki kadın hareketleri farklı özellikler taşır/taşıyabilir/taşımalıdır.Hatta bir hareket haline gelmesi gerekmeyebilir.Değişik mücadele biçimleri vardır, olmalıdır/olabilir.

Neticede,feminizm de bütün ideolojiler gibi,bireyi kendinden mahrum bırakan,kalıplar içine alan,almaya çalışan,köşeli bir şey."Bütün dünya kadınları birleşiniz" "Erkeklere karşı omuz omuza" söylemi.Kadınlar buna gelemez ki.Onlar bildiklerini okur.İster saç saça birbirleriyle kavga ederler,isterlerse herifin birine aşık olurlar.Sonra da zırıl zırıl ağlarlar"Ben aşık olur,bulutlarda gezerim,bu dünyayı tekmeleyip kovuğuma sinerim"diyorsam eğer,diyorum demektir."Nasıl bir kadın"ne demek?Nasıl isterse öyle olur.Ya da bunlar konuşulacaksa,birilerinin bulduklarını dayatmakla olmaz ki.Yani bizim kadınlarımız,kendileri olamıyorlarsa,onları dışlarındaki kurallar,kişiler falan belirliyorsa,"hayır!Biz sizi kurtaracağız" deyip yine dışlarında, seçmedikleri başka kurallar,başka çerçevelere sokulmaya zorlanıyorlarmış gibi geliyor bana.Zincirlerle mücadele edilir elbette,edilmeli de.Ama zincirlerin alternatifi başka zincirler olmamalı.Mesela ben şu tarihte,şuracıkta yaşayıp duran bir bireyim.Kadın olmak,insanmak gibi bazı niteliklerim var.Kendimi başka altında,kıskaca alınmış hissediyorum.Bu hissedişlerimin kimi kadınlığımla,kimi müslümanlığımla,kimi vatandaş,evlat,memur,yoksul,çoğu insan olmamla alâkalı.Parkediyorum,yokluyorum, kızıyorum,kavga ediyorum.Başka bireylerin de benzer durumda olduklarını görüyorum. Kimileri hissetmiyor.Kimileri elyordamıyla hissedip çözümlüyemiyor,anlayamıyor falan. Nedensiz bir çöküntü,bir bunaltı hali.İşte bu noktada birlikte olma,birlikte anlama, düşünme,muhabbet ihtiyaçları beliriyor.Bu süreçte bir sürü felsefe,düşünce,ideoloji ile çakışan,koşut neticelere varmak mümkün.Böyle de oluyor.Meselâ feminist ideolojinin mevcut durumu ve kadın olarak yaşadıklarımızı anlama,çözümleme,sorgulama gibi konularda kadınlara bir sürü katkıları olabileceğini düşünüyorum.Çoğu zaman, anlamsız (bize de öyle gelen ama bir türlü vazgeçemediğimiz,İslâmî olarak da hiç gerekli olmayan) çekingenliklerimizi,saplantılarımızı kırın,bayağı bayağı bilinçlendirici,kadına insanlığını duyurucu etkileri olduğunu da.Yani zincirkıran.Ama,bu kadar.(Az şey mi?)

Çıkış noktası benim.Düşünce ve duyuşlarıma yasak masak koymadan yürürüm.Yürürken yanımın düşenlere selamımı veririm.Bana hitap eden şeyler söylüyorlarsa,kulak veririm yararlanırım.Ne yapmalıya gelince yalnız kendime bakarım.Batıda kaynaklar kurumuştur (veya hiç olmamıştır).Her alternatif hareket gibi feminizm de olana karşı çıkar,sorgular,eleştirir,yıkmaya durur. Haklıdır,katılırız.Ama ben,hep benimdir. Çözümlerimi,önerilerimi,yaşama biçimlerimi,beni,ben belirlerim.Yeri gelince feministleri savunurum,akıllı bulurum,ama feminist olmam.Zamanında da savundum ve feministim demedim.Yani geri adım falan atmadım.Kimse de beni ikna mikna etmedi.Savundum çünkü,müslüman yazarlarımızın hiç bir şey okumadan,bilmeden -ya da bilerekkafalarından bir feminizm imajı uydurup, sonra da üstelik feminist düşüncelerden yararlanıp ona saldırmalarına;bu imajın arkasına sığınıp tüm kadınlara hakaret etmelerine;sırf erkeklerin gözüne girmek için anti-feministim diyen kadınlara;böyle dedikleri için,ne olursa olsun o kadınları,aynı inancı paylaştıkları kadınlardan üstün tutan müslüman erkeklere çok bozuluyorum.

Muallâ

Hanımlara Pratik Öğütler ✻ Hanımlara Pratik Öğütler

Ev işi yaparken müzik dinler misiniz? İyi. Bir de zevkle kovaniliyi deneyin. Leylim ley ve Mevlâ ağlan eşliğinde bir güzel temizlik yapılıyor ki sormayın. Aman bir hırslanıyorsunuz, bir şevke geliyorsunuz. Bulabilirseniz, bir Hasan Mutluer kaseti de ayni işi görür. Recai Güllapdan'a bir de bunu denemesini tavsiye ederim. Geçen gün hali silerken Orhan Gencebay dinlemeyi denedim. O da fena olmadı. Bıktım artık hergün ölmekten diyordu. Ben de, ben de diyerek pırıl pırıl yaptım halıyı. Tabii, her gün ölmekten bıkanlar için çareler tükenmez. Bir defa ölerek de bitirilebilir iş, hiç ölmeyerek de.

Her neyse, haydi hanımlar. Zevkle pırıl pırıl temizlemeye ve pencerelere.

Safiye Göktemiz

Bu köşe delilerin köşesi. Safları sıklaştırın. Yeterince çoğalırsak saklanacak delik arar bu akıllılar. Başkalarının tanımlarına sığmaya çalışmayın. Kendi tanımınızı kendiniz yapın insanlar, kardeşlerim 'Manyak mısın' diyenlerin gözlerinin içine bakın 'Evet' deyip yürüyün.

