

THE DISCOURSE OF GENDER ROLES IN THE ISLAMIC
FEMALE WRITERS: THE CASE OF CİHAN AKTAŞ AND
YILDIZ RAMAZANOĞLU

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:

i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study

ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

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THE DISCOURSE OF GENDER ROLES IN THE ISLAMIC FEMALE WRITERS: THE CASE OF CİHAN AKTAŞ AND YILDIZ RAMAZANOĞLU

This study focuses on analyzing woman identity and gender roles through the discourses of Islamic women authors. Being among the followers of the political and sociological events triggering changes all around the world as the living witnesses of the period of last thirty years, Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu are the two women authors mainly discussed within the scope of our study. In consideration of their books, works published in various journals and newspapers, and the interviews of the authors, their perspectives on women identity and gender roles have been analyzed.

Basically, it is possible to assert that Islamic women deem themselves responsible to the family and the society. Although this responsibility feeds on the individual's ideal to realize itself, it is yet different than the modern world's individual that gets ever lonelier. The recent gravitation of Islamic intellectual women particularly to the topic of individuality is based on their doubts concerning the family life and the community life. Human's responsibility to itself covers its capability to maintain its life without being in need of anyone else. According to them, this responsibility born by all virtuous, moral and rational individuals to themselves also connotes being an integral factor within the family and the society. However, it is important that it does not fade away and loose its identity. Islamic women's discourses on "freedom" should be considered in this context.

In addition to these, Islamic intellectual women put emphasize on the woman type that is similar with the type set forth by the authors of the early Republican era.

Considering the social and political events going on for decades with a deep perspective, women authors use their criticism not for the purpose of change but for improvement. In other words, the struggle for identity of Islamic women does not include a deep rooted change. The fact that Islamic women do not reject traditional roles due to their religious commitment is among the reasons for this. The inadequacy of the current public area in meeting Islamic conditions and therefore the handicaps born by the modern public area make the private area an unalienable living space for Islamic women in any case. Ordinary characters from the daily life are frequently found in the authors' literary works. They do not approve and take any extreme lifestyle as example. Islamic women authors' demands on Islamic women's gender roles are based on women building their own traditional lifestyles and modernization experiences in line with their own demands and expectations. Islamic women authors accept motherhood as the ultimately positive experience and an ethereal gift. It is not possible to comprehend Islamic women's opinions on woman's identity and gender roles without mentioning how they view motherhood. Although having focused mainly on the concepts such as state and ideology in their past works, in the last decade women authors have developed a stronger discourse on woman and individual rights. It is possible to interpret these on the basis of the interaction they have been in with feminism and postmodern discourses.

Key words: Gender Roles, Islamic Women Movement, Gender

KISA ÖZET

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İSLAMİ KADIN YAZARLARIN SÖYLEMİNDE CİNSİYET ROLLERİ; CİHAN AKTAŞ İLE YILDIZ RAMAZANOĞLU ÖRNEĞİ

Bu çalışma, İslami Kadın yazarların söylemleri üzerinden, kadın kimliği ve cinsiyet rollerini analiz etmeyi konu edinmektedir. Son otuz yıllık sürecin canlı şahitleri olarak Türkiye ve Dünya’da değişimi etkileyen politik ve sosyolojik vakaların takipçisi olan Cihan AKTAŞ ile Yıldız RAMAZANOĞLU çalışmamızda ele alınan iki kadın yazardır. Söz konusu yazarların kitapları, değişik gazete ve dergilerde yayınlanan yazıları ve farklı yerlere verdikleri mülakatlarından hareketle kendilerinin kadın kimliğine ve cinsiyet rollerine bakışları analiz edilmiştir.

Temel olarak, İslami kadınların, kendilerini aile ve topluma karşı sorumlu gördükleri söylenebilir. Bu sorumluluk bireyin kendini gerçekleştirmek idealinden beslenmekle birlikte modern dünyanın yalnızlaşan birey biçiminden farklıdır. İslami kadın aydınların son yıllarda özellikle bireysellik konusuna yönelmeleri aile ve toplum hayatına karşı taşıdıkları şüphelere dayanmaktadır. İnsanın kendisine karşı sorumluluğu, hiç kimseye muhtaç olmaksızın hayatını idame ettirebilmesini kapsamaktadır. Onlara göre, erdem, akıl ve ahlak sahibi her bireyin kendisine karşı taşıdığı bu sorumluluk, aile ve toplum içinde bütünleyici bir unsur olmasını da ifade eder. Ancak silikleşerek benlik kaybına uğramaması gerekmektedir. İslami kadınların “özgürlük” kavramına ilişkin söylemleri bu bağlamda ele alınmalıdır.

Bunların yanı sıra İslami kadın aydınları erken cumhuriyet dönemi yazarları ile benzerlik taşıyan kadın tipi üzerinde durmaktadır. On yıllardır süren toplumsal ve politik vakaları derin bir bakışla ele alan kadın yazarların değişim yerine, iyileşme reform gayesiyle eleştiri dili kullanmaktadırlar. Diğer bir ifadeyle İslami kadınların

kimlik mücadelesi, köklü bir deęişim içermemektedir. İslami kadınların, inanç baęlılığı ile klasik rolleri reddetmiyor olmaları bunun bir sebebidir. Halihazırda kamusal alanın İslami koşulları karşılamıyor olması dolayısıyla modern kamusal alanın içerdığı handikaplar, İslami kadın için özel alanı her koşulda vazgeçilmez bir yaşam alanı kılmaktadır. Edebi eserlerinde, günlük hayatın içinden, sıradan karakterlere rastlanmaktadır. Uçlarda herhangi bir yaşam biçimini örnek alıp olumlu bulmazlar. İslami kadın yazarların İslami kadınların cinsiyet rollerine ilişkin talepleri kadının geleneksel yaşam biçimini ve modernleşme tecrübesini kendi talepleri, beklentileri doğrultusunda inşa etmesi yönündedir. İslami kadın yazarlar annelięi olumlu bir insani tecrübe ve uhrevi bir armağan olarak kabul etmektedirler. İslami kadınların, annelięe dair görüşlerine değinmeden kadın kimliği ve cinsiyet rollerine ilişkin fikirlerini tam olarak anlamak mümkün değildir. Kadın yazarlar daha önceki yazılarında çoğunlukla devlet ve ideoloji gibi kavramlar üzerinde yoğunlaşırken, son on yıllık dönemde daha çok kadın ve birey hakları bağlamında daha güçlü bir söylem geliştirdiler. Bunun da feminizm ile postmodern söylemlerle giriştikleri etkileşimden kaynaklandığı söylenebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cinsiyet Roller, İslami Kadın Hareketi, Toplumsal Cinsiyet

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INTRODUCTION

The present paper is on Islamic women authors' opinions on gender roles within the context of the perspectives of two significant authors among Islamic groups namely Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu. These two authors are the names that gained prominence within the Islamic women movement that continues in Turkey in the last twenty to thirty years. Stories, novels, ideological books, works published through newspapers and journals and interviews of the two authors constitute the focal point of this thesis. From the works of the two women authors, this study analyzes in details their opinions concerning family, woman, women's freedom and their public and social roles. In addition to the mentioned two authors, also the opinions of other Islamic intellectuals are involved with in regard to the topic under discussion.

For the integrity of the matter, also the topics the Islamic intellectuals work on concerning woman and how much effective these works turn out to be in the social and political fields are also included within the scope of this paper. It is aimed to better analyze the Islamic women's movement and the opinions of Islamic women authors, and from there to understand their effects on the Islamic woman identity. On the other hand, the works of feminists groups were evaluated in line with their effects on Islamic woman groups and individuals wearing headscarves.

Intellectual Islamic women consider gender roles in line with Islamic belief. Due to this reason, feminist and secular circles see them as being remote from free thought and will. It is observed that while Islamic intellectual women speak of the principals of faith that are not open for interpretation or change, they separate these from practices that push women to the background. They build gender roles by accepting the principles of creation. It is possible to assert that while criticizing the rules offered as Islamic tradition, Islamic intellectual women approve the relationship between individual and religion. According to them, the social order and the inner voyage of an individual will be positively affected from the real content of

religion. Therefore, man and woman are being conceptualized at a point beyond the arguments of the feminist ideology.

In the process where Islamic women have built their identities and maintained their fight for their rights in both official and unofficial areas, they have met with the reaction of Islamic men. The controversies are based on boundaries that include both the private and the public areas such as conservation of the traditional and Islamic roles, and sharing responsibilities in the private and public areas. It is observed that we are going through a process where the Islamic woman evaluates and changes the boundaries of the area offered to her both in terms of domestic roles and in the public area. Islamic women have been affected from the mostly obstructive behaviors and ideas of Islamic male actors. Due to this reason, different aspects of this intellectual conflict going on between Islamic man and Islamic woman are evaluated within the scope of the present study.

The adjective "Islamic" attributed to the two women authors, the perspectives of which are examined in this study, was used in line with the consideration of their self-identification. The intellectual levels or economic statuses of the Islamic individuals, the civil identities of which we examine, were not determinative for us to use this concept. The people to be characterized as "Islamic" in our study were considered with an evaluation beyond solely answering the question "who is an Islamic individual". This remains out of the topic of our study. The concepts used in the study may draw undesired limits at times. However, no goal beyond an objective evaluation was aimed. Despite the fact that we tried to build the study on clear descriptions as much as possible in order to prevent the used concepts to cause restriction of meaning, the individual identities that are continuously diversifying particularly after 1980 make it difficult to make descriptions. As it was observed from the sources we use and the conducted interviews, in relation with the object of our study as Islamic individual or more particularly Islamic woman, there are occasions where people consider the descriptions Islamist, Islamic, religious and Muslim the same or consider one to be more proper than the others. There are also occasions where these concepts are used interchangeably. The reason for us to

consider these concepts being close to each other is based on the women and intellectuals identifying themselves with these concepts explain the concepts generally in the same way or on basis of similar descriptions.

It is observed that Islamic women authors explain their sociological analyzes through the reference of Islam. They frequently express that they evaluate woman, woman identity, woman's social roles, gender roles, education, and responsibility towards child, woman's choice of public area and domestic responsibilities by staying loyal to the main sources of the religion.

In order to clarify the different tendencies or the differences attributed with value, further elaborations were provided in the identifications. Other than these, the concepts of Islamic woman and Islamic intellectual are used in line with the above-mentioned explanation. Only the discourse of Muslim woman or Muslim individual is excluded from these. There also have been those that find the description “Muslim woman” sufficient and proper, without using the concept of “Islamic”. However, this is a general expression. Clarification of the boundaries of Muslimism would be much more difficult. In order to avoid this contradiction, we will be addressing Muslim individuals that constitute their basic principles through the reference of religion also as Islamic individuals. This distinction was made because the religiousness of every Muslim individual is not the same. What is tried to be clarified with this identification is not the deepness of the religious world of people. It is the effects of their religiousness on their world of thoughts and on the external world (Karaman, 2012).

It is also necessary to explain -through the use of previous studies- the concept with which we use the word “enlightened” in our study. Şerif Mardin considers the word used in Turkish for "enlightened" as the direct translation of the term "intellectual" used by the West, yet also adds that the influence of an western intellectual on the society comes from his own world of thought and in a sense the western intellectual has a passive role. Şerif adds that the enlightened in Turkey on the other hand undertakes a mission concerning the issues of the country and acts in a responsible way in relation with the existing problems (Mardin, 2009: 141-142).

Inclusion of the enlightened in the state somehow has been the case also in Turkey. Determination of the social role of the enlightened and expression of its effectiveness is difficult as much as important. Because, measurement of the effectiveness and social role of the enlightened individual requires an effort including more than one area. Even the different periods of the recent history has affected the position, and therefore the definition of the enlightened. Concerning the content of the concept of the enlightened, we did not wish to leave the concept that we will be using frequently in characterizing the people included in the study as an ambiguous expression. In the present study, we consider the concept of enlightened or intellectual as "a category relatively independent from the government and authority, differs from the society in terms of knowledge, and the style it produces and processes information, that inherently has a mission to lead and be responsible for the society, capable of questioning itself and what is presented, able to anticipate various problems of the society and propose solutions to these by being aware of its belongingness, conveys messages from a wide range of channels and does all these within the possibilities of human mind" (Tekin, 2004: 52).

In addition to the researchers Yıldız Ramazanoğlu and Cihan Aktaş, who are determined as the primary references, opinions also from other disciplines that are considered to provide contribution were included in the first chapter of the study. Studies that would provide examples and enlighten particularly the controversies on the topic of Islam and woman were utilized. Islamist women's desire to preserve/maintain their connections with religion is being considered as a case against freedom. Ideas and freedom of thought of Islamist women are considered to be nonexistent. This approach is strengthened by the rules embodied by the religion and the practices attributed to the religion due to cultural Islam. Enlightened Muslim women's approaches to the religion and their sociological analyzes stand for Muslim woman setting forth her own definition of freedom. In this context, inclusion of intellectual Islamist women in the world of literature is important. With the headscarf ban, a process affecting Islamist circles has been experienced in Turkey. It is observed that Islamic intellectual women do not use the concepts of freedom and

equality solely on the basis of the relations between man and woman, but also in connection with the discrimination among women.

The discourses of Islamic women in Turkey on women's rights and freedom are considered to be part of Islamist feminism. For this reason, also Islamist feminism was included in the scope of the study. The way Islamic intellectual women define discrimination and the context with which they use the concept of freedom was examined. It is a fact that for long years Islamic women did not participate in the world of literature in topics other than religious ones. This has its reasons such as adopted authority and the limits of woman as determined by Islamic circles. The literature journey of Islamic intellectual women was therefore included in the scope in a particular way to shed light on this matter. At the same time, we believe that this will also clarify similar separations. It was tried to exemplify and reflect the social participation of Islamic women, the obstacles they face and the way how they fight back.

Being among of the significant names that affected the women's movement also in the Republic period, intellectuals such as Halide Edip Adivar and Emine Semiyye influence the world of thoughts of today's Islamic intellectuals. Although it has been more than a century, Cihan Aktaş equates herself with Halide Edip Adivar in terms of her private life. Yıldız Ramazanoğlu's use of the term “female human” is also an indicator of this influence. In her evaluations on gender roles, Yıldız Ramazanoğlu states that, if there has to be superiority between the two genders it should definitely belong to the woman. The women of the Republic era that have been influential on the thoughts of Aktaş and Ramazanoğlu as the primary names of our study were included in the study in this context. Also oriental and western woman models were examined, again in line with the discourses of Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu. The models of Oriental and Western woman are important in terms of comprehending the modern and traditional roles and the transformation of the identity of Islamic woman. While criticizing the “Western White Woman” model, Islamic intellectual women also ground the headscarf band as a part of the enlightenment movement in Turkey. The Western woman sociology that has spread

through the whole world and therefore also affects Muslim oriental societies is related with the Islamic woman identity in several aspects. What is in question is a woman identity that the religious Muslim oriental woman objects, yet at the same time is influenced by. The way Aktaş and Ramazanoğlu evaluate this objection and interaction examined in the second chapter.

The perspectives from which Islamic intellectual women evaluate women's positions within the family and their domestic roles are examined in the third chapter. In this part, in addition to Islamic intellectual women's criticisms towards the present family and society structures, also their considerations of the ideal family are presented. Furthermore, their envisagement of the ideal society was also mentioned under a separate title. While defining gender roles, intellectual women do not consider woman as an element independent from the society and the family. Due to this reason, their opinions presented on the frame of family and society bear important clues on woman identity. Also the inner struggle of woman is not considered to the irrelevant of her position and responsibilities within the family and the society. For this reason, also the topics of family, society and children discussed in the final part supplement the opinions of Islamic women on gender roles. In this part the future predictions and suggestions of Islamic intellectual women are presented.

CHAPTER 1

ISLAMIC WOMEN’S MOVEMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN’S LITERATURE IN TURKEY

In this chapter, what is going to be examined is the process of how Islamic Women’s Literature has emerged in Turkey, in this manner; four main points will be highlighted. First of all, we will have an in depth look at intellectual women who took part in literature after 1980 and try to lay stress on the writing adventures of those who stood out among the others. Then we will study Islamic Women’s movement itself, with reference to the assumption that Islamic Women’s Literature is an outcome of that movement. Meanwhile, we will elaborate on how this movement contributed to the development of this type of literature as well as answering the questions like how Islamic Women’s Movement came out and around which discourses it was shaped. Furthermore, we will discuss both the intellectual interest emerged in Turkey and the Islamic Women’s Literature appeared as a result of the movement.

After 1980, Turkey witnessed an emergence of many channels allowing women with Islamic standing to express themselves by writing and publish their work. The papers and magazines with Islamic view provided very significant basis for some Islamic standing women, which also made it possible for them to write.

In the final part of this chapter, we will be emphasizing on the writing adventures of Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu, which has been taken as the subject of the thesis. The analyzes on the literary progress of these two writers will be based on their arguments on gender roles, male – female relations and women’s role as traditionally and socially.

1.1. Islamic Intellectuals and Arguments Regarding Women

As it would be the case for those who believe in different religions, the approach of an Islamic intellectual on woman reflects the effects of the basic resources of Islam. In a study formed with Islamic perspective, women's position will be evaluated based on the Quran and Sunna (the general term used for Islamic practices modeling the prophet Mohammad's actions) resources. Actually, it would be a mistake to expect Islamic intellectuals to form an entirely independent thought system from the Quran and Sunna or totally reject them even though they belong to different areas of study. However, the source of Islamic thought cannot provide an agreement. Muslim Intellectuals' conservative – traditional point of view or reformist Islam and the approaches they formed through these perceptions has brought the topic of **women** into different points despite their Islamic references.

The idea that Islam protects women's rights as much as it necessitates has been supported by those who are studying on Islamic disciplines giving proofs derived from Islamic sources. This situation primarily leads Islamic Intellectuals to exhibit a reluctant attitude towards discussing women's rights in Muslim societies. From this point, the assumption is quite common among Islamic intellectuals that Islam provides necessary conditions concerning women's rights. This one of the reasons that caused Muslim women in Turkey to be orientalized for the way they fight for protecting the women's rights. There are some Muslim Intellectuals who see women's stance against practices nourished by Islamic culture and the way they question the traditional structure as lack of faith, which is one of the reasons why they approach skeptically towards religious women's demand for equality. Besides those who orientalize women's movements with religious concern, there are some men opposing the cause for fear of losing power. Inside and on the target of these discussions is also the Islamist feminism.