YORGUNUM HALİM YOK

Ne yaptığımı bilmiyorum.Epeydir. Oh ne güzel. Ne yaptığımı bilmiyorum. Benim büyük amaçlarım yok. Küçük amaçlarım var ama, bazan. Anlamsız. Başımın bir yanındaki ağrı ve içimdeki dayanılmaz gerginlik geceleri uyutmuyor ne gam. Uyusam da kâbuslar bölüyor uykumu. Kendimi odanın ortasında ayakta, orada ne yaptığımı düşünürken buluyorum geceleri. Canım efendim bu kadar düşünürseniz böyle olur işte. Üstünde durmayın. Boğazımdaki çığlık oradan birtürlü çıkmıyor. Dert mi. Kitap okuyamıyorum,başlayıp da bitiremediğim, başlayamadığım ve başlamak da istemediğim kitaplarım duruyor masalarda yığın yığın. Bildiklerimi unutuyorum yavaş yavaş. Yok,daha doğrusu birşey bilmiyorum. Çözülüyorum. Olsun. Bütün olarak katlanamıyorum buraya. Geçer. Geçmesin. Uyum sağlamak istemiyorum. Kimseye uymak istemiyorum. Allahsızlar siz bana uyun. Burası, bulunduğum yer acıtıyor çok zaman ama pek de eğlenceli,ferah. Zaman bana uymazsa ben de zamana uymuyorum, kendi zamanımı kendim kurup istediğimi yapıyorum. Benim için, benim tarafımdan, bana göre. Tanrı beni korusun. Ben serserilik ediyorum. Orda burda bir gölge gibi onun bunun hayatına süzülüp bir köşeciğe tünüyorum. Dudaklarımın kıyısında muzip bir gülümseme seyrediyorum. Daha neler yapabileceğinizi. Sonra az şey midir rica ederim, Nisan ayında çiçek açmış ağaçlarla dolu yollarda yürümek. Ve de leylâklar.Ankara'da ne kadar çok leylâk ağacı olduğunu biliyor musunuz? Hiç yakından baktınız mı mucizevi çiçeklere. Onlar için ölünür be! Yok efendim ne gezer, pek ciddiyiz pek. Yağmurda yürümeyi de yabana atamayız bu arada. İlk on dakikadan sonra yağmur sizi rahatsız etmiyor. Hava soğuksa eğer kafanız uyuşuyor, yağdığını bile anlamayabiliyorsunuz.Sadece yüzünüzden süzülen sular, yağmur. Bunu şöyle iki saat (yüzyirmi dakika diyor hesapladım) kadar sürdürürseniz kendinizi acayip iyi hissediyorsunuz. Zatürre falan da olmuyorsunuz. Yağmurda ıslanan saçlar biraz zor taranıyor,paltonuz ertesi güne kadar kurumuyor ve annenizden azar işitebiliyorsunuz 'kızım bu yağmurda yürünür mü' ama her nimetin bir külfeti olur. Yollarda konuşmak serbest, şarkı söylemek küfretmek serbest. Ağladığınız da belli olmuyor yağmurda dolayısıyla o dâ serbest. Sonra; geceleri ve de gündüzleri hiçbirşey yapmadan şöyle bir oturun bakalım. Öylece oturun. Aman neler geleçek aklınıza şaşarsınız. Ne parlak fikirler, ne bağlantılar, daha önce akıl edemediğiniz neler neler. İçinize dönün. Öze dönüş. Düşünün, birgüzel hesaplaşın kendinizle ve başkalarıyla. Kavgalarınızı edin, intihar mı edeceksiniz edin efendim sizi tutan mı var? Hayal kuruyorsunuz herşey serbest. Gidin sevdiğiniz herife / kıza ilân-ı aşk edin, şu kocanızı boğuverin, kitaplarınızı fırlatın pencereden,bileklerinizi kesin kırdığınız çay bardağının parçalarıyla, müdürünüzü tokatlayın, kedileri tekmeleyin, çıkıp yollarda bağırın, yapın işte birşeyler. Bunun arkasından rahatlamazsınız pek ama hoş vakit geçirirsiniz. Bir çeşit lunapark işte. Bu arada etrafınızdakiler size birşeyler anlatıp durur,hiç susmazlar.Aptallar, dinlemediğinizi anlamazlar da . Ferâsetsizlik. Dinlemek istemiyordum ve dinlemedim, bundan sonra da dinlemiycem. Kulaklarımın ırzına geçemeyeceksiniz. Pek yakında sinemamızda dilimden de anlamazsınız siz. Ama üzülmeyin sevgili arkadaşlarım ve muhterem annem. Ben bu arada tezimi de yazarım umûmi arzu üzerine. Nasıl büyüdüm de okullara gittim, okudum da adam oldumsa bu tezi de yazarım yahu. Dr. olurum. Yor elini yrd. doç. luk sonra. Sınıflarım, sınıflarımda sıra sıra öğrencilerim olur. Artık symposiumlar,panellor, gelsin bilim kurulları. Bu arada bir yabancı dili de iyice öğrenirim. Öyle ya gerekli. Batının ilmine ve şusuna busuna nasıl vâkıf olabilirim başka türlü. İkibinli yıllar, Avrupa kapıları falan bildiğiniz hikâyeler. Sonra aziz okuyucu, bir toplantıda elin gâvuruyla konuşamazsam, iki çift laf edemezsem adamdan mı sayarlar beni. Bir fırsatını bulup Amerikaya da giderim. Bu da adam safına katılmanın şartlarındandır. Haberiniz

ola. Siz hiç korkmayın ben bunları da yaparım. Ama biryandan da deliririm kardeşim size ne! Doktorun yolunu biliyorum elbette. O namussuzlar önce kendilerini kurtarsınlar. Hangi beyinsiz tıp mensubu bana neyi nekadar yaşayacağımı söylemeye cüret edebilir? Dedim ya uyum sağlamak istemiyorum, burayla, pislikle,vahşetle ve hiçbir şeyle. Bana burada 'olmak' hakkı verilmiyorsa bende kendi gerçeğimi kurarım kime ne. Rahatınız mı kaçar, oh olsun. Becerebiliyorsanız buyrun siz de yapın görelim nokta

Yakın H.



Sevgili Okuyucular,

Geçen sayıda Frau Gertrude Hugo'nun bizlerle olacağını duyurmuştuk. Lâkin, G.Hugo elinde olmayan nedenlerle yazı veremedi.Kadıncağızın başına son derece üzücü olaylar gelmiş. İki gün önce mor bir surat ve şiş gözlerle büromuza gelerek anlattı:

Bize yazacağını duyan eşi Werner Hugo çok sinirlenmiş.Hışımla eve gelip, kadıncağızı kolundan tuttuğu gibi duvara yapıştırmış. Duvardan duvara savrulan zavallı Gertrude'da hal kalmamış.Bunları duyunca dayanamayıp, birbirimize sarılıp ağladık.

Sevgili Gertrude, sen o alçak adama aldırma lütfen, dayakla falan sinmeyeceğini göster ona. İstersen sana avukat bile tutarız.



Nihayet Biz de Bir Eylem Yaptık...

O gün (sekizmarttanbirkaçgünsonra) Ankara'nın en kara parkına, en kara eşarplarımızı ve en müstehzi tavırlarımızı takınarak başörtü yasağını protesto ettik. Çoluk çocuk koca parka yayılıp akşama kadar ip atlayıp, top oynadık (Hakan'ı da çağırmıştık ama gelmedi). Herşey gibi ipimiz ve topumuz da karaydı tabii. Bunları, eylemden önce Humeyni Amcamızı arayıp İran'dan ısmarladık. Adamcağız tüm karizmasını da kullanarak İran'ı boydan boya aramış, kara ip bulamamış. Bizi arayıp "Kızlar, kara ip bulamadım lacivert olsa olmaz mı, uzaktan o da kara duruyor" deyü mazeretini beyân etti. "Olsun bakalım" dedik. Top için de bir akıl verdi, "Herhangi bir topu siyaha boyayın" dedi. "Bak bu hiç aklımıza gelmemişti ne akıllı adam"dedik.

Bütün hazırlıklar tamamlandıktan sonra eylem günü (bir Kara Cuma idi) saat 10.00 da Hacı Bayram'ın önünde buluşup Müezzinefendi Sokağına kadar yürüyüş eyledik. Takunyalarımızın sesinden yer gök inledi. Sonunda asıl eylem yerimiz olan Çembersakal Parkına vardık. Hemen kara ipimizle kara topumuzu çıkarıp üçlü, yedili,ve kırklı gruplar halinde eylemimize başladık. Kara topumuz bir ara yakındaki bir evin pencere demirlerine çarptı. Bunun üzerine paat diye bir ses çıktı.Herkes bize baktı. İçerde mışılmışıl uyuyan yetmişlik teyze sesin şiddetinden korkmuş gözleri faltaşı gibi bize geldi. "O ses neydi hanım kızım " deyü sordu. "hiç teyze" dedik "sosyal patlama oldu". Kadıncağız çok sevindi. "Yaa" dedi,"sahi mi? demek yıllardır bekleyip durduğum sosyal patlama sonunda oldu ha". Yaşından umulmaz bir çeviklikle koşarak uzaklaştı. Torunlarına haber verecekmiş.