There are some Islamic researchers who refuse all or at least some of the feminist statements which have been influential over Turkey, reviewing the women who claim their rights as not the agents but the subjects to the movement through the analyzes based on religion, society, economics and politics. For example, a

researcher who defines feminism related to the economic dynamics and sees it as an elitist movement states that feminism can never be applicable for an Islamic lifestyle (Tekin, 2013). Over the acceptance of feminism as a political movement aiming to change the power relationship between men and women (Çaha, 2010: 55), it is possible to divide it as “women's rights movement” and “women's liberation movement”. The former includes opposition to the hierarchical structure and aims for equality whereas the latter that was formed afterwards is different from women's rights movement and rejects all kinds of roles related to gender. Instead of limiting women's freedom only to equality principle, it has become a policy projecting a different identity for women and a new social order (Çaha, 2010: 56).

Although Islamic women's movement stands apart from radical expressions of feminism, it benefits from the ideology and gets influenced by it. At this point, however similar Islamic women intellectuals' -not by many of them but for some referred as Islamic feminists- literature used for claiming their rights to the feminist language, they differ in content. It can be said that in a way Islamic women's movement stands closer to “women's rights movement” How an Islamic intellectual from Islamic women's movement and how a radical feminist refers to freedom is usually different from each other (Tuksal, June 2013, personal interview). That is why Hidayet Şefkatli Tuksal considers the concept of Islamist Feminism as a wrong conceptualization; instead, she finds feminist interpretation of Islam more accurate. Also, it is possible to evaluate the restrictive side of Islam from a feminist point of view and reinterpret the women's rights through this kind of criticism. The feminist interpretation of Islam does not meet the expectations of the traditionalist intellectuals who puts a distance between the two as the “cultural Muslims” who are originally Muslim but has nothing to do with Islamic lifestyle could be “Islamist feminists” or the ones who shapes their existence with Islamic reference could be so.

The essential point that separates the Islamic women intellectuals -defining themselves or defined by others as Islamist feminists- and traditionalist intellectuals is social hierarchy and the basic rights of women. Western men and women have been in an effort to become models for the Muslim world (Rahman, 2004: 138). As

an outcome of this attitude, western world has been considering Muslim societies within their own perspective. Besides the aforesaid corruption including the refusal among Muslim societies by their own people, there exists a reaction against a change. Having been accepted as the effect of an ideology born and formed in the western society's own dynamics, "the liberation of women", namely women's movement, has been viewed with such perception. When considered that Islamist women's movement in Turkey was affected negatively by westernization operation and secular women who adopted this operation as a mission, It is better to evaluate Islamist women's movement differently from western women's movement and not to limit it to expression of feminism.

Criticizing heavily the approaches claiming that the fight for women's rights in the east is solely triggered and/or supported by the West, Fatima Mernissi states that this point of view has an underestimating side. (Mernissi, 2004, p. 35) She states that western feminists could not purify themselves from the racist and imperialist western genes (Mernissi, 2004, p. 39) and with this inherited urge, they see the eastern women's struggle for rights as their own success. Eastern men also accept and act according to the idea that struggling for rights is not an inside but an outsourced movement for fear that accepting the rebellion of eastern women might pose a danger on men's status. As a natural consequence, they get rid of admitting their mistakes and manage to hide them.

During the discussions of Islamic intellectuals about the rights of women, some kind of protectionism is observed rather than an Islamic sensibility. Beyond the differences mentioned, the opposing attitude of Islamic male intellectuals and female intellectuals who acts with patriarchal codes towards the seeking for rights is not only about the demands' being anti-Islamic, but also the possibility that it might become anti – Islamic. This could be considered as a concern arising from the shape and target shifting structure of feminism in Europe. It is also a fact that a western originated movement might get support from a Muslim society and affect the hierarchy between the men and women as much as it might do the Islamic lifestyle. Approving the traditional role of women at home and finding it pretty Islamic, Ali

Bulaç, defends in one of his articles that, women should remain in their private sphere as it would be more suitable to their innate nature. Again in the same article, he states that women who do not only take responsibility in the public sphere but also carry on their traditional role, as housewives will get tired twice as much. While insisting that women should not work as long as it is not essential, he claims that there are different alternatives to involve in social life as they wish, other than working life. However, later on in his article, there are some details expressing the vitality of women's traditional roles to the men for the sake of keeping them away from the burdens of public life. He claims the participation of women into the business life and creating a competitive environment as the cause of unemployment. Meanwhile, he rejects the condition that the housework with no breaks undertaken only by women and the other responsibilities of the family members should be shared equally (Bulaç, 2010).

As it can be seen clearly, a lot uttered on grounds of Islamic sensibility is nothing but the products of Islamic male intellectuals' world of imagination. They go about Islamic resources and examples usually with this intention. Furthermore, it is emphasized that there are close, even strong links between women's innate nature and being responsible for the whole family. Indeed, there is a belief that demanding their presence in public sphere is a breaking their duty and inappropriate for women in terms of natural competence. While it has been on debate whether women can do well in public life, the fact that there are many successful women well adapted to the system is usually ignored. The ongoing of an old fashioned discussion impairs Islamic women's demand to be in public sphere in the modern society. It is a fact that traditionalist Islamic intellectuals disagree with Islamic female intellectuals especially in perception and interpretation. On the other hand, an Islamist woman journalist has responded Ali Bulaç in her article the woman of the age; stating that the women's right to work is not an uprising but a way of fitting in the society. She states that women turn to work life at the point where the men fails to fulfill their responsibilities. Moreover, she also speaks of the condition that women have not given away their ability for motherhood unlike the western feminists who ultimately forgot motherhood (Aydın, 2012). This is one of the basic reasons why Islamic

women authors differ from the traditional men. Conservative men who adapted themselves to the modern world expects conservative women to adapt perfectly to what the modern world presents although they wish to keep women's social status within traditional codes. Otherwise, there are some who barely blames women for being the actor who causes unrest among society.

As mentioned in the Holy Koran, it is widely believed that it is Eve, made of Adam's ribs, who encouraged the original sin and first ate the fruit of the forbidden tree. That is why the creator bestowed her with the burden of pregnancy and made her inferior to her husband. Christianity and Judaism view women as responsible for the original sin (Topaloğlu, 2008: 20). Since they are considered the reason of mankind for being deprived of life in heaven, women are considered as the source of evil with reference to this phenomenon, on which Muslim researchers rely as pre-Koran resources. This belief defines every woman created from the first to the last with a negative description of creation. Also, it has been directly emphasized that every man and woman created are responsible only for their own good deeds and sins and nobody else -even the closest relatives – can pay the price for their sins (Topaloğlu, 2008: 23). The unfair treatment against women in is being attempted to relate to the religious resources in Christian and Muslim worlds. In Muslim societies the flexibility of Islamic rules has grown smaller and vanished¹.

The traditional conflicts which put harsh restrictions on women's dressing, professional and education life as well as their involvement in social life can be exemplified through different phenomena. Seen as the foundation of Islam, Salah is overshadowed by some issues that are not among the codes or prohibitions of Islam. Furthermore, many religious scholars gives priority to the subjects that social recognition put forward, rather than the suggestions and commandments emphasized in Koran while evaluating the positive or negative outcomes of women's involvement in social life with the effects of the modern age. The family, which set restrictions on education and business life with religious excuses, while suggesting nothing or not

¹ Just as before Islam women were blamed for committing the original sin, even in Islamic countries women are exposed to restrictions and judgements with religious excuses that are not related to the core of the belief.

even restricting other religious practices of the same individual could be another example. The same conflict can be seen at the pressure to be covered or being excluded from the society on one side and the issue of Salah on the other side. The notion that a life inside the house only is not an element of Islam. The areas in mosques separated for women are a clear-cut example of this contradictory Islam understanding. Indeed, it is about the recognition of women in public sphere that in mosques very narrow areas are spared for women. Women are exposed to discrimination in public places and not seen equal to men (Özkan, 2012). In some sense, women are hampered about fulfilling their Islamic duties when out of private sphere. While the Abrahamic religions are embraced as a gift for mankind sent to end inequalities and provide justice, the culture that makes people do just the opposite abusing Islam is still alive.

Upon a symposium² at which directorate of religious affairs mentioned the areas spared for women in mosques and participation of women in the worship congregation, an Islamic author evaluates all these speculations as related to global free market economy, and professional life of women, and that women's worshipping in mosques will result in showing themselves in the society (Bulaç, 2011). It is understood that the individuals who advocates women's exclusion from the society tend to find the solution to the probable so – called -moral and cultural corruption in keeping women under pressure. There are also limitations to the way the rights and flexibility Islam offers is presented. For example, an Islamologist explains that there is no religious restriction for women to expose their feet, although, she believes that this should not be told to them. As a reason, she expresses his thought that once they start exposing their feet, women will not stop and start to dress in a more exposing way (Doğan, 2012). There is a tendency to control the position using Islamic excuses. Seen, as the “symbol of Islam” women are feared to deteriorate this mission. As a consequence the rights of women have been exploited. The fact that

² In 2011, the directorate of religious affairs mentioned the traditional approaches excluding women in a symposium expressing how wrong to keep women out of extra Salah with real-life examples without leaving them a right to choose. In order to fix this situation, 3 thousand mosques have been restored as suitable for women to worship.

the dominant power can exploit the weak comes about as exploitation of uneducated women through so called Islamic rules and oppression of them. Putting forward Islamic suggestions as finding a life behind closed doors more suitable for women while they have a right to become sociable only strengthens this opinion.

Including a theologian's opinions in an article she wrote, an Islamic women author made following conclusion; "Sometimes we happen to read such kinds of works of some religious scholars that just by looking at them we can end up on the edge of saying how stupid for a woman to choose Islam as a religion" (Çiftçi, 2012). The author adds that if women are to write a translation and interpretation of Koran, this kind of doubt in Islam can be vanished (Çiftçi, 2012). Meanwhile, it will not be a mistake to say that what women have been questioning and trying to change is not their way of belief but the male – dominated interpretation of the religion.

Traditional Islamic approach holds the idea that women should obey to their husbands. It considers the resources describing how the relationship between man and woman within this perception. The power and prevalence of male dominated jargon can be seen at some Islamic women writers. Giving beauty suggestions in one of her writings, an Islamic woman defends the idea that to earn beauty peace, youth and health as well as protecting what they already have, women should keep out from fighting with their spouse. She also claims that in order to protect her marriage, a woman should adopt "no frown, no criticism, no blaming" and man is the leader of the house so the women should obey their husbands referring to Koran. The women are expected to obey their husbands and this is shown as if an essence of Islamic belief.

Fazlur Rahman finds modernity dangerous but also sees it as an opportunity to face. She explains the reinterpretation of Koran as rediscovery of and a better understanding of Islam. According to her point of view, to question traditional Islamic understanding is necessary for the sake of awakening the Muslim societies. She claims that traditional education is carried far beyond using basic resources instead; interpretations and secondary resources are used during religious education. It is a fact that too much commitment on traditional understanding of Islam may

influence the women's rights and family bounds adversely. The aforesaid mission of women to be the symbol in Islamic society and to putting much restriction on women's rights in the name of protecting Islam can be re-evaluated using this point of view. During globalization, it would be a better idea to interpret Islam according to the modern world instead of remaining stuck at the traditional interpretations in order to escape from different ideologies, which emerge everywhere repeatedly. In other words, to examine the basic resources as regard to define at which point a Muslim individual – woman – should stand might bear positive outcomes. Traditional Islamic intellectuals and Islamic communities have a positive approach on re-evaluating the Islamic responsibilities of women and their conditions at the point reached in time. The reformist Islamic movement can end the clash of modern culture and religion based on traditional Islamic understanding by presenting an opportunity to re-evaluate the situation. The recognitions putting the women on a secondary position are on debate and partially open to comment. However, at the reached point, it is essential to bring divinity to supplementary resources.

The individual period and the social transformation that the people of the 80s' Turkey contributed is significant in terms of understanding the current point. It is a strong argument to claim that women are the cause of disturbance when Islamic resources are referred to. Both men and women consider this burden on women's shoulders as natural and act accordingly. Religious dressing (covering), not getting out as long as not needed, being extra careful while speaking to stranger men in order not to draw attention are the actions that women must take. Cihan Aktaş views what the individuals who want to turn to Islam had been through with the alphabet reform as a shock wave. While mentioning this trend in which then Islamist individuals fell, she describes as follows:

Nonsense reading in the name of Islamic knowledge, sticking into beliefs without questioning for the sake of living Islam, a hostile attitude towards tradition, an insincere questioning of modernity, attempting to save the society despite the existing society, despotism with Islamic jurisprudence, Friday prayer, discussions of blasphemy, jihad, hejira, excommunication, denial of the main strings in the name of returning to the sources, no confidence in women in the name of

religious sensibility, the authoritarian voices who call students with turban to their houses in the name of Fiqh and piety (Aktaş, 2005a: 5).

While expressing that religious reading is not recognized, the author mentions an important belief about women. In the light of then Islamic studies, women wearing no turban would not be accepted as wives by the Muslim men. As a way of categorizing women, Islamic approach is used and biased reading is supported.

1.2. Islamic Women Movement and Female Authors

“Women movements are generally a struggle for independence and equality, which emerged as an uprising against the role patterns attributed to them” (Çakır, 1996: 18). Women's movements is a kind of fight shaped in each country's own conditions. Islamic women's movement is to be evaluated through its own dynamics. The struggle of women for freedom in Turkey is a movement against the pressure of political authority. However Islamic women movement is adverse to gender discrimination on economical acts. Economic actors shaped by the capitalist exploitation and secular social pressure is supporter of this adversely conditions. Additionally, the pressure of secular women is another case that affects to Islamic women negatively. They oppress with the power governmental support. They rest on their freedom and rights to this discrimination. However Islamist women movement resist to the violation of women's rights by Islamic men making up religious excuses. Emphasizing that the stories of women, who preferred to remain conservative and religious inside the modernization movements dating back to the Ottoman reforms and carried on during Republic period was ignored, was ignored, Fatma Barbarosoğlu refers Islamic women as “other woman” (2010: 95). Since women was chosen as the essential part of enlightenment project, the women with turban has been neglected and defined with negative ascriptions. Islamic women's movement has come to being as a result of an awakening against inside – and outside oppression, definition and types of inducement.

There have been some intellectuals who had debates as to whether the struggle of Islamist women will be considered as a movement. Same separation is mentioned among Islamic community. There are some different clusters of women who define themselves only in the Islamic movement standing close to the feminist groups or as Islamist feminists. However, in the point reached it would be more accurate to define this struggling for right as “Islamist women”s movement. Many non-governmental organizations, like foundations, associations, and platforms have already been established. It is known that in the point that Islamist women's movement is standing, they are in contact with other groups and from time to time they carry out similar actions and studies as occurred in second wave feminism movement. Islamist women's movement, in other words, Islamic women's movement has grown powerful inside the Islamic movement in Turkey and gained different dimensions in time. Today there are many Islamic women intellectuals who have taken part in the foundations and the associations or in the women branches of conservative political parties or Islamic groups. It would not be wrong to say that this period includes the progress which women has benefited in order to become the subject of the society. We can consider this condition as turning of women who once took place in the power struggle of Islamist parties to fighting for their own identity, instead of choosing communitarian structures in the background.

The steps for modernization, which began before the declaration of the republic and gained acceleration during the republican period has ignored conservative and religious crowds with a secular and elitist approach. Soon after, sides have been formed with the labels of reformist or reactionary within the society according to the core – surrounding divisions of the public. The transformation and new social norms presented as reforms has led the Islamic side stand out. Also, imposing coeducation as the only alternative, taking religion out of education due to modernization, defining the dress code in the public space according to the western way and denying culturally conservative Islamic dress code has resulted in separation of Islamist people from the secular grounds. They could not send their daughters to school for a long time owing to the European style clothing (Barbarosoğlu, 2010: 95). Within the political dynamism of 1960s, as an educated

young woman Hatice Babacan (1968) started to wear turban. After Hümeýra Ökten who is the first doctor with a Turban in 1950s, Gülsen Ataseven started wearing turban as a student at faculty of medicine. Confronted with prohibitions, abuses, prohibiting from education, Islamic women image acquired a rising trend after 1980s and a process during which bans received opposite reactions began. One of the reasons that particularly affected this rise is that Islamic fraction turned to secular educational institutions.

In 1924 religious vocational schools established in this name in order to bring up religious officials started to admit female students for the first time. Within two years, the number of female students has increased from 852 to 11.000 (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010: 15). In the secular system, in an institution more appealing to their preferences, young Islamic females seem to have reached further in educational life, which created a period when young religious women who are excluded from the society and education with the concern of protection could take a step in to the social life. Şule Yüksel Şenler was the first example of “modern and covered” woman image with her design of covering and clothing she presented to the people. She held programs and conferences for women about Islam and Islamic dress code while travelling different countries. She emphasized that women were ashamed of being covered (Şenler, 2013) those years. As a result, she put some effort in order to make possible for Islamic women to stand in society without being ashamed and excluded by their contemporaries. Sued many times and spent 9 months in the jail due to her works, Şule Yüksel Şenler's style of covering is currently preferred by many women with turban. It is known that prohibitions are not enough to suppress social movements but they make them a lot of times stronger. Same is true in the formation of Islamist movement.

Islamist women have requested to be in educational institutions through their will and belief systems and continued their demands to work with turban with the wisdom they gained during their education. Turgut Özal's policies supporting the economy and leading the capital to spread to the public increased the visibility of Islamist individuals in Turkey. He also approached moderately to the issue of

schooling with turban in the messages he gave and politics he followed. What happened during February 28 period was such a big impact on the Islamist political actors and the civilians. The different factors of the society were remembered once again. Besides the political unrest, it took its place in recent history as the harshest period of turban prohibition. This ban is strictly applied in all educational institutions without any compromise. In the bodies of Istanbul university, for the first time in history “chambers of persuasion” were opened and students with turban were forced to sign some documents requiring them to give up their turban in return of having their rights of education back. In 1999 Merve Kavakçı, who was elected as Istanbul representative in the parliament, was not admitted to the parliament wearing her turban and as a result of legal transactions on her, she lost her citizenship and right to involve in politics for 5 years. The party she belonged to was closed during the period beginning with this phenomenon. On grounds of 1982 constitution, the pressure which affected turban at universities through the Board of High Education declared its prevalence once again with February 28th period.

The laws passed based on ban on turban and the resistance have had a big role in the formation of the Islamist women's movement. Thousands of civic, educated young women who participated in demonstrations of turban has been the examples confuted the claim that turban is the symbol of narrow mindedness. In the minds of the people who were ashamed of their religiousness and concealed themselves and for the ones who underestimated them between the years of 1960 – 1980, the image of women with turban changed. Those years turban had a huge place on media with the prohibitions; and it helped those who migrated to the city with enormous wave of migration but could not adapt to the imposed modern way of dressing to find a style of clothing. Many young women who dress in covers for traditional reasons without paying any attention to the Islamic dress code factor followed this style in the cities matching their traditional way. It can be also claimed that ban over turban helped the individuals who are only culturally Muslims to embrace the religion even closer. It would be true to conclude that Muslims will not abandon the public space and with Islam becoming an urban and political religion

the point reached is inevitable (Aktaş, 2005a). Neither will Islam withdraw nor will it be possible to hold Islam only inside the heart (Aktaş, 2005a).