O gün akşama kadar ip atladık. Ertesi gün bütün gazetelerin manşetlerinde biz vardık. Cumhuriyet: "Laiklik ve erkeklik elden gidiyor. Kara çarşaflı karılar sokaklara dökülüp ip atlıyor,hu çekiyor,bazıları sigara bile içiyorlar.Laik bir erkek ses bu gidişe derhal dur demeli,bu durumlarda demokrasiden vazgeçilmeli." Hürriyet: "İpler kimin elinde". Sabah Tan,Bugün : "Bunları İran yönetiyor" Hafta Sonu:"Humeyni elini kızlarımızdan çek! Tirajımız düşecek"

Ayça

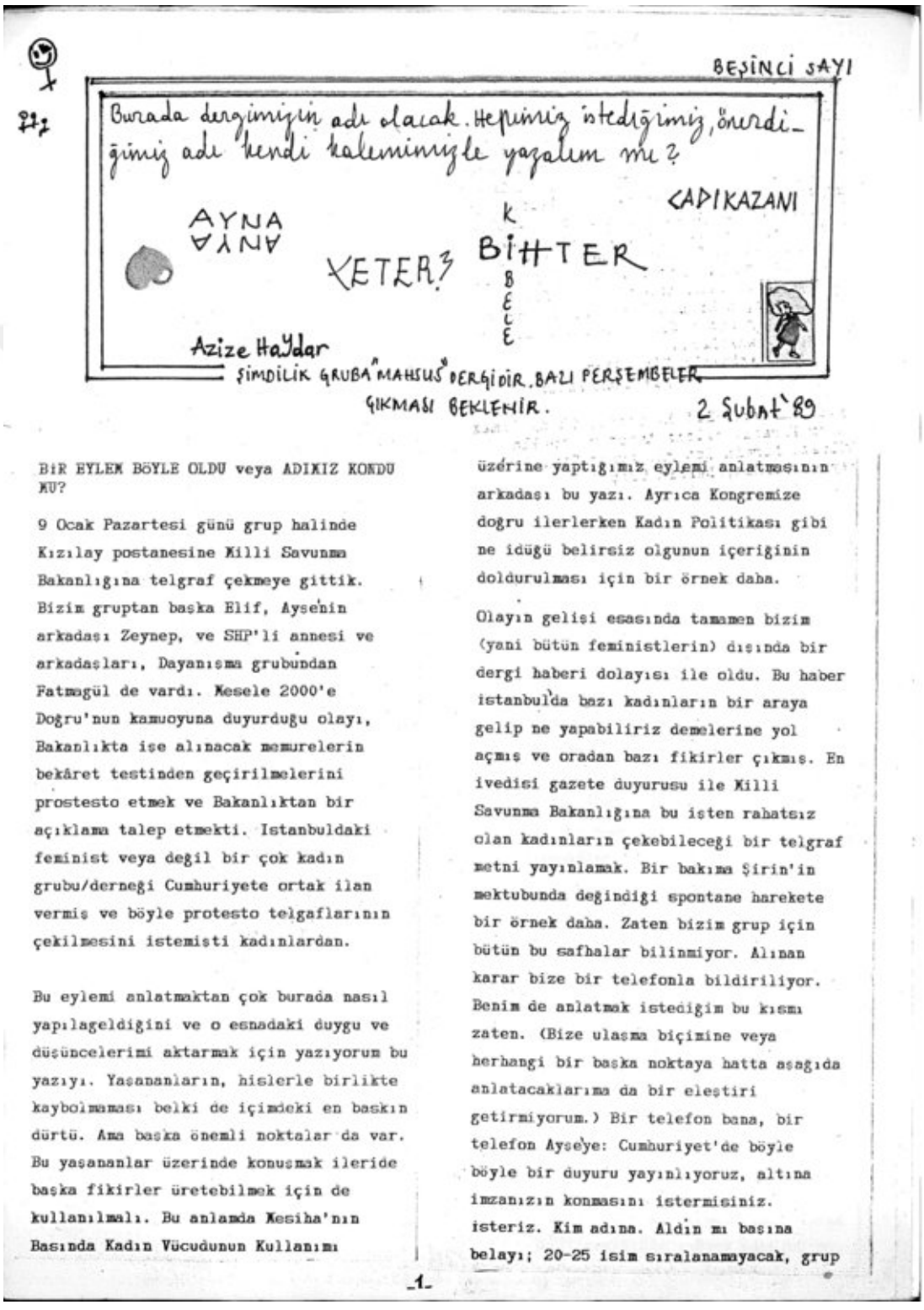
Pour mon père

Sizi seviyordum. Siz içimde biryerlerdeydiniz. Sevmemek mümkün müydü? Sizi kendimmiş gibi seviyordum.Siz bendiniz o zamanlar. Ağlıyordum yokluğunuzda , bekliyordum. Ah, yokluğunuz kahrediyordu beni. Teselli kabul etmiyordu gönlüm. Camlarda yolunuzu gözlüyordum. Ne iyiydiniz ne anlayışlı. Elimden tutup gezdirmezdiniz beni pek, şeker de getirmezdiniz akşamları ama sizi seviyordum. Saçlarım uzatılmıştı taa belime kadar. Uzun saçı severdiniz siz. Ben de severdim,seviyorum siz sevdiniz diye belki. Sonra sizi bağırırken gördüm,annemi ağlarken.Yıllar ve yıllar boyu hep bağırdınız birbirinize. Siz sevgili babacığım bana da bağırır oldunuz giderek. Anneme vurduğunuzu görmedim ama bana ne çok vurdunuz kocaman ellerinizle. Olabilirdi, bu doğaldı belki fakat sebebini bir bilebilseydim. Çok küçüktüm henüz bilmiyordum, anlayamıyordum ve şaşırıyordum. Ağlıyordum ben, kızıyordum ben. Evimizde sizin dev gibi egonuzdan başka birşeye yer olmadığını ve benim de orada yaşamak zorunda olduğumu anlamak, başka seçeneğim olmadığını bilmek bana nasıl acı verdi biliyor musunuz? Yıllarca yıllarca bitmedi birtürlü orda yaşamak, acıyla yaşamak. Sizi seviyordum, sevebilirdim yine de ama siz niçin öyle uzaktınız benden, niçin ulaşılmaz, anlaşılmaz ve ilgisizdiniz? Neden hayatınızda bir küçük ayrıntı bile olamadım? Sizi öyle çok sevmeseydim şimdi böyle kırgın olmazdım. Aslolan sevmektir çünkü.Sevmemek sonradan gelir.Sevmek mümkün olmayınca. Siz beni neden sevmediniz sahi neden? Neden sizin evladınız olmamı sadece ve hep benim görevlerimin bir toplamı olarak gördünüz? Öfkeden başka birşeyiniz yok muydu verecek ve benim yıllarca hoşgörü sandığım umursamazlığınızdan başka. Neden öldürdünüz sevgimi ve beni? Neden ben sık sık ölmeyi ama bazan da sizin ölmenizi diledim gizli gizli. Bizi neden çaresiz ve kendinizsiz bıraktınız ? Sizi sevmemi nasıl beklediniz arkanızda kırık kalpler bırakıp yürürken ? Neden şimdi bile, çok uzun yıllar sonra kilide anahtar sokulduğunda ya da merdivende ayak sesi duyduğumda ürperiyorum belli belirsiz de sonra rahatlıyorum? Gözlerinizde acıyı gördüğümde ve -belki- pişmanlığı çok geçti artık. Geri dönemezdik ve dönmedik. Siz neden ağlıyordunuz? Size sarılmak istemiştim o zaman. Çünkü yüreğimin bir bölümü sizi çok seviyordu, halâ seviyor. Şimdi, şimdi hiç cesaretim kalmadı. Artık kırılmak istemiyorum. Kırılmaktan korkuyorum. Aramızdaki o korkunç iletişimsizliği yeniden yaşamaktan çok korkuyorum. birgün çok sonra, belki hemen yarın anlar ve affederim bu bir erdemse. Siz de beni affedin lütfen; bırakıp gidemeyecek kadar sevemediğim için, karşılıksız sevemediğim için,halâ sevmeseniz de.