In the 70s, Islamist women had to argue about their visibility in daily life as subjects and its Islamic grounds inside the traditional, yet modern structure. By the 80s, Islamic women's duties as representing and supporting the Islamic structure came along. As seen in the leftist groups of the period, they had neuter roles in public sphere as comrades. Explaining the expression of “bacı” elaborately, Cihan Aktaş emphasized how this word, meaning elder sister, have received acceptance among Islamist women – and men who have no blood – ties. Bacı defines the person who is isolated from earthly desires, posing no “evil” for men, accepts to stand a step behind on the men whom she recognize as a cause friend. She is a type of a woman trying to live the life as it is, totally refusing the modernity (2005a: 11). With the influence of Islamic expressions supporting women's obedience to their husbands, she is responsible to obey to the men she accepts as brother in public sphere, and serve her husband at private space, namely home. They have almost no chance to look into the self, and act according to their personal issues. Men who possess the priority given by the traditional roles uses the threat of public spheres corruption in order to restrict the women. Ban over turban facilitates this sort of relationship making the women insignificant in society. Also the projects of women whose speech of freedom is shaped around turban is captured within narrow boundaries.

During the periods when women in leftist groups gained a different point of view on gender with feminism, Islamist women will too influenced by the dissolution within the Islamic movement. Dissociation in private space and conservative men influenced by modernization have led Islamist women to question of the sincerity of their imposed identity. Aktaş points out the internal dynamics of Islamic community by relating Islamic women's fight for identity to the politic dynamics that cannot be ignored. It is not only the modernist expressions that calling the women into the public sphere. It is becoming a fact that conservative men have started to show respect towards the modern woman whose identities were previously rejected in public sphere. In close relationships, marriages, the process of making

Islamic women's identities insignificant and men's inability to resist change while standing against the change in women are factors that caused the movement flourish.. The male intellectuals who finds women's existence in public places inappropriate has left the right of Islamist women to say to the secular women. Adopting the right and way of criticism towards Islamic women in modern codes, conservative men's role in the transformation of Islamic women should not be neglected.

By the 90s, there was an Islamic fraction that adopts the ideas of both the world and after-death. The way the Islamic bourgeoisie turned to the Islamic five star hotels was a concern of heated debates. However, the opposing views emerged with religious reference did not have an effect and the firms announced as Islamic companies earned demand in conservative community. Within this structure, a totally different type of Islamic women and young women appeared in public space. As an oppressed social fraction, the demands for visibility and acceptance of the conservatives might have a dimension of reaction. Meanwhile, it is observed that Islamic groups have been evolving to individuals seeking their identities. Stating her expectations of an honest attitude in terms of respect, equality and prestige at the reached point, Aktaş emphasizes that the conditions of public sphere must be cleared of both modern and traditional imposition (Aktaş, 2005a: 32). It would be more accurate to conclude that Islamist women's demands have a more improving quality rather than a revolutionary style.

Alan Touraine, asks in his book in which he examined the degree of the struggle for rights by Muslim women originating from Morocco, Algeria, Maghreb “.... Is it possible for some Muslim women to enter the process of building their personal life despite the harshness of the obstacles to overcome?” (2007: 211). He states that the greatness of the obstacles in front of the Muslim women and their effort to overcome them for the sake of forming their own identities has become a primary goal. When this movement with this effort is exposed to sharp obstacles, and when the social events break out destroying the memories and liveliness of the movement, or when there is no plan and sustainability, it is bound to lose its power and vanish. It is probable that the reaction of women experiencing similar problems,

which is directed to the obstacles of previous movements, not the reaction that they hold when they first set to fight for their actual target, women's freedom and forming an identity, and their reaction to the restrictive manner they encounter will be in the heart of the movement. We can observe this situation of women's movement that has become a vicious circle, in the similarity of the words of the women pioneers who struggled for women's rights years ago with the utterances of the women today. Indeed, the struggle which centuries ago women in different regions of the world maintained in order to have the rights of education and involvement in work life resembles to the examples in our culture. Beside Germany example (Michel, n.d.: 37), where midwives charged for pregnancy control were judged with severe punishments in 15th century, the example of women who marched in Paris with the demand for the right to have abortion (Michel, n.d.: 87). However, there is such a long time as 5 centuries between these two historical events. One of the reasons for this situation is that women cannot transfer their experiences to the next generation. In addition to that, women's life captured in private space and leaving the power to the men's hands is an important factor.

As the gender has become a phenomenon of analysis in all areas day by day, the expressions of Muslim women has been influenced by it. While expressing their demand for right to believe, they have particularly emphasized the oppression they have been through. They also seem to act in a manner criticizing the discriminatory treatment in public and private space. Stating that after the declaration of constitutional monarchy and in the republic period, citizenship had a gender role, Serpil Çakır uttered this remarkable sentence “Women are designed upon observing the rights, but primarily duties” (2011). In order to become “social subjects”, women need to fit in the prescribed patterns and participate in the social movements from the private space. Over the identities designed in the first years of the Republic, the responsibilities of women as a republican and sophisticated individuals are defined this way. As a part of that, women who were present in the public sphere is also responsible for representing the new woman's identity.

Upon the expression of rights and duties, it would be appropriate to observe Islamist women's situation. It is not wrong to say that duties have replaced the rights as the role of the Muslim individual includes the recognition of religious explanations about life concerns as orders related to women's social status. In order to be accepted by the Islamist male power holders as a subject at home, women need to fulfill the duties burdened on them and support the men whenever they need in public sphere. Islamist women identity defined with these duties constrains women and restrains them in a very cramped space. Women are restricted both in physical conditions and intellectual sense. There are some facts to be recognized for women's admittance in social structure and private space.

Muslim woman's struggle can be seen as common, similar, close and even identical to Islamic feminism defined as a hybrid ideology. However, Islamic women's movement should be examined as separate as possible from Islamic Feminism considering its own dynamics. The distance of women in Islamic women's movement to the feminism in terms of opinion is regarded as the primary factor for that.

The constraining demands on woman's identity, which were formed by conservative structure and secular regime, is mixed with the expressions stating that they recognize women as free individuals. If women are to get out of the patterns presented by the power in -charge, they will not only have to face the legal sanctions, but also be regarded guilty among their social environment with religious reasons. Amine Wedud, who studies Islam with a feminist perception, criticizes the dominant discriminatory discourse based on her examinations in Koran. With reference to Fazlur Rahman's explanations, she seeks equality not in affirmation of differences but in the expressions ignoring the differences between man and woman. As Linguistic Feminism relates this inequality to masculine and feminine language patterns and terms, Amine Wedud advocates that Arabic, in which Koran has been written, is a gender specific language and this sets grounds for misinterpretations. With her Islamic woman intellectual image, standing close to the feminists' critical approach on women's heavy dependence on their maternal role, the author defends

that as in functional feminist theory, the difference of men and women is identified by the society and in Koran there is no direct commandment about this as an evidence (2005).

“Islam and woman” is a topic on which Islamic studies carried out and many scientific fields of study met. Although different explanations have been made in Islamic studies, the issue of Islam and woman has not been clarified in religious grounds. That is why the effects of Islam, be it negative or positive, have not been identified. Even though the notion that gender inequality is caused by religion, at this point research is not adequate to separate the problems women face from religion or prove that the main problem for women is sourced by religion. Moreover, the fact that Islamic nations it is common to violate the women's rights and have a social inequality makes one consider Islam as a source of belief enabling gender inequality.

As a movement risen in the west and spread in our country, the processes of “Modernization” or “Westernization” (Abadan Unat, 1982: 375), which directed and defined Turkish women's struggle for rights gave chance Turkish woman to earn their rights without fighting as violently as Western women (Abadan Unat, 1982: 376). However, conservative side had to express themselves in the system and social structure without such support. Describing the way of Muslim women's covered dressing with the expression of “making ones own modernization” (İlyasoğlu, 1994: 25), Aynur İlyasoğlu in some sense mentioned the subjectivity of women's movements. The reactiveness of women against the turban problem that is the crucial point of Islamist women's movement is a part of the so called struggle for the individual identity. In Middle Eastern or Maghreb societies there is a uniform, anonymous way of covering as the local culture or political element (İlyasoğlu, 1994: 26). In Turkey just by looking at the genuine types of covering, it is possible to say that an individualistic identity of woman is developing. It is possible to find the dominant effects of globalization and capitalism inside the Islamist fraction. However there are Islamist intellectuals who developed speech against capitalism and consumerism and warn people about its dangers.

Islam does not accept the flexibility of feminist ideology about biological gender. The identities of men and women do not rely on preferences. As an innate feature the state of being male or female is a divine fate, a destiny. Neither Men nor women have right to stand against their innate form. The state of obedience to biological gender is a primary indicative factor in women's social roles. Inability of women to give up their roles as a “mother” and having children and family responsibilities as a distance laying factor from the social life, and the explanations by religion supporting that this is an essential duty are found as the factors limiting and leading to abuse by the advocates of women's rights. Feminist ideology's approach of “freedom without limits”, in other words questioning all kinds of dogma contradicts with Islamic belief. In the struggle of Islamic women's movement for right and among the things against which they developed an opposing discourse because of oppression towards women, tendency to criticize or ignore such orders of Islam is never observed. The rules that Islam does not allow to be denied lead to speculations about Islam as being a factor of oppression. Currently, it can be seen that Islam and woman studies avoiding discussion of many topics within the social structure, reinforces this view.

There is a claim about the struggle carried out for women rights that within the current structure of Islam a system through which the rights of women is protected exists. This leads the restriction of women movements in terms of freedom of thought. Although the presence of the civilizations in which Islamic rules improve the status of women, there are some other examples where women rights in family and social life have been violated with the excuse of Islamic rules. For that reason, whether there are equitable laws and social structure protecting women and family cannot be associated with the existence of religion. One of the main points that determines a difference between Islamist women movement and feminist structure. Islamist women movement does not deny their gender roles in order to improve the status of women in society and stand against the abuse. On the other hand, most of the Islamist women intellectuals never actually put forward the idea that the presence of women in public sphere is an essential condition for the freedom of women. At this point, it is crucial to understand what the aforesaid term “freedom” actually

consists. The right to choose between, regarding education, working and taking part in social life is accepted as principal and the idea that house responsibilities of women is not worthless and must be understood well. Also, there are a bunch of Islamist intellectuals who criticize the tendency to identify oneself over academic career and consider this might be a factor of pressure as well. In general attitude of the Islamist women, the argument of forming their own rights to choose and prefer against the traditional and modern structure is widely observed.

As a common feature of the examples in which there is an abundance of problems regarding women rights in Muslim societies, patriarchy and the placement of patriarchal and male dominant authority within the society should be taken into account. In patriarchal societies the background positioning of women as a social status or in the family hierarchy behind men – either by force or preferably – makes women in the following period become the victim of pressure. Nevertheless, it is wrong to infer that patriarchy is an essence of Islam despite the existence of a matriarchal and Muslim society in Sumatra island of Indonesia (Böhürler, 2008: 486). Sumatra is a clear cut model for the claims necessitating a gender- related hierarchy between men and women, women's obedience to men or else a religious and social corruption is likely to occur. The women in Sumatra, as the absolute subjects of public sphere, have a say in commercial activities. Islam does not refer to patriarchy and male domination. In other words, there are non-Muslim countries ruled with patriarchy. The theory of patriarchy is roughly explained by sociologist often through the context of family. Even so, patriarchy can comprise the family, economic and political relations. “Patriarchal family: A family organization in which the father is at the focus of formal authority, management and jurisdiction. Here, the authority of the father is absolute and ultimate. As example, families in traditional Chinese, Ancient Rome and Israel are mentioned and it is emphasized that those are the ones where modern family of the West stemmed from. Patriarchal families are large families in which the lineage is passed through from father to the son” (Türköne, 1995: 37). The examples of law of inheritance, men's responsibilities to earn a living through trade and the having to be in charge with administrative issues lead to the misunderstanding that patriarchy is a term of Islam. In Islamist women's

movement, the social roles, particularly from this point, is criticized. In current circumstances, women are not prohibited from the responsibilities regarded as required in public sphere, yet the charge has been left to men. Seeing the critical approach of Islamist women towards traditional structure a some kind of threat, some intellectuals views this opposition as divergence from faith and religion. Nevertheless, the Islamist women have a demand for identity, which can be exemplified e with their resistance against turban prohibition; to exist in public sphere without sacrificing neither their religious freedom nor their free will.

Turkish Civil Code that was accepted in 1926 contributed a lot to the equality of men and women in front of law. Swiss Civil Code became the most preferred example constitution since it was far more superior and favorable than any other citizenship codes in Europe. The Civil Code has made a great contribution to women rights by prohibiting monogamy and allowing women to have the right to divorce. Constitution of The Civil Code demanded a new governmental system. The most significant features of the established government are being democratic and secular. This created reflections in the European countries as well and European intellectuals speculated on this development as being a brave and important novelty.

For Turkish women whose status was continuously discussed and improved by the reforms since the publicity of constitutional monarchy, religion was not a means of force any longer. It enabled urban women who envied especially European women's living standards to have "equal standards of civilized World". The developments that The Civil Code suggested were not fundamental and quick. However, now there is a political and legal system, which guarantees to analyze women issues and regulations to be decided on this on a justice basis. The most obvious outcomes of the period which was highlighted by Tanzimat Reform Era and developed even during the war times is the right to vote for municipal elections. The previous reforms were about improving women's conditions inside the family and in the public. Yet, this right to vote for municipal elections demonstrated that women could actively participate in and have a say about political issues. Hence, without

waiting so long, with a change in the constitution the right to vote and to be elected was given to women in 5 December 1934.

It wouldn't be wrong to say that women were not in a constant movement for standing up for their rights, but this whole period resulted from a lot of different events which were not connected at all. Secular Republic woman sees all these reforms as an opportunity to reach a free and real World. Türkan Altay, teacher at Beyoğlu 13th Girls' School, defined Republic during an interview as a political system which rescued women from Arab legislation and allowed them to have equal rights with men. When she was asked a question about change in the dress code, she defined burqa as a symbol which was a commitment to the old family traditions resembling it to border wires in a poultry house. The Civil Code allowed women to free themselves from the dominance of men and destroyed the so called weapon "divorce" which was at men's hand. It put an end to the desperate situations of women who left their houses due to their husbands' unfair attitudes. Türkan Altay speculates on the atmosphere of the time by saying: "This new code destroyed men's weapon. Now, women breaths confidently and says: I am free!" (Yurtsever Ateş, 2009: 374).

Women who are given rights by a governmental politics seem to demonstrate two different kinds of reflexes. Women who admit and support that separation of religion and social life or legislation has embraced secularism in a conservative manner. This point of view of theirs has led them to consider the demands of Islamist women as dangerous and they distanced and alienated themselves from women in the Islamic Community seeking their rights. "Restrictions based on identity equal feminists with or without a turban to black or white feminists. It is more likely that both black and third world feminism has basically started with a hierarchy among women status which are triggered by class distinction not just triggered by identity" (Coşar, 2008: 10), says. Simten Coşar and points out the alienation of Islamist women by women movement in Turkey.

This distinction that political structure stamped on women's mind could be expressed as "the politics defined as the calls for attitudes based on fear and driven

over mutual conflict in an environment isolated from reason for a long time makes two sides, positioning as opposites in turban issue, which melt the people who are most probably unrelated in terms of thought, ideology and political view in the same pot, not only opposites but also threats to each other” (Coşar, 2008: 9).

From a different point of view, there are groups who are against the state interference in women identity and government feminism. Especially after 90s, they have expressed this disturbance much more explicitly. Among these aforesaid groups are clusters supporting different tendencies, as a result of which, able to carry out common studies with Islamist women’s movement. Ümit Aktaş depicts the effort - suffering- of Turkey Republic for modernization as initiating its own imperialist period by defining its sub and upper identities without becoming actually and completely westernized. While criticizing this situation’s irrationality, the Islamist crowds, who were the exploited, sub – identities, gives a lesson of modernism, democracy and human rights to the system by getting out of the darkness they had been locked in as an evidence to how wrong the expression “zealot” associated with them was (Aktaş, 2006: 329).

Neither did the public sphere established as the domain of the masculine governmental area ignore the outdated tendencies, nor was it able to get rid of the individuals who were defined as bigoted or reactionary as expected. In 1999, with his expression of “there is no place for Turban in the state” (Aktaş, 2006: 326), Demirel in fact makes an extremely political pun. Considering there is no intervention to private space and that women wearing turban cover their heads in the public sphere, there is an obvious interference in all basic rights of those women. It can be clearly seen that with the support of the politics that the government follows, the headscarf-wearing women have been excluded from the society by marginalizing and rejecting in public space. According to Ayşe Hümeysra Ökten (Çaha, 201: 307), who was one of the students with turban of the time expresses the period with these words: ” it was a shame to look like a Muslim” (Meriç, 201: 105). Though it was possible to be educated in the modern education institutions, Islamist Women couldn’t become visible and acceptable subjects. Hatice Babacan became one of the symbols of the

period after she had been expelled from Ankara University Faculty of Divinity in 1968, (Çaha, 2010: 309) and still stands a name of recent history for the ongoing turban prohibition. Islamist women's movement then was not seen as a women's movement. Today, when we have a retrospective look, despite there are people who have been in struggle with an activist stance against the system and the society; it was until 1980s when the movement really had its original shape. The women – jihadists (warriors)- who struggled as sisters and worked for Islam in the women's branches of political groups in those years had developed expressions only emphasizing women's rights. The turban which has recently become the symbol of women's fight against the state and issues of public – private space and religion was defended – especially in short term- through the emphasis of oppressing women using their belief. There are two tendencies within the Islamist movement. The Islamic women who state that headscarf prohibition is gender discrimination and those who stand against the ban within the extent of freedom of belief, suggesting it is against human rights.

The Muslim Women who think it is a mistake to evaluate turban prohibition as related to women's rights point out that most men have been laid off from their jobs due to their Islamic identity (Barbarosoğlu, 2010: 136). They see the evaluation of turban like a women's problem as a reflex developed in order to gain support from other women groups. According to the point of view, which considers the situation as "limiting" only to women's rights it might cause gender discrimination between Muslim women and men. Among the priorities of Islamic women who views the situation from the other point is women's being left alone during the times when the prohibition was applied harshly. Both the reaction and the search of women for support led it to be seen as a women's issue.

There are some religious women, who think the men who support the turban prohibition victim students have exploited this ban during February 28th period. They criticize the situation of men trying to control the women over turban issue which has become a meta that the religion has been limited to during the period they are experiencing (Şerefoğlu, Z. K., personal interview July 2013). The men, who are

fighting for the hijab, have had some pressure on the women of whom they think could not resist enough. An Islamic researcher states the period she fought against the ban as follows: Conservative women could not make her up to conservative men by exposing their hair, wearing wigs³ or dropping the school out. 28 February is a test for Islamists. Unless Muslim men give up judging the women through their look and see what they are in real, the picture of Islamic map will remain incomplete. It can be said that these words stands close to the expectation of Yıldız Ramazanoğlu asking men to notice and understand this new woman and this attitude is a purpose of Islamic women's movement. The approach of Islamic women movement coinciding with headscarf prohibition could be evaluated as it follows; the discrimination which the Islamic women were exposed to is not just towards the women rights. There is an intentional isolation of women who wants to stand in public space with her Islamist identity. It can be said that violating human rights, this ban applied to Islamist women has ideological and political grounds. However, on the point where the attitudes of men who support the ban within the Islamist structure or alleviate the unjust treatment, the discrimination towards women predominates.

The expectation of Islamic women cannot exactly be met by the equality expression of feminism as what the Islamist women are concerned about is not whether there is an equality between men and women. It is the balance of right and status that they demand. The speech and movement against the conservative – secular – masculine structure which refuses women's existence within the distribution of power and ruling has been going on. It is clear that the expressions do not totally rejects the traditional structure completely, but there is some effort to make the situation for the better.

³ For the sake of catching up with their studies during the turban ban, some of the students with turban tried to attend schools wearing different covers except for scarfs, hats, caps etc. In this attitude, there was a protesting stance besides the aim of not giving up on covering the hair. It is well known that there are some universities, which accept this kind of tendency as hair covers and puts a ban on caps and hats in the campus. One of the alternatives applied by the students was wearing wigs – trying to hide the hair with a wig. This choice presenting an image of a hair form which does not belong to the people themselves has been a hot issue of debate among conservative fraction.

1.3. Development of the Islamic Women Literature

Societies may have peculiar interpretations for notions of equality and justice, besides being a set of global values. This distinction is related with the dynamics, leading the movement of freedom to appear by affecting it. The fact that social dynamics are different sets the way of action, targets and formation of the women rights struggle. Islamic women movement in Turkey is an entity which stemmed from the oppression of the ruler elite. Nevertheless, although the state implementations are in the core of the discussion, the struggle of women is not solely against the state. As distinct from general women movement experienced in any country, Islamic women movement also struggles against the oppression of "progressive and secular" women. The aforementioned secular women created a society, where women are oppressed and discriminated against by women, by using an appropriated authority and the advantage of superiority. The Islamic women led a way to express themselves to different groups of women in a stronger way by supporting the non-governmental organizations with literature. In secular world, the status and rights of Islamic women were a subject, which was discussed among Islamic men, secular women and men. The women actively participated in their own struggle of right with the Islamic women movement. They popularized this participation by providing written works. Attending national and international women studies and conferences, the Islamic women who struggled for women rights got involved in decisions as Muslim women. Accordingly; they took the right seeking of Islamist women to a larger framework (Ramazanoğlu, 1998: 131). Introduction of Islamic women to the people of fellows as Muslim women in national and international platforms and presentation of their experiences to Islamic women are one of the most significant acquisitions of the women literature in the recent period. Thus; establishment of a functional relation among women having different cultures and believes will be easier.

Islamic women literature is a part of right struggle of the Islamic women. This is the declaration of women, excluded from a right to have a say on their own rights, about the fact that they have worth. This is a product of a thought, which is

not wholly independent from western feminists and pro-western ideology besides creating its own system. When the general status in Muslim societies are considered, it is possible to express that it does not experience the oppression and cruelty executed by Europe on its own women, but it includes more different negative issues. Islamic women literature utilizes from rich women rights struggle of feminism and creates its own way of expression. It can be uttered that Muslim women in particular is close to the feminist ideology in terms of excluding masculine expressions, which is oppressive besides maintaining domination claim (Ramazanoğlu, 1998: 130).

The development of women literature in Turkey constitutes one of the basic dynamics enabling us to know pre-Republican period conditions, which form a significant part of women movement, and women movement in the subsequent periods to be evaluated as a whole. Women literature getting rich enabled women movement to be tracked chronologically besides bringing up the women problem. It provides a better insight for the changes experienced around the statist policies with the Republican period, the condition of women and the status of elitist women. It reflects the background of political cases in a sense and accordingly leads us witness to the incomplete history. That women literature particularly includes sociological cases is true. Nonetheless, it makes us understand the incomplete factors in political, historical and economic structure. It also constitutes significance for the continuity and progression of the women movement. The materializing and developing power of women literature on women movement is an undeniable truth.

Following the "Muhadderat" (1888), one of the first examples to be published for women, newspapers on women were published from different media organs. "Newspaper for Women", published in 1895, the staff of which mostly consisted of women, is one of the most long-lasting and significant examples for this issue (Tekeli, 1982: 197). The developments which occurred in this period, where the western women maintained their own right struggle, affected the Ottoman intellectuals as well. It can be stated that the women movement, gaining paces starting from the late Ottoman period, became apparent with the women literature.

Invisibility of women started to change with the development of the women literature. Most of the magazines and newspapers, opening the doors of community for the Republican women, failed to be the voice of a radical innovation and change previously. Nevertheless, they are important in terms of women spreading their voice. The women started to defend their rights through the media organs published by them. When the initial magazine and newspaper examples are considered, the numbers of hobby magazines appealing housewives are quite high. In addition to the magazines, taking the conversations shared by women in their close circles to the lines, there are newspapers and magazines that contain innovative thought articles.

When the chronological history of the women literature is considered, it can be seen that many of the first examples in Turkey are the works of women, belonging to the distinguished families of the period. The works of women, witnessing the past, such as Nezihe Muhittin, Halide Edip Adivar, taking place in the Ottoman women movement, are quite significant in terms of understanding the Turkish women. They enabled women movement to be founded thanks to their works, reflecting the final times of the Ottoman Period, war periods and the establishment period of the Republic through the eye of the women. It can be seen that the examples of feminist literature, appearing in the pre-Republic period and created with a feminist approach, were changed by being affected by the statist intervention during the Republican period. The works, written to express themselves and spread their voices in the Ottoman period, take a part in the institutionalization of the women movement. Some magazines, issued solely by women within the late Ottoman period, were written in a quite authentic and liberal language. The liberal and individualist level of these magazines, offering an approach on the women rights through a large framework, could be reached after long years following the proclamation of the Republic. They stated that they stood up for the women-men equality in the preface of a magazine named "Şükûfezar", which was published in 1886, the editorial staff of which consisted solely of women (Çakır: 2010 64).

The magazine published under the name of "Türk Kadın Yolu" (The Way of Turkish Women), previously named "Türk Kadın Yolu", which was one of the first

and most significant examples of the Republican Period, discusses various issues such as politics, fashion, health, literature and feminism. Supportive articles on the participation of women in education and social life are written. Although they were affected by the feminist movement in Europe, the number of articles on the divinity of maternity was quite high. They uttered their reactions against polygamy, scarf and veil and oppression of women. The differentiation occurring among male authors on the education, employment, and clothing of women was also experienced among the female authors. Examples of literature works of women intellectuals in the late Ottoman period and the examples of literature work of the prominent women in the early Republican period have similarities in terms of quality and effect. Women literatures of both periods stand up against women having a pointless life in a male-dominant world. They defend the idea that the women are required to be individuals, who are granted with the equal rights as men in family and society, having the sense of responsibility, and gain the right of education and work.

Kemalettin Şükrü, who wrote an article titled "İctimaiyat ve Kadınlık" in the magazine "Kadın Yolu", mentions that discussions on feminism and women rights are one of the significant subjects of the period. The author, who uttered that many ideas, having both followers and decliners, were on the agenda, mentions that the subject could not be thoroughly predicated. He did not evaluate the women right movement as a wrong attempt. Nevertheless, he negatively evaluates the women's freedom-seeking in equal rights as men and that they are in a status, which is equal to that of any men, in the society. Showing discontent of the country's women, having equal legal rights as men in terms in education, labor and politics, as a proof, he claims that the women, who are honored with having the same rights as the men, are in harder conditions compared to the past. He presents the men logic of the period with his words "The women are great nuisance for the humanity. Accordingly, it is quite right and reasonable for them to suffer the pain and misery which they cause". He tells that the sacrifice, made by women for their husbands in family, and the divine duty they undertake, as a mother cannot get the appreciation and respect they deserve and accordingly the women are behaved unjustly. He puts forward the idea

that the domestic status of the women is a more beneficial solution rather than using every available means of the social life for them (Şükrü, 2009: 291).

These lines demonstrating that pre and post Ottoman period women kept accepting their determined roles as housewives and mother as their main duties, clarify that the new rights presented to women were not recognized by the general public. Nevertheless, what else should not be neglected is that even though they will not be using it in their professional lives, women's right for education has usually been welcomed especially by the people who are accustomed to living in residential urban culture. Unable to associate the struggle of women for presence in public space with freedom, the author evaluates this status as losing their duty as women, indeed, losing their femininity. He puts that; since women perceive this duty as a burden heavy enough, this load will get heavier and they will face more different hardships when gone out of private area, as a basis to his view. He also states that because of the innate physical differences between man and woman, women need more rest than do men and considering the responsibilities of motherhood, it would not be equal but unfair to present same living and working conditions to a men and women. Working conditions and social analyzes put these grounds forward in order to support their opposition against women's working. However, Enver Beyhan, an author at the same journal, invites women with high education, yet loyal to their role as traditional woman in the society to produce ideas and work within that society. Looking at both writers' stance, it can be concluded that some women may have avoided their personal choices for the sake of standing out in work life. Beside this, it is understood that working life of women was a matter of discussion and the women who demanded their rights were criticized. The deficit and distance caused by the masculine way of thinking towards women is highly important. Amongst the reasons making the women's literature existence is that the women who had opportunity to communicate their ideas in a patriarchal structure made more realistic expressions about women's rights and demands. Another fact not to be ignored is women's literature has some– within intellectual context –similarities with the men's writing. Such arguments maintained by the city – dweller women have never been influential on rural areas. The women in private space which are accepted as the part of private

space currently having limited population have to be engaged in the tasks they are obliged to do.

The republican regime has expected women to be conformable to the community, having a deep intellectual capacity as well as being upbeat. She is portrayed as intellectual with high literature knowledge, capable of bearing motherhood and being a decent housewife when needed. Overwhelmed by her social roles and domestic responsibilities, the essential mission of the woman is to bring up republican individuals. The magazines issued between 1930 – 40 covered items as knitting, cooking, fashion, beauty, manners, exemplary stories, news about women's movements, native and foreign poetry, law, health, puzzles, caricatures and family life (Demir, 1998: 186). Then in 1950s and 60s, the effects of multi – party system changed the content publishing. Upon the influence of Western culture and USA, magazines with entertaining content and appealing all the members of the family beside the woman started to emerge. The two distinct magazine publishing of the 70s reflect two different structures; Magazines supporting feminist movements, prepared by the women who were influenced by the Marxist ideology and the ones published by the mass publishers, discovering the woman as a target audience with commercial concern. “Kadınca”, reaching 70 thousand sales in 1981 is a good example to the latter (Demir, 1998: 187).

1980s is the period when Islamist woman magazines started to become widespread. This can be attributed to divergence of Islamic movement from public space, leaving the contention of secular existence and keeping their struggle to survive its ideology in its shell. The Islamic fraction has benefited from the libertarian environment emerged after multiparty system. The Basic Islamic sources translated into Turkish (Çaha, 2010: 332), provided female students with the right to study at religious vocational high schools, the pro-Islamist women with the opportunity to learn more scientific and religious knowledge. The possibility to meet the secular world without giving up on their belief highly impressed Islamist women. It is highly remarkable that Islamist publishing took place in 80s and 90s managed to find readers for a long time. From these magazines, Mektup (1985), Kadın ve Aile

(1986), *Yeni Bizim Aile* (1988), Sena (1993), *Kadın Kimliği* (1993), *Evrensel Kadın* (1997) sold more than 20 thousand since the first years they were published (Demir, 1998: 191).

In the pre-80s period when the women's movements had not emerged yet, the Islamic type of woman was not the one who could fight together with the men or discuss their ideas face to face with the male actors of the system. As Cihan Aktaş described, these women adopted the duty of being “*bacı*” who serves for the belief of Ummah, looking up on being “*anyone*” with the expectation of spiritual earnings as a civilian member of Islamic movement. The women who are struggling against and inside this formation have managed to have a say about women's rights and involved in studies on problems of women. However, the main coordinators of all these studies are men. Meanwhile, it is not possible to talk about an independent, free will of the women who fought for their rights at that period. The studies conducted, and works written for them are traditionalist and based on Islamic foundations. Those are the times when the individual identities could not stand out, especially for women. When women are out of their private space, they act as a supporter behind the men who is in the position of the ruler and Islamic warrior. The decisions, considered in line with the Islamic rules, are made by male authority as the social actors. This struggle of women can be carried on at home as a mother and a good wife when necessary as their dependence to the authority that imposed this role anticipated by Islam is quite strong.

Defining Islam as “an urban and assertive religion” (20005c), Aktaş emphasizes the inevitability that Islamic community would not like to be influential in public space. The religion and the religious people kept out of the borders of secular regime have started to demand their right to be present at public space and form their political institutionalization. The most vulnerable point of the experiences of Muslim fraction has been the Islamist women. The visibility of women who has become distant to public space with the ban to turban started the show a rapid trend of rising with the political events of the period. The secular structure wanted Islam to be captured in people's conscience and took its visibility as a threat to regime and

democracy. Upon moving away from public space with this pressure, that Islamic side has retaken part in politics is sociologically vital. Forgotten and maybe ignored for years, the reappearing of this fraction aiming for the power gained a lot of attention. Welfare Party, established after 12th September period, became the political face of the Islamist side. The practices of women's branch which accelerated Islamist women's movement made it legitimate for Islamic women to be in public space. Women, thus, became able to be involved in political practices. Nevertheless, they could not go far beyond from remaining as a side-factor in the communitarian structure. Still, that term when they started to be visible in public space is important for Islamic women's movement. The detachments occurred afterwards not only shaped the Islamic women's movement, but it also influenced women's literature. Islamist women produced written works regarding Islamic issues as they did in many other different fields. Nonetheless, in Republican history it was not possible for women to participate in the active political life. For this reason, the political writings of Islamist women are almost the sole factor of their individual contributions to politics.

The “Feminism” magazine, which made its break in intellectual world as a periodical in 1987, holds significance with its different style. While talking about the adventures they had on the discussions of name and design, she mentions that there were many opposing voices to the name of “feminist” and some of these opposing views were the publications including the topic of “irtica” (reactionism). Moreover, she points that even the idea of putting a phrase of top of the magazine saying “no irtica included” was considered. Some members of the group that prepared the magazine took up their position as “no Islamic subject and turban here or I am out”. Those years it did not seem like a favorable situation that turban and women with turban took place in a feminist magazine or benefit from such publications in an intellectual way. However, later on, irtica and feminism came together and formed that hybrid ideology called Islamic feminism. The expressions seizing upon feminism was seen in the 90s. Before this period, Islamic women's literature was formed over an Islamic language.

Emine Şenlikoğlu, who tried to reach on people through periodicals during the 80s, is one of the renowned faces of Islamist movement. In her works, she handles different subjects as family, women, and children, men based on Islam. She also mentions some religions apart from Islam in her studies. Especially by emphasizing that the youth was distant to Islam (2006), she carried out studies aiming to reduce this distance. Those years when Islamist individuals and secular worlds were so separated from each other with clear lines was explicitly reflected in Islamist women's literature. Emine Şenlikoğlu is one of the women struggling in Islamist movement. One of the features making her different that she criticized women about Islamic decisions as much as she did on men. She did not hesitate to stand out as an individual during the years when women identity was kept behind. Eventually, due to not fitting into the secular world and being associated with private space rather than public space, Islamist women accelerated their process of earning their identity. The magazine “mektup” the editor in chief of which was Emine Şenlikoğlu and published as a monthly periodical for 20 years since 1985 draws attention with its slogan of “from women's pen for anyone men or women.” It was said that they found it right to prepare a magazine like this due to seeing the benefits of plenty of Islamic publications and the lack of an Islamic publication prepared by women. “Mektup” holds a stance supporting the Islamic awakening and includes messages inviting women to fight for Islam. In its preface phrases as “.. Women can oppose the Islam opponents as well... Women are courageous...Women can act in a masculine way...” (Davaz Mardin, 1998: 261) are included. Though not having many articles about motherhood, a lot of articles took place over raising children. It was also expressed that children need to take Islamic education. In its issues published between 1985 – 1988, out of 128 articles, 21 of them addressed women's role in the house whereas being a housewife was never mentioned. 19 of them are about women's roles as wives and 21 of them were on motherhood (Tekeli, 2010: 76).

The opposing attitude of feminism towards women's roles as traditional wife and mother draw the line of feminist discourse. Nevertheless, Islamic women criticize private space in their expressions in terms of its quality (Barbarosoğlu, 2013). They do not totally reject the traditional role of women. No matter how often

do they use such strong expressions about women's rights and freedoms in intellectual context, they do not reflect these on their fictional characters in their novels or stories. Despite including many different types of women in her novels, in her stories Cihan Aktaş does not use characters that we can refer as marginal. It is observed that the main characters are usually types of ordinary women in the traditional or modern culture. She conveys her stories in a smoother tone of language compared to her works as research, survey and essay. She tells the stories of different types of women in Anatolia (Aktaş, 2005a: 1), the life of civic women swerving around family, religion, society and work (Aktaş, 2005b: 13), life conditions and thinking ways of the women with different social statuses (Aktaş, 2005b: 81), the drawbacks that the woman captured in the family experience (Aktaş, 2009: 7), the women with common cultures from different but close geographic regions (2006b). She takes the worlds of the conservative, Islamist and intellectual women into the literary universe through her literary works. With this side of hers, she manages to pull a part of the society who is kept out of the mainstream Turkish story into the literary area. This is one of the aspects of 90s women literature, transferring the stories of a fraction distant to the secular world into the literary universe. Şule Yüksel Şenler's "Huzur Sokağı" that she penned in 1969 can be evaluated within this framework. However, the set up and characters of the novel rather emphasizes the conflicts among tradition, Islam and modernity. Cihan Aktaş, Fatma Barbarosoğlu and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu set light to the worlds of different women through events they address from a wider perspective. As a different approach from making a radical reform on gender roles, Islamist women gives priority to the choices of women and accepts the decisions of women in private or public space as basis. Such transformation of authorship is observed in the development of story's set up on social problems.