Tûbâ

APPENDIX C

FANZINE OF *BIHTER*



BEŞİNCİ SAYI

Burada dergimizin adı olacak. Hepimiz istediğimiz, önerdiğimiz adı kendi kalemimizle yazalım mı?

ÇADIKAZANI

AYNA

YETER?

BİHTER

Azize Haydar

ŞİMDİLİK GRUBA "MAHSUS" DERGİDİR. BAZI PERŞEMBELER ÇIKMASI BEKLENİR.

2 Şubat'89

BİR EYLEM BÖYLE OLDU veya ADIMIZ KONDU MU?

9 Ocak Pazartesi günü grup halinde Kızılay postanesine Milli Savunma Bakanlığına telgraf çekmeye gittik. Bizim gruptan başka Elif, Ayşe'nin arkadaşı Zeynep, ve SHP'li annesi ve arkadaşları, Dayanışma grubundan Fatmagül de vardı. Mesele 2000'e Doğru'nun kamuoyuna duyurduğu olayı, Bakanlıkta işe alınacak memurelerin bekâret testinden geçirilmelerini prostesto etmek ve Bakanlıktan bir açıklama talep etmekti. Istanbuldaki feminist veya değil bir çok kadın grubu/derneği Cumhuriyete ortak ilan vermiş ve böyle protesto telgaflarının çekilmesini istemişti kadınlardan.

Bu eylemi anlatmaktan çok burada nasıl yapılageldiğini ve o esnadaki duygu ve düşüncelerimi aktarmak için yazıyorum bu yazıyı. Yaşananların, hislerle birlikte kaybolmaması belki de içimdeki en baskın dürtü. Ama başka önemli noktalar da var. Bu yaşananlar üzerinde konuşmak ileride başka fikirler üretebilmek için de kullanılmalı. Bu anlamda Mesiha'nın Basında Kadın Vücudunun Kullanımı üzerine yaptığımız eylemi anlatmasının arkadaşı bu yazı. Ayrıca Kongremize doğru ilerlerken Kadın Politikası gibi ne idüğü belirsiz olgunun içeriğinin doldurulması için bir örnek daha.

Olayın gelişi esasında tamamen bizim (yani bütün feministlerin) dışında bir dergi haberi dolayısı ile oldu. Bu haber istanbul'da bazı kadınların bir araya gelip ne yapabiliriz demelerine yol açmış ve oradan bazı fikirler çıkmış. En ivedisi gazete duyurusu ile Milli Savunma Bakanlığına bu işten rahatsız olan kadınların çekebileceği bir telgraf metni yayınlamak. Bir bakıma Şirin'in mektubunda değindiği spontane harekete bir örnek daha. Zaten bizim grup için bütün bu safhalar bilinmiyor. Alınan karar bize bir telefonla bildiriliyor. Benim de anlatmak istediğim bu kısmı zaten. (Bize ulaşma biçimine veya herhangi bir başka noktaya hatta aşağıda anlatacaklarıma da bir eleştiri getirmiyorum.) Bir telefon bana, bir telefon Ayşe'ye: Cumhuriyet'de böyle böyle bir duyuru yayınlıyoruz, altına imzanızın konmasını istermisiniz. isteriz. Kim adına. Aldın mı başına belayı; 20-25 isim sıralanamayacak, grup

-1-

adına bir isim gerekli. Hemen bir sey atıyorum: Ankaralı Feminist Kadınlar. Ayşe benden habersiz aynı sıkıntıyı yaşıyor. Onun cevabı Ankara Feminist Kadın Grubu. Gazeteye ikinci sekilde adlandırılarak çıkıyoruz.

Adlandırıldık mı ger çekten? Bu simdi biz oluyormuyuz? Olsak ne olur, olmasak ne olur? Bu ad bundan sonra da bizim kalıcak mı? Biz farklılığı içerip öyle var olma pratigini yaşamak isteyen

kadınlarız her seyden önce. Şartlar bizi olusmaya mı doğru zorluyor yoksa hakikaten bunun hiç önemi yok mu? Yine Şirin'in sorusu: spontane hareketler bizi nerelere kadar çeker ve her zaman onaylıyabileceğimiz sonuçlar yaratır mı? Bir feminist politikanın içinde var olabilmek için çok sıkça da söylendiği gibi bütünlüklü bir kimlik gerekiyor mu?

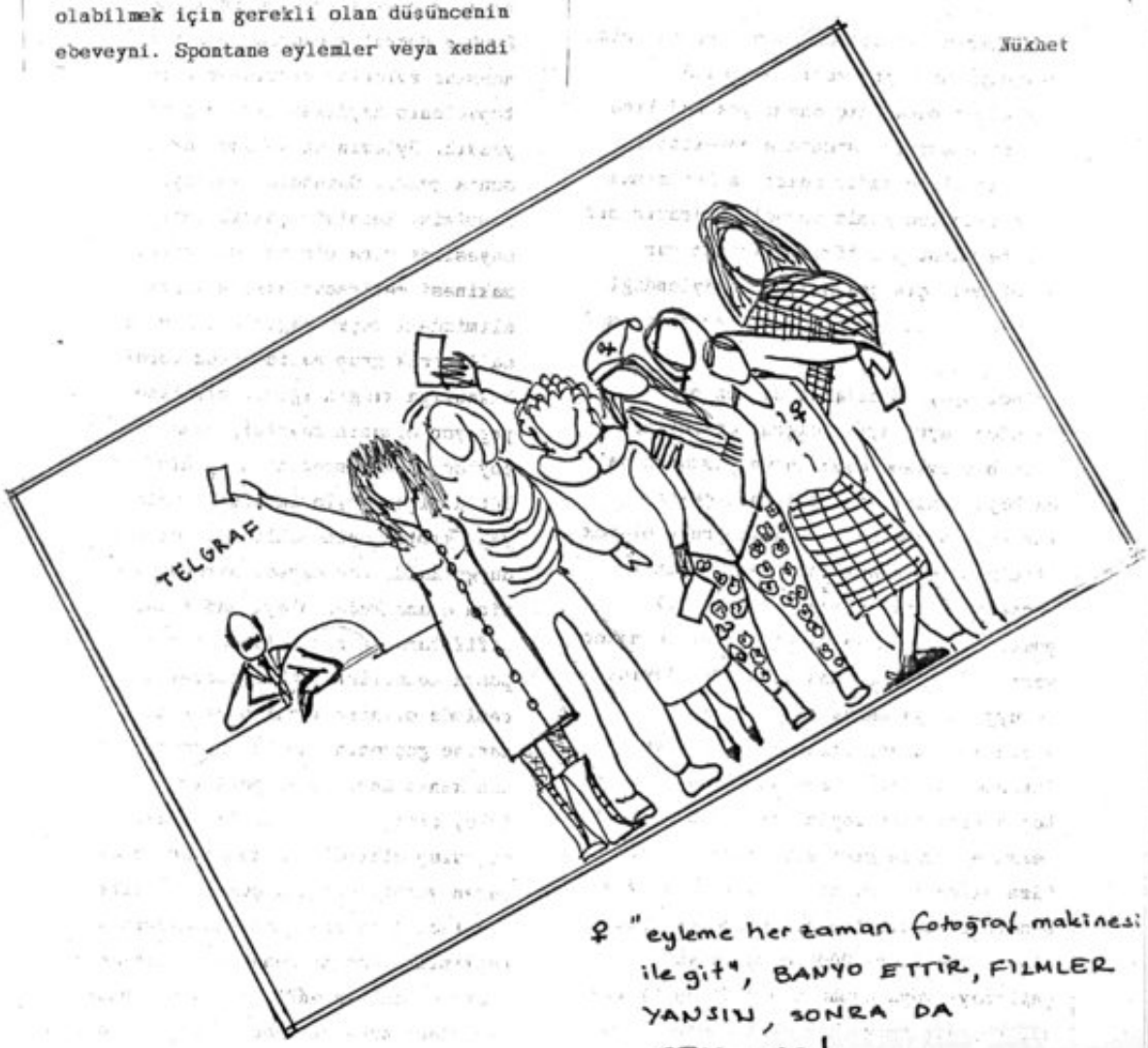
ikinci olay. Stelladan bu kez bir telefon: ayrı ayrı telgraf çekmeyin, bunu bir eyleme dönüstürün, Istanbulda da böyle yapılıyor, telgrafı çekmek isteyen kalabalık bir kadın grubu olarak (feminist olmaları şart degil, olayı , protesto etmek istemeleri yeterli) postaneye gidin ve gazetecilere de haber verin, kamuoyunda ses çıkarsın. Ayrıca bu uygulamaya maruz kalmış olan kadınları bulun, onlarla konusun ve istanbul ile aynı zamanda basın toplantısı düzenleyin. ilk elde telgraf çekme eylemine girismeye karar verdik. Gazetelere haber, başka kadınlara, v.s. Gazeteler artık 'haber' olmadığı için olay gelmediler. 2000'e Doğru'yu çağırmayı veya Cumburiyete falan ayrıca haber ulastırmayı biz akıl edemedik. Çok geç bulusma kararı aldığımız için Dayanışma grubundan pek gelen olmadı. Allahtan Zeynep Ayse'nin arkadası da SHP adına bir kaç kisi vardı bizimle telgraf çeken. istanbulunki de pek sahane olamamış.