As one of the monthly periodicals published between 1985-1998 Woman and Family magazine is a publication at which not only do the women write but also do the men (Çaha, 2010: 374). It consists of subjects regarding women, family, society, child development and Islam religion. It includes expressions supporting Islamic and traditional structure in the issue of woman. Especially, it presents explicit criticism

on feminism. Esad Coşan, who wrote the preface of the magazine, while comparatively mentioning the women she described as civic and modern, uses following expressions;

...They work in the field, do the housework, cooking, the washing, the dishes, sewing, handicraft, spin the wool, knit a jumper, look after the child, and raises kids. Usually they are forced to get married at an early age, and burdened with responsibilities. They are loyal to their spouse and dependent on their houses. They are not into any kinds of luxury but bracelets, and five pieces of gold. Their hands are hennaed. They wear colorful printed flannelettes, loose baggy trousers and large headscarves. Not having heard of birth control, they have children one after another. New children's need for care leads their young sisters to accomplish serious work and labor at an early age. ...On the opposite pole are the upper class, sophisticate and modern women of the city. ...In the daytime they go out for at home days, do shopping at supermarkets and stores in the luxurious districts. In the evenings they join the dance meetings, wear ostentatious nightdresses, put on glamorous jewelery, and pose to the journalists with a glass of drink in their hands for the high society columns of the newspapers. At night they dance till the morning swallow and be swallowed (Coşan, 1987).

This magazine evaluating the subjects it handles with an Islamic look is presented to the attention of women and men readers. However it is often seen that the magazine put emphasis on such messages particularly addressing women. In the first issue, using “The depression of modern woman: Feminism” as a cover subject, it can be told that they aim to raise awareness of the women against modern culture according to their own principles. In a survey about the issues of the magazine published between 1985 – 1988, out of 660 writers, 295 of them took women's role in the house, 54 of them their role as wives, 85 of them motherhood and 176 of them housewife as subject (Tekeli, 2010: 75). In the duration of examination mentioned in the magazine, there are 236 articles about the role of women as the woman of faith (Tekeli, 2010: 76). During the period, the number of magazines prepared in the western style was highly abundant. As well as the presence of magazines with articles of opinion, there are other types of so-called life style magazines about fashion, cosmetics, travel, entertainment and hobby. “Bizim Aile” and “Sena” with

the phrase of “monthly family periodical” and “Presses” which were published for a short time are some examples of these.

Despite the sharp division in 1980s, there are some examples indicating that clustering weakened in 2000s. Especially Amargi, presenting the turban problem from different profiles, shows a collective stance about the issue of women rights (2006). Within the same body, there has been a woman with different views sharing their opinions with each other. Their publications support the collective women movement. It is a fact that the improvements in information technologies has got different to extreme ends closer and made it possible to get to know each other.

1.4. Adventure of Writing of Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu

Fatma Barbarosoğlu mentions that women authors have used male pseudonyms due to social pressure by quoting John Stuart Mill’s “if women had lived in a different country than men, and if they had not read any works of art by men, they would have produced their own styles”. Again, she adds that there have been authors who do not use pseudonyms but hide their real names due to the same reasons. Feminist criticism claims women have tried to write like men throughout many years. She also criticizes the fact that we are not in the habit of calling male authors as “male authors” –instead they are called “authors”- but we call female authors as “female authors”. She puts forth writing is considered as a male job (Barbarosoğlu, 2010: 51).

Islamist women sociology is carried from “outside” to “inside” with the improvements in women’s literature. Cihan Aktaş who took her first steps into authorships by writing philosophy books is one of the authors who contributed to women’s literature with more than 30 works of art. She admits that starting writing stories and novels is a braver action. She also confesses people have expected her to write religious pieces. “Cihan Aktaş once told that she had to write research papers in order that she could produce stories and novels. Aktaş spent almost a decade doing

Islamic researches to voice Muslim women because she was believing that they needed to express themselves. She names these years “defending the right to write” and mentions having put forth these “inside” voice telling stories would violate the privacy of an author wearing a turban. “Outside” critics claim that these stories written by Islamic women cannot depict reality enough (Başarslan, 2012). The author claims to have gained the right to write eventually after trying hard to remove the question marks encountered constantly” (Özden, 2006). She states that she is going to focus more on novel and stories. The author highlights the fact that there are some obstacles for both subjects and genres that need to be overcome.

Cihan Aktaş explains her authorship and the topics she covers as a responsibility issue, and puts forward that she defends the right to write and covers the topics that need to be discussed. As Ruşen Çakır states “silence” of Islamic women results in many important topics’ not being expressed as they should be. Cihan Aktaş underlines an important detail by mentioning the times when it was inappropriate for women to step outside in Islamist regions; she emphasizes the fact it was harder for women to write for a newspaper. There seem to be many reasons for Islamic women to keep silent. She sheds light to Islamic women’s literary lives by mentioning her writing adventure. She states that readers used to believe that she was a man when she wrote for Yeni Devir Newspaper (Özden, 2006). She witnessed a whole different situation in Iran when female authors, Islamic female authors were treated like this in Turkey. Cihan Aktaş, who moved to Iran in 1985, was very interested in the fact that there were intellectual women in Iran although the regime oppressed women a lot. She mostly wrote about these close observations in her researches as well as stories and novels which nourish different cultures and women.

Stories of Azeri women and Iranian women’s “black” world were told for Turkish literary world by Aktaş (2008b). During an interview, she puts her favorite authors in order and puts forth these:

To me, the reason of this is that we have been taught men hold publicity in their hands. In literary publicity, women’s weakness is about this as well. Of course I have read Jane Austen and Halide Edip, they are important for me. When I was a boarder, I used to read Barbara Cartland

as well, but these authors reflected the experience of a male way of writing in literary publicity. The male author that we choose to read writes with a long experience of genetic code of writing beyond our preference. Is it not the same in the art field as it is in the religion and philosophy fields? We read female authors, we learn from them but actually we try to learn the secrets of the female authors by reading male authors. It is obvious that we favor learning from male authors in the fields of philosophy and fiction although narrations developed by female authors on female language which are women centered are alluring and different as a self-reflection. Of course there are exceptions, and they are growing in number.

Cihan Aktaş clarifies what writing is by putting forward “writing is a means of self-nurturing for the author himself” and adds she feels herself closer to her father’s World as Halide Edip Adivar did. She states that her desire and courage to explore new worlds and be alienated from the world she is in has made her meet these days as a girl who did not want to take her mother as a role model (Başarslan, 2012).

Aktaş also tells about the mindset that restricts women to write behind the “literary scenes” as well as restrict them to write in set genres. The idea that suggests poetry is making privacy public suppresses women and religious women. “Poetry does not offer women literary publicity, in contrast it forces poetry to disguise indeed conceals itself (Aktaş, 2013d). She states that women writing Ottoman poetry burnt their works of art as a part of this oppression. It is essential for women to observe the professions that the society imposes them to stand out as a separate topic of women’s demands on education and right to work. Pointing out how inability to write affects women’s lives adversely, the author explains that this is not only a national or a cultural oppression but also women are kept out of literary world in different societies while mentioning the problems she had been through.

Underlining that storybooks have a different place from writing at a newspaper or writing essays, Yıldız Ramazanoğlu says stories give the opportunity to hold a subject more in depth. The author whose first book was in essay genre has continued writing in this genre as well as writing story books. Her works of art which

are in essay genre are formed as a fiction of sole reality (Ramazanoğlu, 2010). She wrote her book *Angelika* consisting of stories from women's points of view in 2010. In this book involving 7 stories which depict everyday characters that we are all familiar, she shares her ideas about how difficult writing is for women (Ramazanoğlu, 2010: 5). It is true that these stories give deep messages in their fictional structure demonstrating real characters and social events clearly. She produced works confuting the criticism as said "the Islamist women who wrote about their private lives and works far beyond reality". She puts forward these when she mentions the hardship of writing for women: "This is about women not having private space. There are no accuses here. Most of the women are not willing enough in this subject. It is also tough for men to write and produce works in literary fields which do not offer money. However, despite everything, it is more acceptable for men to find a space for themselves. It still feels like ancient traditions are being torn away or going beyond the limits when women keep writing, which is a relatively private and individual task, and when they detach from their anonymous existence. In such a case, people become alert as if there is a woman sailing in dangerous waters." Explaining writing-living dilemma by quoting Virginia Woolf's "killing the angel in the house", Ramazanoğlu emphasizes that it is the true point to live without killing the angel in the house or consuming the self and trying to undertake all burdens of life (Ekinci, 2013).

CHAPTER 2

WOMAN IDENTITY AND GENDER ROLES ACCORDING TO WOMEN AUTHORS

Islamic women authors' discourses on the identity of woman correspond to a point beyond the traditional approaches. Nevertheless, they view modernism also critically. Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu examining both the western woman and the woman within traditional roles help in terms of understanding the women in Turkey close to either of these models. The authors' discourse on the Western woman archetype, which is considered as the ideal in the Turkish modernization process, is examined in this part. In addition, we will also try to reflect how they evaluate the traditional woman roles which the Islamist circles favor in line with the traditional İslam.

Within traditional roles, the criticism to woman and Western woman will be provided in terms of explaining two basic problems. The first of these is the consideration that Islamic women are the symbol of the circles against advancement. In addition, being considered as the key point of Turkish modernization, woman identity will be addressed from women's perspective. It is observed that the general expectancy is that Islamic women would only set forth works of Islamic content. Islamic intellectual women therefore had difficulty to enter into the world of literature. This situation subjects woman in general and Islamic woman in particular to the works of male authors from the Islamic sect. However, the ideas and criticisms of Islamic intellectual women on women are important in sociological terms. Especially when it is considered that the Islamic women have a silent and tacit role within the women's movement, it is important for Islamic women to express themselves in order to establish a collective consciousness. It is also observed that an alternative to the notion that the topic of Islamist woman is an argument going on between conservative men and feminist women emerges.

Lastly, we know that the Islamic women addressing the topic of woman and conducting works on women's rights are characterized as being Islamist feminists. Although the sensitivity of Islamic intellectual women on the works concerning women is obvious, their discourses on feminism and Islamic feminism will be evaluated in this part. The concept of Islamist feminism and its principles are important in terms of analyzing Islamist intellectual women's approaches to the topic of woman. Therefore, the concept of Islamist feminism will be evaluated in terms of the opinions of Islamic intellectual women.

2.1. The Issue of (Western) Woman from the Perspective of Women

Authors

Cihan Aktaş criticizes tradition and traditionalism, as much as she critically discusses modernism in her articles. She states that she views traditional acceptances that are valued and considered to be wise only because they are ancestral, in a cautious and critical way. In her same work, the author expresses that she does not address innovation and new ideas solely as advancement and development. In the essence of this approach of her, the author states that seeing her as a stereotype in terms of her attitude towards life would be wrong (2005a). Aktaş states that the problems of Muslims –which we believe also include the Turkish society since no annotation is made- are not traditions or modernity. Considering it wrong to limit our world of thoughts with concepts and ideologies, Aktaş also criticizes the ideas set forth by the Western intelligentsia concerning the Muslim world and Muslim women, due to similar reasons. She supports Oriental researcher women's criticisms concerning the “Western White Woman” and the phenomenon of orientalist feminism. Aktaş stresses that the women of the third world are being viewed as a single body phenomenon and that through this perspective the political, economic and cultural points are being served and imposed (Aktaş, 2007: 237). The author expresses that presenting the gains Western woman attained through their historical experiences as the unconditional correct way affects the women in Muslim societies negatively. The woman model formed by Western feminists on the model of white

woman is regarded as orientalist feminism and adversely affects the women of the third world and Muslim societies in terms of advancement. Reflections of this attitude, which deadlocks the solutions and advancement opportunities societies can reach with realistic analysis, are also seen in Turkey. The unresponsiveness of the feminist groups concerning the headscarf ban, or their attitudes that actually support the ban can be explained with the effect of White Western feminism (Aktaş, 2007: 223).

Expressing that the Western feminist women wage a committed struggle for women rights in their own countries, Aktaş particularly emphasizes on the lack of understanding of the same women to oriental woman. It is well known that periods where the church and the Jewish belief did not accept women as human had been experienced. Within the male-dominant structure, women had to fight for their rights against religious leaders and the religious culture. Mentioning that while today's feminists find it reasonable for women being Jewish or embracing Christianity despite the known history of the Church, Aktaş questions why western feminists do not understand or respect the belief of Muslim women. She writes about the contradiction famous feminists run into by having started to care about the Iranian women that suffered a lot during the Shah period only after the Iranian Islamic revolution (Aktaş, 1986: 92). The campaign set forth by the Western feminists for women rights and freedom has failed to understand oriental women and to produce functional solutions concerning their problems. Aktaş states that based on this mistake, western women, western feminists or the intellectuals evaluating oriental women from the perspective of western feminists affect Oriental Muslim women negatively. Being set forth as the model in terms of marriage, family, social life and presence in public sphere, the Western White Woman falls short of being the expected model for Muslim societies. It is important that the discussions on the topic of woman that started to increase with the westernization movements in Turkey are handled within the scope of the Western White Woman model and the problems of the Muslim oriental woman. The mentioned model of Western woman has been considered as the solution of woman issues also in Turkey. It is an undeniable fact that the women's fight for their rights in the West has triggered and supported

women's claims on their rights in various geographies. However, for Muslim women that have gone through different experiences and have different demands, it is important to be able to think and act freely in order to build their own identities independently.

Cihan Aktaş finds the "despite the public" attitudes of the Turkish elites, who started to adopt a different identity with the Ottoman Reform era, distant from intellectuality and strongly criticizes their submissive acceptances. The rise of the ideas indicating the supremacy of the West was not only attributed to the superiority of Western intelligentsia, but it was even accepted as the superiority of being in consensus with the Western intellectuals. There are many intellectuals and ordinary citizens that supported this tradition by relating themselves with those who hold privilege, either in the real world or by imagination. Aktaş criticizes the manner of actions of some of the elitists and pro-westerns that maintain an imposing attitude and act with the assumption that the public could not understand and would not know. The author points out that a real intellectual embraces information and pursues the truth, that the above mentioned attitude cannot be identified with being intellectual and that intellectuality bears different responsibilities. She expresses that, since it is not possible for individuals from the general public to be included in the elite class, they may become "enlightened" by supporting the ideas of the elites (Aktaş, 1991).

Said Halim Pasha mentioned that while the urban women formed associations intended to defend the rights of Anatolian women in order to utilize their spare time, Anatolian women did not have the time to ponder on concepts such as freedom and rights, since they had to work hard, shoulder to shoulder with men (Aktaş, 1991: 34). Aktaş points out that this campaign the urban elite class carries out supposedly for the sake of women rights is insincere. She is of the opinion that, in the Islamic culture there is no place for an upper class that does not pay regard to the will of the general public and that is independent and superior from the public. It is clear that the West, or the pro-West way of thinking, fails to see oriental Muslim women in their essence and therefore cannot approach them with the proper terminology.

Giving examples from women exposed to violence by their husbands in the U.S.A. and in Europe for the sake of setting forth the level at which women rights are being violated; Aktaş also mentions the impropriety of the imitative attitudes of oriental intellectuals (Aydın, 1991). The problem of woman that the West discusses through the modern system is being based on “equality”. Evaluation of the situation the women are in is made by means of a quantitative approach. Women's statuses are being evaluated with criteria such as comparative employment rates between men and women, and the rates of participating to education by male and female students.

However in the Islamic culture, the counterpart of the concept mentioned by modern discourses as equality is “equity”. Because in Islamic culture it is believed that people are not of a single type and it is necessary to provide individuals with this flexibility. The matter of woman, which the Western development plans address with concrete values, is being handled by means of different criteria in the East. The regulation of 1991 that enabled women to be bus drivers in Tehran received criticism from the public and the press. The regulation was later annulled on the basis of the justification that women having to prove that they are capable of doing everything and therefore working in heavy duty jobs is in fact a case of oppressing women (Aktaş, 1997: 164). Evaluating this incident on local basis and in consideration of the societies' “equality” and “equity” perceptions is essential to maintain objectivity. In the period following the 11th of September, there have been many cases of harassment and violence against Muslim women in the U.S.A., which is considered to possess the norms imposed to Muslim societies (Ramazanoğlu, 2012d: 62). It is clearly seen with such incidents that occur at breaking points that, Modern societies are not adequately successful in understanding the Muslim identity and establishing a fair relationship with it. In France, wearing headscarves was banned in 2004 after a controversial process (Çaha, 2011: 67). According to some investigations conducted in 2003 in the country, where the first ban of headscarves was imposed in 1989, 73 percent of the country supported the prohibition of wearing headscarves in schools (Çaha, 2011: 67-74). In addition to the contradiction of this ban with the freedom of belief principle within the scope of individual rights and freedoms, it should also be

considered within the scope of women rights. However, in France also feminist groups have supported the ban.

Another aspect of the headscarf arguments in the West is formed by the transformation of the Muslim women immigrating to west. They consider the fact that the new generations do not look like the women of previous generations, and their changing way of wearing headscarves as Pan-Islamism rather than an Islamic lifestyle. From another perspective, this is a concrete indication that woman is oppressed by man. Women are expected to leave aside their Muslim identity in order to realize themselves (Karakasoglu, 1999). From its own experiences, the West expects oriental women to secularize. In addition, the fact that there are Muslim countries where women live under the pressure to cover themselves with headscarves is a factor that strengthens this notion. The insistence of the Western world concerning cover may be related with the evaluation of Muslim women as a positive approach to Western lifestyle. The modern women archetype is built independently from religious doctrines. Headscarf renders the Islamic belief visible for the West and constitutes the key point of the negative ideas of West concerning Muslim societies.

The statement given by the academician Marlies Wehner in the symposium "Women within the Islamic Rise" held in 1994 includes important determinations. In the statement it was expressed that the Western intellectuals, media, NGO volunteers and political actors fail to develop an objective perspective concerning the societies they consider as "others" and that Islam is being deemed as the source of underdevelopment, ignorance, intellectual inadequacy, violation of human rights and moral oppression. These were based on the Western societies' consideration that their values and intellectual accumulation are the only plausible ones (Ramazanoğlu, 1998: 59).

Commentating on the 2000 meeting of the World Women's Conference of the United Nations, Yıldız Ramazanoğlu refers to Western women that consider Islam as the crucial point of oriental women's problems. Ramazanoğlu says that she was astonished to hear from the participants of the conference held in New York that the

rights of the women in Iraq were legally secured. Regarding the statements that try to legitimate invasion by alleging the conditions of women in Muslim countries as the discourses of "Imperialist Feminism", the author wrote that the views served within the frame of humanistic concerns actually serve for different purposes. It does not seem to be possible for the mentioned ideas of the Western women, who ignore the fact that women are also affected by the conditions of war, to meet with reality. Ramazanoğlu states that the Western researchers, who request interviews with her and with many other oriental enlightened women, act as they are knowledgeable concerning the East. She also adds that the travels of these researchers to the East, which usually appear as the confirmation of what they know about the East, are therefore unfruitful (Ramazanoğlu, 2012d). The East has been orientalized in minds and its values were represented in another way through the description of the West. This process that has been going on for long years is the truth behind the ideological distance and division between the oriental and western woman. In the report Sima Huda, the exclusive United Nations reporter, presented within the scope of November 25 -International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women-, the women affected directly or indirectly from the military campaign of the U.S.A. and the allied forces were not mentioned at all. The author considers violence against women in two categories. The first category is the violence in public space and is known with the instances of work place harassment, sexual exploitation, abuse and prostitution. Secondly, she mentions domestic violence and adds that it is a worldwide issue. The United Nations expert that does not mention the increasing victimhood of the women in the occupied Muslim countries has undertaken a mission to justify the ongoing militarist interventions by addressing the matter unilaterally (Ramazanoğlu, 2012d: 22).