Yine itildik iteklendik ve yarım ağız bir eylem mi gerçeklestirdik? Yoksa olduğu kadarı da anlamlımıydı? Bence anlamlıydı. ilk an gazeteciler gelmedi, sayılarımız az, ne yapalım, toplu telgraf mı kisi adına mı derken ufak hayal kırıklıkları geçirdik. Son anda 2000'e Doğru'ya umutsuz bir telefon: adamlar evlerine gitmisler bile. Sonra toparlanıp haydilendik, telgrafları yazdık. Eylemin en sahane noktası ise sonra geldi. Gazeteler gelmeyince kendi resmimizi kendimiz çektik Naciye sayesinde zira bir tek o fotograf makinesi getirmeyi akıl etmisti. Hepimiz elimizdeki beyaz kâğıtları havada sallayarak grup halinde poz verdik. iste bakanlığa kızgınlığımı, birlikte birsey yapıyor olmanın keyfini, daha başka seyler yapma isteğini o an hissettim. Bütün diğer seylerin önemi azaldı ve yaptığımız seyin haklılığı içimdeki tek duygu kaldı neredeyse. Neredeyse diyorum zira o ana kadar olayı hafif müstehzi, hafif tamamen rutin is edasıyla izleyen posta memurları gözüme çarpmıştı. Hem resimde olmanın (yani o ufak da olsa tarihe geçmenin) hem de fotograf olayı ile kanıtlanmış olan politik bir eylemin izleyicisi olmanın verdiği önemle doğrulup dikildiler, kendilerine çeki düzen verdiler. Bu küçük değisiklik beni etkiledi (kadınlar hep başkalarının tepkisine göre mi kendi davranışlarını ölçerler hakikaten?) Galiba da posta memurları bana bir ders vermis oldular:

1) eyleme her zaman fotoğraf makinesi ile git, bu kendine ve başkalarına önemli mesajlar veriyor, 2) her zaman politik bir eylemin oradaki insanları aşan bir ehhemiyeti var, bunu hiç unutma, 3) politik olmanın kendine has garip bir zevki var, içinde güçlü olmayı (en güçsüz anda bile) içeren.

Eğer gerçekten farklı bir eylem türü üretmek istiyorsak, bu gibi duyguları daha da açımlamak gerekiyor bence. Bu duygular hem öğretici, hem de dönüştürücü olabilmek için gerekli olan düşüncenin ebeveyni. Spontane eylemler veya kendi kendimize kurgulamadığımız eylemler bizi yansıtmayabililer, bu yüzden de belki çok sıkı bir biçimde düzenlememiş olabiliriz böyle eylemleri. Ama yine de planlamadığımız, beklemediğimiz yerlere gitmenin hoş yanları var. öte yandan beceremmek de ciddi sonuçları olan bir şey. Biz bence bu ince çizgiyi kesfetmek halindeyiz ve bu bana zevk veriyor. Aynı ince çizgi kendimizi kesfetmek ve aynı zamanda politik olma arasında da var. İşte bu yüzden Politik Olan Kişiseldir sloganını hala tartışmak istiyorum.

Nükhet



♀ "eyleme her zaman fotoğraf makinesi ile git", BANYO ETTİR, FİLMLER YANSIN, SONRA DA OTUR SIZ!

KARŞILAŞTIRMALI KÜRTAJ HİKAYELERİ ve BAZI SONUÇLAR

Bir arkadaşım "artık üç kıtada kürtaj deneyimlerin oldu" dedi. Bunun üzerine, ben de kendimi yetkili sayıp, karşılaştırmalı kürtaj analizleri yapmaya yelteniverdim işte. Haddini bilmezlikle suçlanabilirim yine.. Bu kez tıp biliminin ariflerince. Öyle ya, konunun bilimselliği ile ilgim, tıbbın konusu olan bedeni taşıyor olmaktan öteye geçmiyor. Bunun ise şimdiye kadar pek bir önemi olduğu söylenemez.

Kürtajın, memleketimizdeki illegal ve legal dönemlerini aktif olarak yaşamış olmanın üstüne, kürtaj hakkının kadınlarca verilen uzun mücadeleler sonucu elde edildiği bir kuzey ülkesinde gebelik testi ile başlayan sürecin nasıl yaşandığını izlemek ve yaşamak ilginç ve uyarıcı oldu. Zorla kazanılmış ve korunmak zorunda olan, kadın bedenine ilişkin bir hakka elbirliği ile sahip çıkan insanların ve kurumların titizliği ve itinasını Türkiye'li kadınlarla paylaşmak istedim. İmajı kadın özgürlükleri ile yüklü bu ülkede, kürtaj hakkı zaman zaman ciddi tehditlerle karşı karşıya kalabiliyor. Özellikle kimi kilise örgütleri daha geçen 8 Mart'ta provokatif film gösterileri düzenleyip, "yumurtalıkları ile düşünen çılgın radikal feministleri" imana davet ediyordu. Bu tehdit unsurları bir yana, kürtajın, kadını ve çevresini terörize etmeden huzurlu bir biçimde yaşanması için her türlü kurumlaştırma oluşturulmuş durumda.