Sibel Özbudun defends the opinion that "Capitalist globalization is patriarchal". Although she does not consider it to be the source of the inequality between man and woman, she states that pro-globalization neo-liberal capitalism supports inequality. Facing the women rights topics that require supplementary budget with the resistance of free market and freedom of enterprise, neo-liberal systems accept all kinds of contribution that will be articulated to the market. Cheap

labor and new market areas can be given as examples of this. Discussing the matter of woman within the frame of their own national interests, the Western world maintains its discrimination discourses in line with its own interests (Özbudun and Sarı, 2011: 53).

Despite the fact that women of the East are actually discovered and known by the Western travellers and intellectuals, they have mostly been portrayed with distant descriptions. The undiscovered other face of the East has been the center of interest of researchers. The narrations of the East and Oriental women, which also included the subjective comments of Western male and female travellers, have occupied a substantial place in the mind of the West. As the West continued to discover the world, it has categorized and classified other peoples. These categories were eventually acknowledged by also other societies. Societies have even interiorized what has been attributed to them. The way Oriental woman is evaluated by the Western White Woman is the outcome of a long historical process. Changing this situation, which worsens the issue of woman that can be actually overcome through specific consideration and determination of Muslim societies, seems to be difficult. At this point, it is also evident that the oriental women, stuck in confusion between the modern world, tradition and religion, is negatively affected from the short-coming identifications of the west. Aktaş states that western travelers depict oriental women as fairy tale characters waiting to be saved from their dark worlds behind the veil. Muslim women are seen as women who could not build their own world of thoughts, completely unsatisfied with their lives and religion, disturbed from the patriarchal structure and hopefully waiting to be saved. This narrow and restrictive definition made from the outside actually prevents Muslim women to raise their own voice. The same weak solutions that do not actually correspond to the essence of the problems are offered, and even imposed to Muslim women that are limited with such definitions. While scrutinizing the fact that Western woman maintains the exploitative attitude of white man towards other women, Aktaş strongly criticizes it (Aktaş, 2007).

Western societies and ideologies consider women going out of their houses and their presence in the public sphere as a requirement. For the sake of ensuring equality of women and men, women are forced to carry the burden of proving that they are equal to men and thereby started to detach themselves from the private sphere and the family. The goal of being able to stand on their own feet can also be viewed as a part of this transformation. Women's alienation from the family life and their presence in the public space have been signs of success for the feminist ideology. Since the women of the west use the model of free woman, which they built by opposing the roles imposed to them, as the sole criterion for evaluating oriental woman, they cannot envisage oriental woman in anything else than suffering. The understanding in Muslim societies, on the other hand, is to provide women with the right to chose in terms of their basic demands concerning marriage, motherhood and participation to business life. According to Yıldız Ramazanoğlu, the only inequality between men and women comes along with motherhood. A woman that becomes mother gains precedence. Although attributing a substantial value to motherhood, Ramazanoğlu does not state that women should only hold up to their roles as mothers. The author sets forth that the relationship between men and women should be within the frame of equity and fairness. The woman that desires to position her life both in the private and public spaces, should be able of acting with her own free will also in terms of being a mother (How does Pan-Islamism Regard Man and Woman? Yıldız Ramazanoğlu / Cihan Aktaş, 2013). It is witnessed that feminist movement has a triggering effect on Muslim women in terms of questioning their own lives. However, Muslim women do not follow the path of those that adopt feminist ideology.

Explaining that she was raised in a middle class nuclear family, Suzanne Brogger talks about the unhappiness of her family, of their friends and the families of her parents. She states that she had no experience of happy family. 10 years after stating these, the author got married and had a child. After this, she started to express her opinions quite contrary to what she used to express. The feminists following her in Turkey have witnessed her change with much surprise. Brogger explains the change in her ideas as follows:

Much has happened in the last twenty years after I wrote the book. At the time I wrote the book, family structures were not what they are now; they would remain standing even if they were being torn apart from the inside. Yet in the last twenty years, the state undertook some of the duties of the family. However as we can see, the state fail to carry out this task... There are old people, there are ugly people... This life style was only for those that were young and rich. ...I believe, what changes with age is not the ambition for freedom, but the quality of freedom. When you are young, you are reactive against anything. ...After living all these years by opposing everything, you come to realize that you had not been free at all. Because you had always identified yourself in terms of what you are opposed to (Aktaş, 1992: 218-219).

Writing about the changes in the family-related opinions of the feminist author, Cihan Aktaş underlines that Western women could not overcome the issue of women even within their own cultures.

Aktaş comments on the ideological campaign the West maintains with a dominant attitude as "real woman identity, essential woman or the white Western woman is seen as an object today. And all the women in the world are being measured, added or excluded from the population by means of this model" (How does Pan-Islamism Regard Man and Woman? Yıldız Ramazanoğlu / Cihan Aktaş, 2013). "In the past, it was discussed whether women had soul. With modernity, it was admitted that woman is "human" as much as man; yet -as if this had to have a price-, a woman archetype the humanity and womanhood of which is approved in line with the criteria of the Western White Subject man was set forth. This "essential" woman we have been speaking of is a woman that is considered independently from the family and idealized within the context of the representation of women rights" (Aktaş, C, 15.09.2013). The concepts of freedom, equality, equity, richness, beauty and happiness are being built through the mentioned White Woman. And this makes the women from cultures out of this pattern invisible. Their preferences and experiences are deemed insignificant. It is possible for a knowledgeable and perceptive Muslim woman to comprehend social issues and women's problems without being influenced from Western ideologies or women (How does Pan-Islamism Regard Man and Woman? Yıldız Ramazanoğlu / Cihan

Aktaş, 2013). The fact that the women of the Muslim societies are being evaluated solely by means of western researchers and that this is considered as the absolute truth actually harms oriental women and the collective women movement.

It is observed that the modern system imposed by the West affects women all around the world. Women of modern societies, where what is material is prioritized and even glorified, accordingly where the expectations for an immortal body is strengthened instead of the belief of the eternity of the soul, where youthfulness, monetary richness, popularity start to become the goals of people, are affected negatively from all of these. Although the control of the body seems to belong to the individual, the modern capitalist world forms and controls the sacred bodies of the modern society as it pleases. It is known that business world offers more opportunities to young, dynamic and attractive bodies.

Remaining outside of the material boundaries of the modern society has become a risk for the modern human. Transformation of the dream of self-realization into self-realization in line with the expectations of the modern society also affects women. By converting everything concerning human life into a form of market, the capitalist system stipulates the alteration of every abstract, spiritual and intellectual values into the financial area. The discriminative selectivity the Western modern world treads others with also applies to its own citizens. It discriminates people in terms of race, gender, class and even age (Çubuklu, 2004: 99). Under the obligation to comply with all these criteria, both men and women are oppressed. Governments' means to supervise the body reaches all classes of the society and different groups of people. While the Western women consider Muslim women to be oppressed behind burqas, unhappy and depersonalized, the presence of their own social handicaps is a point worth considering.

Modernity would do anything to discipline the “ambiguous, mischievous and inconsistent” body. ...Modernity would open up cadavers, expose the body to x-ray, and would turn its gaze into the depths of the body, trying to solve its mystery, to render it transparent, to turn it into a repairable machine through medicine. The modern Western body is a regulated body, secured within its own skin and clearly separated from other bodies (Çubuklu, 2004: 98).

Along with the rising individuality, freedom and rationality discourses of the modern world, human is being designed by the government as a body that is fictionalized separately from its soul. "The woman that had been canonized for enduring the torment of her cruel spouse in the medieval age now submits to the directives of fashioners and becomes the saint of the temple of fashion. While desiring to prove her strength against the institutions and discourses of a filthy composition of economic sectors that try to determine and identify her existence, she bleeds on the altar of fashion, art and philosophy" (Aktaş, C, 15.09.2013). Aktaş indicates that, while warding off the past problems of women, the modern society pressurizes women in different topics. These in turn reduce the credibility of the discourses on women's rights and freedom in Western societies, and therefore the effectiveness of Western ideologies. "While beauty was used to be considered together with traits such as virtue, honor and transcendence, nowadays it is reduced solely to the point whether the body is in line with aesthetic criteria" (Ramazanoğlu: 2012c). Sociological traces of the capitalist system can also be seen in Islamic countries. The consumption patterns maintained with the consideration that they are suitable to Islam, are in fact a consequence of globalization. Mentioning the high demand of Iranian women for cosmetic surgeries and the high cosmetic expenditures of Egyptian women, Ramazanoğlu (2012c) points out how aesthetic concerns found a place in the world of Muslim women. The intent of oppressing Islamic structure to alienate woman from her aesthetic appearance on one hand, and the perception of sacred body of the Western lifestyle on the other hand leave Muslim women among contradictions. However, it is possible to be aesthetic, elegant and well-groomed in line with Islam, in a reasonable way without causing sexual associations (Ramazanoğlu, 2012c). Otherwise, women will have a capitalist and materialist lifestyle formed by the patterns of the Muslim world included in their lives. Every day, the Muslim women, who is expected and even commanded to pursue becoming the perfect human being, is exposed to an incredible number of stimuli encouraging her to focus on her bodily perfection and make shopping; and it is not easy for her to hold on to her beliefs and remain standing against the attacks of large industries" (Ramazanoğlu, 2012c).

2.2. Authors' Outlook on Traditional Roles and Woman in the Oriental Culture

The topic of woman, as one of those that the western countries address within the scope of individual rights and freedoms defined with modern codes, has influenced oriental societies. As there are cases of oriental women that evaluate themselves and their societies from the perspective of western ideologies, there are also those that position these against the western discourses. Although the differences between the value judgments of the West and the East are frequently mentioned, for Oriental women using the experiences, ideology and the language of the West has become an inevitable outcome of the modern world. However, considering all these solely as results that occurred through the intent of the West would be inadequate. With the development of information technologies, individual forms of perception have emerged besides of the social, religious and cultural totality the individuals are in. Accordingly, the fact that dominant discourses are influential on the global arena cannot be denied.

The conflict on the essence of life the East falls into with the vision of the West, which Nazife Şişman describes as “cultural frustration” (2003: 113), does not go beyond than considering Muslim women as the “oppressed”. Nazife Şişman states that, due to this situation Muslim women constantly need to have ontological defense. She views the endeavor of Muslim women to express themselves against the dominant discourse as an effort to articulate to the secular world. She criticizes Muslim women, which embrace the world and the afterlife with acceptances different than those of the West, for adopting the feminist jargon, internalizing the approach that addresses history as a history of universal hostility against women, and for considering that the history of Islam is about an male-dominant culture and jurisprudence. Rather than the reality or legitimacy of all these, the author questions this way of thinking. She points out that building our logic on this platform has a limiting aspect. "Comparing pre-modern periods with the modern imagining" (2003: 116) results in a logical error, according to Nazife Şişman. This perspective that has been adopted by Muslim societies and that heavily bears the traces of the world of

thoughts of the West may cause us to make inconsistent observations concerning the statuses of Muslim women. It opens a door for Muslim women that evaluate their own cases throughout the history and their current lifestyles with a Western and secular point of view.

In order to prevent incomprehensibility, while using the concept of Muslim women, to which she includes herself, Nazife Şişman states that she is referring to the women defined as Islamist women in the literature of social sciences. She expresses that she finds it inappropriate to address the women living in line with Islamic belief anything else than Muslim. The cases of the women from Muslim countries that receive more support to their feminist discourses in the West rather than in their own countries, such as Telime Nesrin, Fatima Mernissi and Neval Seddavi, make it even more difficult to describe Muslim woman and Islamist woman. Mentioning that she finds it rather proper to refer to secular women in Muslim countries as "Muslim origin", Şişman states that the role of religion is significant in all cases for political and cultural identities (Şişman, 1996: 115-116). The basic reference the women that Nazife Şişman addresses as oriental Muslim women use to define themselves is Islam. Nazife Şişman states that Muslim Women -with the awareness of the distinction between principles and the practice of life- participate in international workshops and symposiums on woman, and adds that Muslim women consider the struggle for Women's right within the frame of human rights, and develop a discourse that covers all humans regardless of their gender (1996).

The former notion of restricting women in their homes is beneficial both for women and the society has been replaced with the idea that directing women to the public space is good for women and the society. Having the women that prefer domestic life feel unqualified, restrained and useless is a restricting point of view. According to the Islamic belief, the relation between man and woman is not set as competitors but friends and supporters. In fact, Islamic belief has broken the absolute power and undisputable hierarchy of men, and secured the autonomous individuality of women (Aktaş, 1992: 19). Aktaş, among the works of whom no discourse

indicating the superiority of man can be found, also does not make any indication concerning the superiority of women. In the articles she addresses women's rights, Aktaş does not evaluate women as being independent from the whole of the society. In other words, women are not an element that needs to be separated from the whole of the society. Due to this reason, it is not necessary for women to plan their lives alone or independently from the family. They need to defend their own autonomous rights as necessary for all individuals and to be competent in the control of their own lives. Aktaş does not consider the capacity to undertake social responsibility solely as the means of “modern” women that have careers and participate in the public space. That is to say that, in order to be able to comprehend the individual and social consciousness, women do not have to have careers or prove themselves in line with social norms.

The author states through the reference of Islam that, with a quite humanist and objective attitude, women are responsible for themselves, their families, spouses and the society. The woman identity that fades within the traditional family is not the unconditional outcome of being a housewife. As being educated or having a career do not constitute the sole element that liberates women, also being a housewife is not a lifestyle that depersonalizes women. She invites women to better themselves and hold on to this goal throughout their lives in line with Islamic culture. Not denying traditional roles, Cihan Aktaş praises being individuals that have command on movement of thoughts, innovations, or briefly on the flow of time. She does not think of women as totally independent from traditional roles, nor does she try to push them into the patterns of the past (Aktaş, 1992). Having written "There was a reaction against the formalistic and unelaborated policies of modernization, and Pan-Islamism was the pursuit of religiousness that did not abandon modernization against this reaction. ...Woman is not an inferior human being and human cannot be superior just because they are created as man" (1992: 249). Aktaş describes humans, without differentiating men and women, as individuals that feel liable for the society, aware of their religious responsibilities and able to adapt to the modern world without compromising their beliefs and principles. The author states that new generation young girls in Turkey follow foreign authors as well as they read Turkish authors

that make important contribution to Turkish literature and Turkish world of thoughts. In these articles, where also the author's perspective on Pan-Islamism is reflected, the ideal Muslim individual is discussed within the context of modernity and Islam.

The author states that being in the private space does not mean rejecting socialization. On the contrary, there is no prerequisite for individuals to carry out the process of discovering themselves internally. Positioning oneself within the family does not coincide with self-restriction or alienation from the world of thoughts. Women may fulfill their responsibilities towards the society and their own social needs even if they do not actively participate in the public area -which in this context stands for the professional life or intense involvement in volunteer activities of associations, foundations, etc. - and they would still not renounce their rights. This situation, the reflections of which can also be seen in the private lives of Islamic women intellectuals, originates from the fact that they do not feel the obligation to make a choice between the family and the public space. It is not an essential necessity to define women with men, within the unity of family, or -as a pattern of the modern society- with their occupation or level of education.

The author considers women as individuals that are independent from all these. Further, in line with Islamic responsibilities, woman is a primary element of the society, supporter of man and an important part of the family. The author does not criticize the choice of woman. Instead, she discusses the modern and traditional structures in terms of quality, yet does not use an expression indicating the superiority of one to the other. The author states that defining the value of women through her lifestyle as a housewife or her social role means to ignore their humanity which results in the commoditization of women. Defining women solely in house and in the background of men, according to the traditional perspective means to deem all responsibilities at conscious level as men's burden and at the same time to consider women incompetent in these terms. In terms of the traits and nature of women, Aktaş considers the cases of motherhood and wifehood positively. Since woman possesses this biological means inherently, ignoring these for the sake of socialization and individualization would be wrong. On the other hand, the author

considers the presence of women in the society solely as a sexual object as the way of enslaving women in the modern society.

Two types of social processes that turn around Muslim women's lives determined in the private space are talked of. "Being the first of these, struggles for national independence or revolutionist campaigns against domestic rulers the traditional archetype of Muslim women carried out in extraordinary times..." (Erkilet, 2004: 17) trigger social change. The Algerian war of independence and the Iranian Revolution are instances of this social process. They are events changing Muslim women's Islamic identity and wholly affecting the social position of women. The second one is the process created "by nature of the social activity areas that enable Muslim woman to adopt and even reproduce the model of bourgeois woman and family in ordinary times..." (Erkilet, 2004: 17). The public sphere experiences of Islamic women in Turkey constitute an example for such a change. The researcher-author finds it paradoxical for Islamic women to defend the right of utilizing public rights equally, and for the political society to adopt implementations and discourses to prevent this (2004: 18). Erkilet, comments that Islamic women have reached a point that is more modern than the **modern** state.

One of the primary characteristics that separates the Islamic women intellectuals in Turkey from the Muslim intellectuals from other Muslim countries and known both in the East and the West, is Turkish Islamic intellectuals' manifestation of a critical perspective that establishes balance between traditions and modernity and that does not prefer one to the other. We do not know how social change will affect women's choices in the future. However, in today's society, replacement of the traditions by modern habits seems to be unlikely. Particularly on the axis of the Islamic belief, it is the truths of creation that determine social roles. In the case that women accept the role of motherhood, men are supposed to undertake the whole responsibility of the family outside of the house. This social distribution of roles originates in line with belief and in a sense compulsorily. Rejecting or changing this just because it is traditional would be a forced conversion. On the other hand, the fact that no alternative Islamic lifestyle is being contemplated does

not prevent the criticism directed towards the inconveniences or unjust traditions. It is known that Muslim women are sensitive in terms of not mistaking the importance of the role of motherhood with sacredness. Because the lack of identity of women should not be rectified as the wife of a man, the mother of a child or an instrument for the continuance of a man's bloodline. Sociologically, attributing too much value on the role of motherhood weakens woman's individual identity. However on the other hand, transformation of the means that are considered to be good into ends would be a mistake in Islamic context. New feminist discourses such as feminism defending women against men and all other elements of pressure also uses expressions that defends the baby against the mother. Based on the principle of defending the rights of the weak, the relative strength of women in comparison to babies has made babies or children the topic of feminism. Although there is no evidence that Muslim women are involved in exchange of opinions with feminism at this point, the rights of the baby are secured in line with the Islamic belief. Manifesting a picture close to the traditional roles also at this point, Islamic women are separated from modern women that announce absolute dominance concerning the body.