Gebelik testinin sonuçlarını aldığım anda kürtaj isteyip istemediğim soruluyor, üniversite kliniğindeki hemşire kadın tarafından. (Çocuğu doğurmaya karar verdiğim takdirde, yalnız annelere tanınan, özel mali destek ve çocuk yuvasına kabul edilmede öncelik gibi haklardan derhal yararlanabilir, istersem öğrenci yurdunda daha geniş bir daireye çıkabilirim.) Kürtaj istediğimi söylediğimde karşımda ne yargılayıcı ne de hüzün dolu bakışlar var. Sevimli bir bürokratik el çabukluğu ile hemşire hastahaneyi arıyor ve doktor randevum alınıyor. Üç gün içinde doktoru görebileceğim. Türkiye deneyimlerim olaya kuşku ile yaklaşmama neden oluyor. Acaba kürtajın zararları ve aslında bu bebeği doğurmanın daha doğru olacağı konusundaki söylev hakkı doktora mı ait? Hayır... Kısa bir klinik muayeneden sonra iki gün sonraya gün veriliyor. Ayrıca gerekli kan tahlilleri için laboratuar kayıtlarım yapılmış bile. Türkiye'deki kürtajlar sırasında doktorlar kan grubum ile hiç ilgilenmemişlerdi. Muayenehaneden, operasyon öncesi yapmam gereken hazırlıkların yazılı olduğu bir kağıt ile uğurlanıyorum. Şaşılacak bir şey; henüz kimse bana "emin misin" diye sormadı.

Ve kürtaj günü... Sabah saat 7.30, bütün kadınlar yalnız alınıyor bekleme salonuna. Her birimizle bir hemşire ve bir pratisyen hekim sohbet ediyor. Gerçek bir sohbet bu. Terapi olduğunu düşündürecek ufak bir söz bile tüylerimi diken diken edebilirdi. Normal, sağlıklı kadınlar muamelesi görüyoruz. Üstünde bembeyaz çarşafların, pofuduk kuzeyli yorganların olduğu birer yatağımız var. Aç ve uyku sersemi olduğumuzdan büyük bir içtenlikle şekerleme yapıyoruz iki saat kadar. Derken bir anestezi hemşiresi ve anestezi doktoru bileklerimize tuhaf tüpler takıyor. Odada dört kadınız. Sanırım kadınlardan birinin anestezi alerjisi var. Hekim ona özel bir takım işlemler yapıyor. Şimdiden hafifçe gevşediğini görebiliyorum. Hemşire bana, aslında bu işlerin İsveç'te daha iyi olduğunu (daha iyi?), herkese önce bir sakinleştirici iğne yapıldığını, anestezinin daha sonradan verildiğini söylüyor.

Hemşireye, Türkiye'deki hastahanelerde sadece sakinleştirici ile bağırta, acıta kürtaj yapıldığını anlatsam mı? İşte ameliyathanedeyiz. Sohbet sırasında hemşire burada neler olacağını dakikasına dakikasına anlatmış idi. Etrafta bir sürü beyazlı kadın. Pembe yüzlü bir kadın kendini tanıtıyor; Operatör. Eldivenleri ve güleçliği güven verici. Çok kolay olacağını söylüyor. Ben vesveseli bir kadınım. "Daha bayılmadım, daha bayılmadım" diye söylendiğimi hatırlıyorum en son, bir de sabırla gülümseyen kadın yüzlerini... Sonrası huzurlu bir uyanış. Yine bembeyaz çarşafların, pofuduk yorganların arasındayım. Başılacak bir durum, ne başım ağrıyor ne de mi dem bulanıyor. Acaba Türkiye'de anestezi ile kürtaj yapan özel kliniklerin kullandıkları ilaçlar ile buradaki ilaçlar arasında ne fark var? O korkunç baş ağrılı ve iç paralayıcı kusma duygusu ile uyanışları hatırlamakta güçlük çekiyorum ve yorganım kadar yumuşak bir uykuya dalıyorum.

İki saat sonra perdeler açılıyor, kuzey güneşinin Aralık ayı ışıkları odaya doluyor, hemşire "günaydın hanımlar, artık bir şeyler yiyebilirsiniz" diyor. Taze bisküvilerimiz ve taze sıkılmış olmayan portakal sularımız var. Ortalıkta bahşiş bekleyen hademelerin ve biranevvel yokolmamız için gözümüzün içine bakan hemşirelerin olmamasını yadırgıyorum. Portakal sularımızı içerken bundan sonra nelere dikkat etmemiz gerekeceğini anlatan kağıtlar dağıtılıyor. Kağıtta herhangi bir sorun çıktığında başvurabileceğimiz bütün adresler yazılı. Giyiniyoruz. İşlerin yolunda olduğuna kanaat getiren hemşireler isteyenlere taksi çağırıyor. Taksi ücretleri Oslo Belediyesine ait. Hepsi bukadar. Evde keyifli bir parti, şaraplı, çukulatalı bir topluluk yatağımın başında kutluyoruz...

Türkiye'de kürtaj, ister legal, ister illegal koşullarda olsun, kadını terörize ederek yaşanan bir süreç. Ahlaki yargılamaların güçlü baskıları bir yana, bizzat tıp adamlarının kürtaj alehtarı hallerindeki kadını adam yerine koymama tavırlarından hep çok rahatsız olduğumu düşünmüşümdür.

Devlet hastahanelerinin iş bitirici, yargılayıcı, insansız tavırları bir yana, özel klinik hekimlerinin iç bayıltıcı "bu bebeği almayalım" söylevlerinin muhatabı olmak zorunda değil kadınlar. Bizler, tıbbın yüce otoritesi karşısında zavallı birer rahim sahipleri olabiliriz ve kürtajın kadın bedenindeki tahribatlarından haberimiz olmayabilir. Kürtajı asla bir doğum kontrol yöntemi olarak savunuyor değilim. Ama kürtaja ilişkin yaratılan terörize hava ile onca kadının geleceklerinin ipotek altına alındığını gözlemlemiş olmak beni rahatsız ediyor.

Üstelik sayın tıp otoriteleri lütfen bize, jinekolojinin yıllardır kurcaladığı kadın bedeni için doğum kontrol haplarının daha az tehlikeli, spirallerin daha az zedeleyici olduğunu anlatsınlar, ya da iyi yapılmış bir kürtajın, herhangi bir cerrahi müdahaleden, estetik cerrahi işlemlerden, hatta dişte yapılan kanal tedavisinden daha tehlikeli olup olmadığını açıklasınlar. Evet kürtaj bir doğum kontrol yöntemi değil ama etrafında oluşturulan ahlaki, ideolojik, bilimsel, kurumsal yapılarla terörize edilen kadınların hayatlarının geri kalan kısımlarının istenmeyen gebelikler ile ipotek altına alınması ise hiçte affedilebilinir bir durum değil.

Hemen aklıma, pek sevdiğim bir hekim ahbabımın, ki bir erkektir, bir vakitler tıp otoritelerine yönelik feminist sorgulamalar karşısındaki tepkisi geliyor. Biz feministler bedenlerimiz üstüne konuşmayı severiz ve böyle bir zamanda hekim ahbabım bana

"sen hayatında kaç tane uterus gördün ki bu kadar rahat spekülasyon yapabiliyorsun bu konuda?" diye soruvermişti. Belli ki kendisi eğitim ve uzmanlık dönemi boyunca çok rahim görmüş. Ancak ben bizzatihi yaşayan bir uterusum ve uterusumun rahatı için neyi isteyip neyi istemediğimi bilebilmek benim hakkım.