Traditions that have been controversial in modern societies are also discussed in the discourses of enlightened women. However, it is observed that modernity and traditions are not compared to each other conceptually, but in terms of their positive and negative aspects that affect human life. Neither of them both have a superiority that is recommended to be preferred in economic, political or social context. In any case, passing a remark in such a way would cause Islamic enlightened women to manifest an attitude that resembles the sharply innovative aspect of the modern society they criticize. Yıldız Ramazanoğlu is among the authors that discuss the problem of women differently from feminist tradition, as a problem of the entire society. In other words, Ramazanoğlu does not present her discourses on equity in women's rights solely in terms of a period, an ideology or a gender. From her point of view, words that include criticism or praise towards modern, traditionalist or post-modern processes can be uttered. Accordingly, developing selective coherence and a positive criticism capacity as an individual would be in line with her description of

individual. The point where a responsible and conscious individual needs to be has blurred boundaries and embodies contrasts nested within each other. It is possible to find this attitude in her following words:

There are so many things that I cannot write about. While rocking the cradle of my child, it is not possible to keep up with the women that bear witness to the age by producing, fulfilling their responsibilities at home, organizing their lives accordingly, and devoting themselves to Allah. In the unproductive discussion platform of Turkey, while everyone believe that they have the right and capacity to present a role for the religious women, there are so many women lecturing in the universities in Europe and in America, unaware of all this oddity.Speaking about the place of woman takes us nowhere. First and foremost, everyone's place is their homes. We need men and women that look after their homes together, that share the responsibility of their children and that seek the answer to the question "how can we protect our society" (Ramazanoğlu, 2012a).

Ramazanoğlu also talks about the driving prohibitions on women that continue in some Arab countries on bases that women driving cars would cause unrest or be a burden for women. There is a problematic aspect for Muslim women in complying with traditional codes without evaluating the conditions of the day. While talking about idealistic, hard-working and participating Islamic young women, the author states that they are tired of being classified as traditional or modernist, and against such approaches they need to have a constant ontological attitude. She implies the point she stands on in terms of belief and earthly life through asking "What can religion promise if we do not have our goals, our own utopias, if we no longer imagine and submit to the present conditions (Ramazanoğlu, 2011)". There is a great number of young women going abroad for education and working purposes, because of the ban of wearing headscarves in Turkey.

The author narrates that, although having chosen an Islamic lifestyle, Iranian women feel themselves under the shadow of the regime and therefore they cannot express that their beliefs are their own choices. She talks about the Iranian women wishing to live abroad, just as the case in Turkey. In the case of Turkey, women go abroad due to the intervention of the secular system to the Islamic lifestyle.

However, the case in Iran is quite interesting. Because it is an Islamic regime that makes Islamic individuals feel insignificant and de-identified. The author believes that new generations advance on a free and promising path, with consciousness and beyond the memorized discussions. It is worth consideration that Islamic enlightened women criticize Islamic regimes with the same bases they criticize the secular patterns in Turkey. Yıldız Ramazanoğlu states that both Western and Oriental lifestyles need to be evaluated with an approach of balanced values and that this is crucial in sociological terms.

The Western understanding that evaluates women's productivity through her role and efforts in the public sphere after the industrial revolution, seeks the equality of men and women, in women's employment in the same jobs that men are employed in. In other words, it expects the two genders to become the same. It is considered appropriate for woman and man that are considered equal in terms of religious, moral and civil tasks and responsibilities, to be balanced in terms of their roles and duties. In the Islamic culture, on the other hand, there is no reason that obliges women to be passive. Working is supported both for man and woman also in the context of faith. "The roles in the institution of family and in social life should be formed primarily in line with Islamic acceptances, not according to traditional or modern acceptances. ...In this evaluation, motherhood as an inherent character of women has to have a determining significance (Aktaş, 1997: 111-112)". Motherhood should not be considered as a role that detaches women from the society and takes away their individual rights. On the contrary, by means of motherhood women that give the society its shape have the capacity and possibility to influence both their own lives and the social future. Aktaş' analysis of the individual without comparing the traditional and modern structures is similar with the way Yıldız Ramazanoğlu approaches to the matter. Both of them establish their thoughts on the basis of faith. It is seen that modernism is not criticized in the conceptual context. On the other hand, unconditioned acceptance of traditions as a part of Islam is also out of the question. However, Islamic enlightened women do not also have such a commitment for traditional roles.

2.3. Gender Roles from the Perspective of Islamic Women Authors

Ali Şeriati has discussed the topic of women exclusively in all but one of his books. Presenting an analysis rather than time while assessing Muslim societies, Şeriati has reached the readers in different geography. His philosophy must be considered seminal, since his works are not followed solely for understanding his society and the Muslim world, but with a deeper intention. The works of Şeriati that focus on the case of women in the Muslim society reflects the patriarchal structure of Islam. While explaining his ideas in this frame, the author states that the negative practices do not originate from Islam, but from Muslims. He also states that he finds those from the Western world that sees and condemn Muslim societies right. As he openly admits the truthfulness of the criticisms directed towards his own society, he does not also hesitate to criticize Western societies.

The clash of ideas Islamic women usually have with many intellectuals that research Islam does not exist against Şeriati. It is attention grabbing those Muslim women who interiorize the anti-patriarchal attitude of the feminist discourse can agree with a patriarchal Islamist male intellectual. Şeriati admits that the West provides women with the rights they demand through the assurance of the law, and builds them as individuals independent from the family and man. In the individual-oriented Western culture, woman and man are separate individuals standing next to each other in the family and that are provided with equal rights before the law. However, Şeriati points out that this affects the society and family in a negative way, and in the Islamic belief wife and husband are considered to complete each other, as the two halves of the whole (Şeriati, 2012: 257-258). While talking about the social distribution of the roles of man and woman, the author expresses that both man and woman is in need of the other. We know that Islamic women have a questioning and negative attitude towards the Islamic intellectuals and men that take tiresome and wearing measures out of the fear of the modern life, that consider traditions as a sacred part of faith, and that lose the sense of individual responsibility with the effect of the secular system. Islamic women appreciate Ali Şeriati because they believe that he established a reasonable and logical balance between the west and the east,

between tradition and modernity.

While discussing the sociological events that concern women and women's rights, Şeriati does not see woman as a being isolated from the society and its quality of being human. Speaking of Şeriati, Ramazanoğlu states that; They see him very distant from the approaches that confine women solely to the physiological functions brought in by their gender; they see him using sentences that direct man and woman to common and high goals (2012: 186).

Yıldız Ramazanoğlu and Cihan Aktaş evaluate motherhood with a perspective that coincides with the *woman human* concept frequently expressed in the novels of Halide Edip Adivar. It is far-off the way feminist perspective assess motherhood as hindrance. It addresses motherhood as a valuable responsibility for the existence of a Muslim society. While in the eye of the West motherhood is evaluated as a passivized identity for the women, it is highly appreciated by Islamic intellectuals. Stating that motherhood is belittled in the Muslim societies with the influence of the West, Aktaş continues as follows "By her creation, woman is the source of affection, attention, self-devotion and spirituality. ... If a society does not benefit from such a source of affection and spirituality in order to rise and develop, it will become morally impoverished, and gradually lose its human values and capacity to love" (Aktaş, 1997: 113). This role that women undertake, as a part of the whole as Şeriati puts it, in a sense will save man, woman and child from solitude. Emphasizing on the importance of the family institution and the indispensability of motherhood for this institution, Aktaş adds that family may also have a highly problematic structure for the woman. According to her "Motherhood rights are also a part of women's rights " (1997: 114). From this it can be also deduced that the author does not consider motherhood as the most sacred and sole duty or identity of women.

The fact that Şeriati addresses women's rights in the eye of human rights also have a functionally important aspect. Islamic women in Turkey aim to build an identity that is independent from the other elements of the society. While commenting on women's rights, they use discourses that also defend the right of men affected from similar reasons such as modernism and capitalism. Defending women's

rights with a demand for a humane and Islamic life includes these details. In addition to these above-mentioned details, the way women's rights are discussed separately from the struggle of human rights and the demand of living an Islamic lifestyle causes people to remain distant to the topic of woman.

The ban of wearing headscarves caused Islamic women to aspire being in the public area. There is a fact that also Islamist intellectuals speak of in different ways. Against the aggression directed towards them, and the identifications, concepts and bans attributed to them, women wearing headscarf adopted a protesting attitude and rejected the identity associated to them. Against the consideration of scarf as underdevelopment, ignorance and traditionalism, women wearing headscarves tried to show that they are well educated, stylish and modern. It is also observed that they seek ways to show that they do not live under the oppression of Islamic men. As a response to the discourses that regard women in headscarves with mercy and try to save them from the scarf and the despotism of men, women undertook the responsibility to express their sincerity in terms of their faith. The fact that Islamic women reject all identifications directed towards them and thus do not adopt an identity brings along some problematic changes.

There is a problematic aspect of presenting the participation of women in the business life as freedom and welfare. It is a known fact that at the date of the day now celebrated as the International Women's Day, tens of women struggling for better conditions lost their lives. Working life also has many negative aspects criticized qualitatively. Regulation of pregnancy, birth and nursing leaves and nursery facilities are among the important topics working women of today expect improvements in. Such socio-political topics remaining at a point between the working life and the house continue their presence as the handicaps of the lifestyle the modern society appreciates. As mentioned, the social transformation of Islamic women coincides at this ambiguous point between the public and private spheres. Also Islamic women consider domestic efforts invisible and insignificant. However, it is observed that the present form of economic activity and the public world built on this fall short in offering women a working environment as they would desire (Aktaş,

2013e). Despite the positive and negative aspects of the working life, considering the decision to work to be within the discretion of woman itself, Aktaş sees the social and family-related duties of men to be more based on obligation. The man has to provide for the economic needs of the family as much as his personal effort allows for. Aktaş criticizes the idea that the importance of the mother's role in the lives of children is more valuable than that of the father's role, and the mentality that in time loads the responsibility of the children to the mother. Father is responsible as the guarding factor and the decision-making mechanism of the family (Aktaş, 1997: 112). Aktaş accepts the social and familial controller role of the man, on the basis of Islamic equity. Islamic rules that do not withhold women from the working life are crystal clear in men's role of undertaking the financial responsibility of the family. Aktaş emphasizes that men's failure in fulfilling their own responsibilities causes women to turn towards the working life (1997: 117). Stating that Islamic women participate in the public sphere in every possible way, the author also expresses her fondness in covered young women following intellectual activities. The mentality that characterizes the engagement of women with domestic responsibilities as inadequacy and insignificance requires a difficult transformation also for men. In our time where values are being commoditized, values also for men are built on concrete and material bases. "Their tests for being hold in esteem do not seem to be easy, or soon to end. While the modern culture having *masculine* codes extends the areas of competition and contest, in a paradoxical way the obstacles that deny them being respected increase" (2009). While women endeavor for reaching the presented goals of social harmony, success and wealth, the situation for men also gets more and more difficult. The more the traditional and religious point of view based on the wealth of immaterial values is lost, the more importance the material criteria of the modern life gain. While directing women towards the success goals of the public world, our minds that bears the traces of the man-woman balance of the tradition embody the idea that also man has to fulfill these responsibilities.

In the modern society, instead of growing stronger with each other's rising values, the people, which Şeriati describes as independent and alone, gets weaker. Because outstanding virtues remain in the boundaries of the individual and point out

to the weaknesses of others. Considering from the broad perspective, equality between men and women causes social fractures. In the modern world, the problem of adapting to the rapid and strong process of changes increases. "The culture that associates manhood with aggravated circumstances and with attainments of high statuses, at a point causes men to lose heart and forces them to become introverted with a sarcastic indifference. This is an introversion that appears with the expectation of setting the bar higher at the fields where women now started to prove themselves" (Aktaş, 2011).

2.4. Authors' Approach to the Islamic Feminism

As a hybrid ideology, Islamist feminism became a concept in the 90s. However, there are many works on Islam and women's rights. Islamist feminism has an aspect different that the aspects of the women's rights arguments Muslim societies carry out among themselves. As in the formation of different feminist approaches, in the short period of time when the concept of Islamist feminism was formed it gained meanings that contradicted with each other in times. The primary cause of the current arguments on Islamist feminism is the fact that its ideological basis is yet to be completed.

Individuals' self-evaluation as being Islamist feminist, and whether or not they are defined as Islamist feminists by others is important. In addition to these, it is also necessary to consider the meaning to which the concept of Islamist feminist corresponds regionally and in ideological and cultural context.

There are many researchers from various disciplines that focus on the topic of woman in Turkey. However, there is a problematic matter particularly concerning women's pursuit of their rights and within the sole context of women's rights. The fact that all elements of the society are directly or indirectly a part of civilization cannot be denied. In order to express it through an example, the people being insensitive towards children's rights, leaving the matter to the experts, presenting

flow of information and exhibiting a hindering attitude either actively or passively is a problematic case in sociological terms. Trying to evaluate the topic of woman, particularly by remaining outside of the topic is a discriminative attitude. Some researchers are far away from showing the expected sensitivity to the topic of woman. In the evaluation of the headscarf ban, a problem indicating this discrimination was experienced. It was the Islamic women that evaluated the headscarf ban within the frame of women's rights. On the other hand, the researchers opposing the discussion of the matter from this perspective mentioned that the topic was reduced to women's rights and that this was a mistake.

The women we have been mentioning as Islamic intellectual women that conduct researches on women's rights, evaluates the matter of woman with sensitivity. However, they do not separate the woman that constitutes half of the society from the society. According to Islam, which the Islamic intellectual women use as a reference in the topic of woman, gender discrimination is unacceptable. "The concept of equity in Islam has an extensity that does not discriminate age, gender, race and faith; and therefore be it men or women, all humans have the same responsibilities as subjects" (Şişman, 1996: 121). With this approach, the authors stand against the discrimination applied to woman. The language adopted by feminism that differentiates men and women is not appreciated by Islamic women. The women criticizing the Western feminist women that evaluate different societies with their own discourses in global conferences are not contended with the patterns of the feminism of the Western White Woman. Nazife Şişman states that Muslim women do not define themselves as feminists. "Because they work for ensuring the integrity and lives of all humans, be it men or women. In contrast with feminists, they are not discriminatory but universalists" (1996: 120).

Islamic women believe that the matter of woman should be prevented from having a sexist attitude, since that would be contrary to the social structure stipulated by Islam. This constitutes the basis of their critical approach to feminism. Stating that Islam promises more than what feminism does, Ramazanoğlu adds that man does not embrace, protect and appropriate woman because he is superior, but in line

of the level he reaches in terms of human values. Man and woman are two equal individuals. "This understanding points out to something beyond the equality demand of feminism, mathematical calculations and theories. As the Prophet Muhammad told Fatima: You be a concubine to him, and let his be your slave" (Öz, n.d.). Islamic intellectual women in Turkey do not define themselves as Islamist feminists. However, the distant attitude towards the topic of female exhibited by many intellectuals cause their position to be seen closer to feminism than they are. In other words, women that consider supporting the fight for women's rights as a social mission and that discuss it with an awareness of human responsibility are characterized as feminists by others. However, the way feminists approach to the problem of woman, their instruments and goals are different that those of the Islamic intellectual women in Turkey. For a general expression of Islamist feminists;

Despite the discourse developed in the modern human rights literature on the basis of the equality of all humans, the efforts that try to blend the means of Islam with the perspective defending the equality and/or superiority of Islamic women, against the discourses on superiority of men and the discrimination between man and woman that does not accord with the current cyclical environment, have created a field referred to as Islamic feminism (Çelik, A, 2013).

The recurring tradition of research of the East and the fact that some of the innovations in the rapidly changing world cannot be followed, directed Islamic intellectuals to discover Western sources and researchers. This has a purpose beyond solely getting to know a different culture. They find it positive to learn the way of thinking of the modern system and to broaden their perspective with this attainment. The fact that the feminist movement has an aspect that brings in different perspectives on women's rights to Muslim societies cannot be denied. The refutation of feminism by the Muslim women in Turkey and all around the world embodies a positive effect in terms of establishing and maintaining their own identities. Refusing the "ready-made" woman archetype offered to them, Muslim women are building their own identities through the struggle they give. Feminism questions the social, economic and political structure and the religious arguments from the perspective of

women. It is observed that the feminist way of criticizing brings in depth to the perspectives of Muslim women. Stating that Muslim women adopt feminist ideology as an intellectual tool would be more proper than describing them as feminists. Because many intellectual women in Turkey described as Islamic feminists brings serious criticisms to feminism and contend with discussing women's rights by referring to Islam. In addition, many Islamic intellectual women have ended the description of being a feminist attributed to them as a result of the discourse stating that anyone supporting the struggle for women's rights is feminist, by making their own definition of feminism.

The essential point Oriental women such as Amine Wedud and Fatima Mernissi point out through Islamic feminism is that the patriarchal interpretation of Islam pushes women to background. They state that such discrimination cannot exist in the essence of faith. They assert that if the primary references of Islam are considered from women's point of view, the social status of women would change. They argue that culture and tradition have replaced religion in Muslim countries, and that the restrictions brought into women's lives are based on men's intent to maintain their own power. It is attention grabbing that Islamic feminists invite Muslim women to get over the effect of male-dominant discourses and understand Islam once again. The Islamic intellectual women in Turkey, who do not refer themselves as Islamist feminists or feminists, have expressions that support this thought. Although they do not act according to the mission of Islamist feminism, it is possible to assert that the Islamic intellectual women in Turkey share the same ideas with Islamic feminists at this point. Particularly controversial topics such as polygamy, testimony of women and inheritance, give rise to the opinion that women are pushed to the background by Islam. Evaluating these and other similarly important topics, Hidayet Sefkatli Tuksal states that many discourses set forth with the support of hadiths and interpretations are wrong. Tuksal, the opinions of whom were mentioned previously, does not accept the concept of Islamic feminism and asserts that the way of thinking indicated with this concept is the interpretation of Islam from the feminist perspective.