7 Aralık 1988/OSLO

KUMRU

Meraklısı / yada 'kürtaj tecrübeleri marifet değil, bu kadına doğum kontrolü öğretilsin' diyenler için:
Son gebeliğimi, tıp otoritelerinin sevimli istatistiklerince koruma oranı %99'un üstünde olduğu söylenen bir spiralin eşliğinde yaşadım. Gözünüzü korkutmak gibi olmasın.

MİHRİBAN

Alacakaranlık zalim,çürük
Saçlarını uzatmış
Kirpikleri ok
Ameliyat yaraları ve bir oyuk
Kadın olmak zor,kadın olmak ayıp
Bedelini ödemek için kadınlığın Mihriban
En kötü talihi
Talihin en zalimini
Pembe kimliğinin verdiğini
Bentderesi'ne taşıyor
Ve Mihriban Allah'tan korkuyor
Sesinde çatlak oyuklar
Ben o zaman da kadındım diyor
Yani şeyden önce
Allah günah yazmaz değilmi sizce
Kadınlar kırgın,öfkeli susuyor
Ve hiç kimse tam bilmiyor
Satın almasımı erkeklerin
Kadınken bedenini
Yoksa vermek erkekken erkeklere
Daha koyu bir günah olur
Erkekler neznnde



AYŞE SAKTANBER

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ŞİRİN'e DOĞRU YAZILMIŞ
DERGİ MEKTUBU

Önce kendimi tanıtayım: Ankara'daki Perşembeli. Kızlardan şeyda. (Hâlâ Ankaralılık konuşuyorum, oysa şehirlerarası trafik İstanbul'dan Ankara'lı olmayı zora sokacak görünüyor. Zira sizin mektubunuzu ancak Ocak başında İstanbul'dan buraya gelince görebildim) 'Acaba çok geç mi?; karşılıklı konuşacak zamanımız kaldı mı?' diye düşünmedim değil, ama yine de yazıyorum.

Bu arada mutlaka demeliyim: PK 165'e ulaşan mektupları, hepsinin gelmesini beklemeden parça parça da olsa, konferansa katılmak isteyen tüm kadınlara yollamanın çok iyi olacağını yeniden söylemek istiyorum. Bunu Ankara dışında olup okuyamadığım mektupların beni ve bizim kızları nasıl canlandırdığını görünce daha iyi hissettim (önceden sadece düşünüyordum).

Size yazma isteği duyduğum noktadan başlayabilir miyim?

İkinci mektubumuzda, 'konferansa feminist politika içinde bulunmuş kadınları çağırmayı düşünüyoruz' demiştik. Çağrılmasını istediğiniz kişi ve grupları bize iletmenizi de istemiştik. Siz cevabi mektubunuzda Nakiye Boran'dan söz ederken, "davet edilecek kişiler arasında olmasını isterdim" diyorsunuz. Böyle demeniz, beni çağrı konusunda bizim grubun seçiminin saptayıcı olduğu gibi bir izlenim mi oluştu' diye kaygılandırdı (ç). Mektubunuzdaki "bugüne kadar feminist politika izlendi mi?" sorunuzla bu kaygı birleşince tekrar düşündüm:

* Konferansa çağrılacak, yani; 'feminist politika içinde bulunmuş' kadınlar kimler?!
* Üzerinde tartışılası bir tanımla, yani 'izlendi mi' diye sorulabilen feminist politikaya gönderme yaparak kadınları konferansa çağırmak nasıl birşey?
* Herbirimiz hepimiz tanıyamıyacağımız gibi, hangimizin hangi eylemlerimizle feminist politika içinde bulunduğumuzu saptayacak MDR'a dönen bir turnusol kağıdımız da ne maalesef ki yok...
* Feminist olmak ve politika içinde bulunmak herbirimiz için farklı biçimler alırken ve biz bunları tartışmak için konferansta birarada gelmek isterken; 'feminist

(ç) Bu arada hemen diyeyim; Nakiye Boran'ı verdiğiniz numaradan arayıp adresini aldık ve konferans çağrı mektuplarını postaladık.

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politika içinde bulunmak' gibi bir 'çağrı kıstası'; içi özel ve bireysel olarak doldurulacak birşey (çç).

* Öneri mektuplarımızda konferanstan neler beklediğimizi, isteklerimizi olabildiğince anlatıyoruz. Sonrasında, böylesi bir öneriye ve 'feminist politika içinde bulunmak' tanımına kendini dahil hissedenlerimiz, konferansa katılmak istediğimizi söylüyorsak, feminist politika içinde ne ölçüde bulunduğumuzun sorgulanamıyacağını düşünüyorum.

* Zira 'katılmak istemek', 'politikanın, zorunlu olarak birileri için olmasa da birilerigiyle birlikte, onları etkilemek ve etkilenmek üzere yaşanageldiği' genel yaklaşımını karşılamaya yeterli değil mi "?"

* Konferansın bizzat kendisi, bu özel, bireysel ve bazen ideolojik tanımın içine neleri taşıdığımızı görmek ve tartışmak istemenin bir ifadesi değil mi?

(çç) Bizim kızların, ben gibi kendine feminist demenekle beraber "nesnel" (?!) olarak feminist politikanın (ben hareketlilik falan deneyi tercih ediyorum şahsen) içinde bulunan birkaç istisnayı da kapsamak üzere böyle bir ifade kullandıklarını unutmadığımı belirtmek ve 'feminist politika içinde bulunmak' ifadesine teşekkür etmek isterim (Dikkat! politika yapmak bile değil, içinde bulunmak)

Bunu hissetmek bana gayet iyi geldi, bunca şeyi düşünüp-konuştuktan sonra.

Aslında "pratik" olarak demem o ki, Nükiye Boran'a çağrı mektuplarını keşke siz doğrudan iletseydiniz. Bize de adresini verirdiniz haberleşelim diye. "Teorik" olarak ise düşündüklerime devam etmek istiyorum.

'Feminist politika yapmak' terimi, aklıma iktidarı ele geçirme yolunda temsili bir mücadeleyi getirdiğinden başından beri bana uzak geliyordu. Sizin "bugüne kadar feminist politika izlendi mi" sorunuz ise, bana politikanın stratejik yönünü; hareket ve mücadeleden farklı olarak özgül ve bütünsel stratejileri ifade ettiğini hatırlattı. Sizin, "kısasal ve grupsal çalışmaların planı (strateji demiyorum)" dediğiniz yaklaşımlar ise, yekpare bir feminist politikanın stratejilerini oluşturma iddiasında olmayabilirler. Bu tür, "tanımsız" veya "münferit" yaklaşımları, eksik ve tamamlanamamış stratejiler olarak görmek, feminist hareket içinde varolma biçimlerine ölçü koymak olur. Bu da, feminist mücadele içinde olmanın, politik bir stratejiye veya bütünsel

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ideolojik bir dünya tanımlamasına sahip olmayı gerektirdiğini varsayar. Oysa, feminist hareket, farklı feminist politikaları içermekle birlikte daha geniş ve edimsel bir alan bence. Feminist hareketlilik içinde bulunan her kadın ve grubun teorik olarak belli bir feminist politikayı ve buna karşılık düzen stratejileri savunması hiç de zorunlu değil. Bütünsel politik stratejiler sunmaksızın edimlerimiz ve yaklaşımlarımızla da ne istediğimizi, nasıl yaptığımızı yazayıp paylaşıyoruz ve önerebiliriz.

Bu yüzden, konferans hepimiz için kendimizi özgül politik stratejilerle ifade edeceğimiz bir yer olmayacak gibi geliyor bana. Konferansın sadece böyle bir yer olmamasını da isterim. Bazılarımız kendi politik stratejilerini tartışmak ve propoganda yapmak isteyebilir. Belli bir politik stratejiden taraf olmasak da bunlar hepimiz için tartışılası şeyler. Zira, bireysel ve grupsal edimlerimizin üzerinde varoldukları genel zemini belirleyen ve sınırlarını çizen, bugün için bu politik stratejiler. Ancak kendiliğinden ve/veya kısmî tepki ve çalışmalarıyla da feminist hareketliliğin genel zeminini etkileme olanağına sahip olduklarına inanıyorum.

Konferansda politik stratejilerin propagandası ve "tanımsız" olanları bunlardan birine dahil olmaya zorlamaktan ziyade strateji ve yaklaşımlarımızın karşılık bulduğu farklı biçimleri tartışalım diye umuyorum.



Beyza
10 Ocak '89





SEVGİLİ YALNIZLIK

Neden gittin?

Paylaşmak zorundamıydım, kendimi kendimle? Onca güzel şeyi paylaşmışken seninle. İki yıl geçti işte; her an gelmeni bekleyerek, kapının her çalışına umut bağlayarak..."Yirminci yüzyılda ölüm acısı en fazla bir yıl sürer" diyen Nazım'a inat, bekliyorum iki yıldır seni. Sen yoksun; olmayacaksın da... Acın küllenecek bir gün, külenmeli de. Yoksa, nasıl yaşarım kendimle; bunca sorumluluklara, bunca çirkinliklere göğüs gererek.

Evet canım, sen yoksun. Göğüsleyeceğim bu yaşamı, tek başıma olsam da; bana, hak etmediğim bir rol üstlenmem istense de..."Dul bir kadın", bu filmi birlikte izleseydik, ne tür duygular içinde olurduk, bilemem. Gidemedim bu filme, gitmek istemedim. Müjde Ar oynuyor, ben yaşıyorum. Üstelik, birçok rolü, ondan çok daha iyi oynayarak...

Kızıyorum sana. Yirmi altısında, henüz yaşama sensiz nasıl katlanılabileceğini öğrenmeden, bunca çirkinliğin olduğunu bilemeden bıraktın beni. Ki, ben daha annelik rolünü bile öğrenemeden, babalık rolünü de sıvandım. Alıcı kuşların ortasında, ne yapacağını bilemeyen bir serçe... Gerçekten böylemiydim ben? Sen ki, benim en çok güçlü yanımı severdin; kimseye kolay kolay boyun eğmeyen, tuttuğunu koparan, haksızlıklar karşısında yılmayan, özgürlüğüne tutkun....

İki yıl bana çok şeyler öğretti. Her şeyden önemlisi, "nefret"i. Nefret diye bir duyguyu tanımayan, tanıyamayan ben, bu duyguyla bileniyor, bu duyguyla güçleniyorum. Öy le küçüklükler, öyle iğrençlikler gördüm ki, anlatamam; midem

bulanıyor. Senin zamanında da insanlar böylemiydi? Peki, neden görmedim ben, neden? Sen mi kapatıyordun, tüm bu iğrençlikleri. Sevgi denilen sözcüğü unutur oldum; dilimden hiç düşmeyen, sürekli yüreğimde taşıdığım, o beş harfli, hiç de gizemli olmayan sözcüğü...

"Bir içki alır mısınız?" Bir tayin işi için gittiğim müdür beyin söylediği...makam odasında...Bir imza atacaktı dosyaya... Nasıl öfkelenip çıktığımı anımsayamıyorum."Lanet olsun, imzan da, sen de, işin de...Lanet olsun."O şiş göbeği, hele o gözlerindeki iğrenç anlam... Gözler ne çok şey anlatıyormuş da, bilmiyormuşum. Eskiden, gözlerinin içine değin bakardım insanların. Büyük bir renk cümbüşü; mavi, yeşil, kahverengi, ela... Bu renklerden anlam çıkarırdım; sevecenlik, sevgi, yılgınlık, öfke...Hiç beceremezdim, gözlerdeki iğrençliği görmeyi. Yakıştıramıyordum herhalde, hâlâ da yakıştıramıyorum. Öğrencilerimin saf, ışıltılı, cin gibi gözleriyle de buluşmasam, tüm insanlara, saygımı-sevgimi yitireceğim.

Fakülteyi bitirdim; yüksek lisansa da başladım, hatta yarıladım. Bu gücü nasıl bulduğumu da bilemiyorum. Ama yine, o güçlü yanım ayaklandı; her şeye karşın, sensizliğe karşın bir şeyler yapabilmek... Bu duyguyu yakaladığım an bırakmadım, bırakmayacağım da...

Okumaya karşı ne denli istekli olduğumu bilirsin. Öğretmen okuluna gidebilmek için, evdekilere az mı dil dökmüş, az mı yalvarmıştım? Küçük erkek kardeşimin okumasından umut kesilince, ancak rıza göstermişlerdi. Okul bittiğinde seninle tanışıklığımız, evliliğimiz... Altı yıllık güzel bir birliktelik. Kendimi gerçekleştirebilmem için önüme sunduğun olanaklar... Bendeki sürekli değişim...Öğretmenliği bırakıp, bir öğrenci-bir ev kadını olarak geçirdiğim fakülte yıllarım... Sorumlulukları paylaştığımız; daha çok senin paylaştığın yıllar...

Güzel günlerdi; birden bitivereceğini bilemezdim. Sen ki, göçmen bir kuştun. İşinin gereği, sürekli kent kent, ülke ülke dolaşırdın. O zamanlar hiç yalnızlığını duymazdın. Biliyordum döneceğini; telefonla da olsa, duyuyordum, ılık-güvenli sesini. Ama bu yolculuğun çok uzadı; telefonların da gelmez oldu...

Tanrıya inansaydım eğer,beni sınıyor derdim. Hiç olmazsa, bağlanacak, tutunacak bir dal bulmuş olurdum. Oysa, öfkem giderek daha da arttı. Hak etmemiştim böyle sınanmayı. Ben ki O'na, küçüklüğümde, ince titrek sesimle az mı sure okumuştum? Kaç kez hatim indirdim, O'nun için. Büyükannem, beni hafız yapmayı bile kafasına koymuştu. Büyükannemlerin, geniş ulu ağaçların, çeşitli meyve ağaçlarının -ki özellikle dut ağaçlarını çok severdim- olduğu bahçesinde, kuran okurken az mı ağlamıştım; büyükannemi, komşu kadınları... O yaşta bile, nerede mevlüt okunuyorsa, çağrılıydım. Mevlüt bitiminde, yan cebime içinde para bulunan bir zarf koyarlardı. Sonra da ilk işim, bakkala gidip bisküvi, lokum almaktı. Bisküvi arası lokuma bayılırdım. O zaman bile bir meta haline dönüşüveren Tanrı sevgisi...Küçüklüğümde, nasıl canlandırıyordum acaba, o günkü duygularımı; bilemiyorum. Hiç te pişman değilim; iyi ki yaşamışım o duyguları, Yoksa nasıl ulaşabilirdim, bugünkü düşünce biçimime.

Beni çok değiştirdiğini, şimdi daha iyi anlıyorum.Eski çevremden öylesine kopmuşum ki, bunalıyorum, onlarla birlikte olmaktan. Basit, düzeysiz geliyorlar. Korkunç bir olay... Öğretmen okulunda sol düşüncelerle ilk karşılaşmam, ilk kitapları okumam; giderek bu düşünce biçiminde kendimi, insanlığı bulmam... İnsan sevgisinin Tanrı sevgisinden de üstün, kutsal olduğuna inanmam.... Sınıfsal ayrımların kökeninde yatan gerçek nedenleri öğrenmem...Tartışmalar içinde geçen yıllar...

AYSU

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Sürecek...

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