There are some criteria that need to be considered on the identity of Islamic

feminists. It is known that women that carry out feminist works as members of a Muslim society are being considered as Islamic feminists by outsiders. Among these women, there are those that are distant to Islamic lifestyle and the intellectuality of whom are formed distant from the Islamic reference. As distinct from these women, the women that interpret their own societies and the Islamic tradition from the perspective of woman, that have command over feminist terminology and that aim to maintain their Muslim identity are also considered as Islamist feminists. Feminist reflections in the minds and discourses of secular Muslim women and religious Muslim women are naturally different than each other. The fact that the women in Turkey that support headscarf ban and do not establish any connection with the Islamic women movement are referred to as Muslim feminists in Western countries is actually a paradoxical situation. With the "First International Islamic Feminism Congress" held in Barcelona, the principles on which Islamic feminism is established were announced (Çaha, 2010: 349). Despite the works of Islamist feminists and the studies on Islamic feminism carried out with varying points of view, Islamic feminism failed to clearly set forth its manifesto. Ibtesam el Atiyat, who considers the reform of Islam possible and interprets Islamic feminism differently from all feminist movements, is among the leading names of Islamic feminism. While expressing that they are not against headscarves, the Jordanian academician approaches headscarf as a way to show one's faith. She believes that for women the essential is to look modest. On the other hand, she critically comments on wearing traditional cloths such as burqa in line with political power or due to the imposition of men. She states that feminism is against religion, since it sees religion as an instrument to keep oppressing women, and yet Islamic feminists have no problem with Islam. She clearly distinguishes the ideological basis of Islamic feminism from the Western feminist movement.

Feminist movements in Eastern countries adopted their terminology from the West. This is why they never achieved to adapt to the culture they are in and got weakened. Although the feminists in the East share the same ideals with their peers in the West, they could not make their voices heard due to wrong methods. Islamic feminism was born as a reaction to this. ...Islamic feminists have a different ideology, a different frame. In addition, the reaction to Islamists' view of women expedited

this movement. What we say is that Islamists are not the sole authority. Do not mistake us with Usama bin Ladin. We are different than them. We believe in the possibility of living a modern life by interpreting the Quran (Alçı, 2007).

After the conclusion of the congress held in Barcelona, Islamist feminists published a manifesto in which they announced their demands concerning Muslim women's rights on sexuality and the status of mosques for women. The manifesto included decrees within the scope of women's rights, concerning selection of spouses, having voice in motherhood and sex crimes. It is observed that particularly the decrees concerning the rights of attending mosques were set forth by pursuing an absolute equality with men (Avcı, 2007: 215-216). With the manifesto in question, it is observed that Islamist feminists have built Western feminists' acceptances with sexual content, in line with their own ideas.

According to the Islamist feminist Mernissi, who interprets the man-woman relationships in the pre-Islamic Arab society, freedom of woman is a change that deprives man from his advantageous position. Muslim men are not adequately equipped for free woman. On the basis of the consideration that freeing women would affect men negatively, Muslim men try to maintain the means to repress women and trivialize women. The author believes that Muslim men harbor fear and hate concerning the liberation of women. Comparing Arab societies with Turkey requires the consideration of their largely different historical experiences. There are also significant differences in terms of Islamic culture. However, even if they are based on different reasons, Muslim women from different cultures mention the conservative attitude manifested by Muslim men concerning women. Muslim men's actions intending to maintain social hierarchy support this argument. Muslim men have a time and a social dimension different than those of women. Beside the woman identity delicately conserved in terms of traditions and Islam, there is the identity of Muslim man that follows changes and not exposed to any restriction in terms of adapting to the modern world (Ramazanoğlu, 2011).

Ramazanoğlu states that the researcher women that manifest their distance to

the Islamic belief in international conferences on women describe themselves as Muslim and feminists. Seen as the counterpart of Islamist feminism at the international platform, these people do not reflect the woman profile of the Muslim countries they are the citizens of.

Although they do not see it as a priority to define themselves as feminists, it is a known fact that intellectual Muslim women set forth a fight for women's right by staying loyal to the Islamic belief. These women develop a global language and aim to help women in Muslim societies and to represent these women in a realistic way. However, as mentioned before, secular women researchers from Muslim countries consider Islam as an instrument to put pressure on women, and set their goals through this idea. According to them, Muslim women's modernization, secularization and estrangement from their commitment to faith will improve Muslim women's status both in the private and public spaces. However, in these terms they would be moving in line with the ideas and goals of imperialist feminists. It is worth considering the fact that Western countries, as the organizers of international conferences, charge the Islamist feminists that move in line with this ideology with the task of representation (Öz, n.d.). Islamist feminism is a paradigm born among the new pursuits of Muslim societies and continues to develop within the world of thoughts of Islamic women. The most essential criticism Ramazanoğlu directs towards Islamic feminism concerns its characteristic that does not reflect Muslim women in real terms. As she rejects the “Western White Woman” as an offered model, the author also does not appreciate Islamic feminists that drown out Muslim women and that obscures their choices and truths.

Cihan Aktaş criticizes feminism on the basis that it has lost its depth, turned into a closed movement that is far off of being pluralistic, continues to fight for existence with an attitude that ignores men, and while criticizing masculine roles, with a mimetic attitude it promotes the criticized qualities. Aktaş expresses her view on feminism as follows: "I have a feminism that is peculiar to me; still I cannot view the world with a sexist attitude that would allow me to start sentences with the words *We, as feminists*" (Sarıçam, 2009). With the example she offers from her own life,

Aktaş questions women ignoring their own identity before the man, and trying to transform all her life into harmony with the life of her husband. While including feminism in her own world of thoughts, she does not refrain from shaping it. She objects the transformation of feminism into a body of memorizations on the grounds that it causes restriction of meaning.

CHAPTER 3

FAMILY AND SOCIETY AS WRITTEN BY WOMEN AUTHORS

It is observed that Islamic intellectual women position themselves as active players of the society since they discuss social processes with sociological perspective and based on the Islamic reference they believe in the responsibility of individuals. Islamic women's consideration of the topic of woman is examined as the main topic of this chapter. In addition to the extensive coverage of the topic of woman, Islamic women's views considering the entire society are also attached importance to.

With the processes of urbanization and industrialization in the Turkish society, traditional extended family is started to be replaced by the nuclear family. The way nuclear family is viewed and criticized from the viewpoint of Islamic women will be examined in this part. In addition, the envisagement of the ideal family will be discussed on the basis of Islamic women's discourses. Islamic women do not build the woman identity through child and motherhood, and oppose this approach. However, motherhood is an important role of holiness. They see motherhood as an inner journey of the individual, as an element for the continuity of the society and the existence of the family institution. Every individual is born to a unique soul and life. Accordingly, although people's responsibilities to each other are acknowledged, their freedom should not be ignored. It is observed that Islamic intellectual women act on this line while discussing the ideal family, the position of woman in the family and the responsibility of having a child.

3.1. The Present (Western) Structure of Family as Written by Female Authors

We know that in the modern society extended families are replaced by nuclear families and this change is more obvious in urban living spaces. Proliferation of nuclear families in industrial societies has caused the questioning of the values of extended families. It is witnessed that the domestic hierarchy changes into a family union consisting of equal individuals. Within the household, individuals start to establish their own spaces. The fact that individual identities is a rising value caused the emergence of individuals gaining position through human rights, beside of the roles of mother, child and father in nuclear families. The struggle for existence of the modern human, which materializes with the discourse of “realizing oneself” and that points at the material world, manifests the change in terms of values. On the other hand, extended family continues its existence in rural areas where the traditional culture is predominant and agricultural, stockbreeding and traditional workmanship activities are carried out. In Turkey, nuclear family is predominant particularly in large cities.

Cihan Aktaş mentions the social change she describes as American type of lifestyle that emerged in Turkey. In this family model where the man and woman work in order to keep the income level of the family stable, elders are usually moved to retirement homes. She explains that children's lives are evaluated in line with the institutions where they receive education. The reflections of this lifestyle, where youngsters leave the house before getting married in order to build their own lives, are also seen in Turkey (Aktaş, 1992: 214). Nuclear families in Turkey started to increase with the process following the proclamation of the Republic. However, particularly the increase in the population that gravitated towards the urban life in the 1950s caused the increase of nuclear families (1992: 215). While the families in the Western culture hesitate about having children with career and comfort related concerns, in Turkey the concerns related with the responsibility of the child and its future are predominant (1992: 217). The problems the West faces with the aging population caused it to focus on policies that encourage population growth. It is observed that the formalistic similarities between economic activities and the urban

life are factors that support nuclear family in Turkey. However, as differently from the case in the western societies, this process did not cause the institution of family to disintegrate. Children raised in nuclear families establish close relations with less people than those raised in extended families do. In addition to the fewer number of children, also fewer number of relatives living under the same roof is a factor effective on this. However, youngsters leaving the nuclear family are at the age where they can take their own responsibility in the West. It is not expected from them to build their own families or get married before leaving the roof of the family. In Turkey, on the other hand, nuclear family continues its existence with a cycle that renews itself.

Islamic woman had experiences that separate them from Islamic men. In this section, we will be discussing the Islamic woman movement, which has strong connections with the Islamic movement yet also created its own paradigm, in the context of woman and family. Islamic women's ideas on individual identities are intertwined with the phenomenon of family. We have mentioned earlier that they do not consider woman and man as lone elements detached from each other. Since they consider it to be a sexist attitude, they do not build the woman identity also on feminine characteristics.

They see the role of motherhood as an inherent privilege that does not restrict but increase the value of woman. In addition, they have an approach that is contrary to the masculine and traditional discourse that ignores woman and focuses on motherhood. They have created an alternative identity that can be characterized by neither of the traditional and modern approaches concerning womanhood and motherhood. In the urban life, the sociology of the educated Muslim woman is important in terms of analyzing the family structure of the Islamic community. It also shows the impact of modern times on the Muslim society. Religious Muslim women stand closer to religion in comparison with families of traditional point of view. In addition, they critically view the force of modernism and secularism that shapes the society, primarily in line with belief and personal preferences. Islamic women's approach to family life, motherhood and education of child reflects this.

"Family is a natural institution, a substantial social core, an improvisational lifestyle that defines its own boundaries and either extends or shrinks according to the circumstances" (Aktaş, 2011a: 288). Being vital for the existence of the society, the institution of family maintains its existence even if it changes in terms of quality in time. The author considers family as a structure that protects weak individuals, elders, children and women that are unable to maintain their lives due to their responsibility of caring for their children. She criticizes traditional extended family for seeing the woman as an unconditional and "nameless" worker of the household labor, and nuclear family for building a passive woman model that reflects the consumption codes of the modern society. Extended family has a structure where the elders of the family are included to the family, and thus those that are weak in terms of modern values are not alienated. Explaining her criticisms concerning family with the words "...my criticism is not directed towards the essence of the family institution, what I criticize is the forms of family that gets corrupted by life and power" (Aktaş, 2011a: 289), Aktaş sees family, which she discusses in terms of quality, generally valuable and necessary. Family is in fact the sanctuary of individuals, the institution where the society gives birth to itself. Due to this reason, existence of family is indispensable. Living together in a family brings in the ability to coexist in harmony as different individuals.

Woman and man have an -not absolute but- unconditional importance at the point of building their relative existences. This is an identity created without disappearing in the existence of the other and without deepening solely on one's own existence. It is a perspective in contrast with the understanding that restricts woman's role with domestic roles or seeks liberation in the public area by rejecting gender features. Characteristics such as naiveness, sensitivity, emotionality and pacifism are attributed to woman that has a creation with a high sensitivity of feelings. However, the fact that with the instinct to protect the being she has given birth to woman is capable of creating quite serious fights should be added to this notion that is particularly formed in relation to motherhood (Aktaş, 2011a: 290). In other words, it should not be overlooked that man and woman get a different experience of existence by being together, and that from this aspect family is an institution at the

point of self-discovery for individuals. By taking into consideration the importance the family has both for the individual and the society, all opinions and lifestyles in the modern process that harm woman's discovery of herself and her environment need to be questioned.

According to Aktaş, as in the case of traditional family, the unity of family also in the modern society is being considered as an institution based on the self-sacrifice of the woman. Islamic women that are excluded from the public area of the modern society have made marriages that resemble "ideological pacts". With the acceptance that a happy, peaceful and robust family life is a successful step, many of these can be characterized as unsuccessful marriages. However, the Islamic youngsters of today have tendencies different than that of the Islamic individuals that are now considered middle-aged. Mentioning particularly the teenagers that are influenced by the experiences of the previous generation, Aktaş states that now marriage is evaluated with a totally different way of thinking (Aktaş, 2012a).

The ever increasing age of marriage also affects Muslim societies. The handicaps of the marriage institution based on traditional codes and its aspects that contradict with modernity support this impact. It is observed that young individuals that move in line with their career objectives and therefore postpone marriage are having difficulty in starting a family. In the traditional society where marriage at early ages is predominant, it is easier for spouses to harmonize with each other. In the opposite case, on the other hand, with their now-rooted characters and all-planned lives, people have difficulty in living together (Aktaş, 2012a).

In traditional marriages, spouses', who have lived together for long years until their adulthood, gravitation towards separate lives means detachment and lessening. Because, they had succeeded in establishing their existence together with each other's existences. In modern societies however, as the individuals avoid marriage until they "realize themselves", marriage stands for separate subjects living under the same roof. Individuals' concerns on planning their lives coupled with the days that go by with the effect of the constant and rapid change of the modern society bring along problematic results. In contrary to the individuals in the traditional structure that face

incidents with a submissive attitude, in modern society individuals try to control everything and act cautiously. However, growing expectations and acting cautiously do not always have the expected positive results. Aktaş explains the expectation of young individuals in the modern society, concerning the person they will marry as follows:

The coy and spoiled young ladies of today expects their future husbands to be protective and authoritative (in the meaning of surrounding) as their fathers, and also to have flexible personalities that would provide them with freedom and support. Young men, on the other hand, imagine the women they will marry to be -maybe not as much as their mothers but still- religious and having control on the responsibilities of the household, and also to be in public activity, productivity and stance as modern women... As for the search of perfection, it is mostly the convenient excuse for the fear of ruining the comfort of living as a single person... (Aktaş, 2012a).

The sociology of the new generation that tries to create a world of values between traditions and modernity is highly complex. Although the embodiment of all these changes by post-modern approaches seems point at freedom, in practice it has its handicaps. In contrary to the human within the traditional culture, who can maintain its life with the limited information it has, the modern human suffers from confusion and uncertainty despite the extensive knowledge it has. Endeavoring with the goal of achieving a perfect life, individuals get even more exhausted because they chose to be alone in this process. Aktaş states that when thinking of marriage, people dream of a life that would also make them forget the tiring memories of the past (2012a).

Aktaş uses the expression “naive children of the nuclear family” for describing the young individuals who are not similar to their parents and avoid being similar with their parents. The order of the nuclear family that in a sense runs on the axis of the child has given rise to a fragile, hesitant and introverted generation that has narcissist tendencies. The social norms and habits the author defines as "mass values" substantially affect human life. "In no period of the history so much was talked on human being itself, and the obstacles preventing human from being itself

have never been this intense” (Barbarosoğlu, 2011: 189). Their inner worlds that they cannot externalize due to the state of being restricted get ever deeper and restrain them in their own worlds. It seems like it is the families responsible of the state of youngsters who build emotional worlds that have weak or no connection with the reality. The author explains that these youngsters, who -according to her- are weak, selective, day dreamer and not fond of working, view the world from behind a virtual reality (Aktaş, 2008a).

It is observed that in societies where the domestic space suppresses woman's productivity and restricts her social participation, motherhood receives more value than normally accepted. With the emergence of the modern nation states, raising the ideal citizens has gained significant importance. The new, modern mother archetype is the woman having command of the advanced technological and medical innovations of the modern age. The “new mother” that is valued for the construction of nations is also found in the Turkish modernization. With psychology and pedagogy addressing childhood as a period of human life in need of supervision, mother's responsibility has increased further. With the acceptance that the relationship between the mother and the child is the most fundamental condition in raising children, women started to spend more time and energy on upbringing their children. Nazife Şişman points at the unhealthiness of this situation. She sees the motherhood of the late modern period in a position rolling and swaying between self-sacrifice, compassion and pathological obsession (Şişman, 2011b: 58). It can be seen that Şişman expresses opinions supporting the criticisms of Aktaş. She states that child-oriented families and the new motherhood suppressing women did not exist a couple of centuries ago. Families have fewer children in comparison to past times. It is attention grabbing that women have more facilitating means for raising children. The economic, political and social structure that suppresses women's productive aspects and the way motherhood is defined creates a problematic identity. There is an imaginary depth closely related with the market balances and that has already lost its real meaning both for the mother and the child. Behind the curtain of self-sacrifice, compassion and affection lay ambition and deprivation of spiritual values.

This definition of motherhood that brings along negative results for women is also problematic in terms of the development of children. Being elevated to the position of “the goal of families”, children become the extension of their parents' lives. There is youth that is exhausted and consumed while desiring to achieve the success criteria of the modern world and complete their inner journey. This identity that forms before they get to meet life is not a process that brings in experience for the struggle to exist. Generations that cannot start acting from thinking and planning too much, that are not allowed to act are being formed. On the other hand, the impossibility of planning life is being concealed with personal development campaigns.

Islamic women criticize the distance between family members. They believe that strong family relations, as one of the primary features of the family, are weakened in our period. The point whether or not the father is an ideal father is connected on the extent at which he meets the consumption needs of the family. The essentialness of clean or -in Islamic terms- “halal” income is being ignored. The ideal father is being built as the person who provides family members the means to consume. It is observed that what is human and moral contradicts with, and even falls into decline against the success criteria of the modern society. Stating that family ties are lost and individuality has risen, Fatma Barbarosoğlu explains this by setting forth the example of the second and even third televisions in households. "Family members cannot even come to a joint decision to watch a single show. A television per head in the house. Because every individual in the family takes its own ego as the center. What supports this is the modern education understanding. With the modern understanding of education, experiences are belittled” (Barbarosoğlu, 2010: 193).

Yıldız Ramazanoğlu views the youth as the source of hope and future. She describes the youth as "the heart of the Islam civilization” (Yıldız Ramazanoğlu ile Röportaj: Yıldız Ramazanoğlu İle Medeniyetten Bahsettik, n.d.). According to her, this is the reason of the value attributed to children and youngsters in the Islamic culture. It is the young individuals that will prevent humanity from fade away. She

invites the youth to be idealist, determined, hard working and patient. Examining the relationship the youngsters, who try to get a hold on to life, form with their families, in her stories the author (Ramazanoğlu, 2006) has given place to the state of youngsters that get lonely in their own worlds, which their families cannot understand. According to Aktaş, the awareness and sensitivity of the youth is the security of human kind. The questioning attitude of the youth is an indicator of their good intention. "The happiness that the modern society had us memorize is formed with isolations requiring being selfish" (Aktaş, 2013b). The fact that the family is a structure that provides shelter from the negative influences of the modern society is highly important for building the future.

3.2. Ideal Family Model According to Women Authors

Marriage is among the topics Islamic women view differently than Western women. Seen as one of the instruments of domination of men particularly in the feminist approach, marriage is accepted as a problematic institution. Islamic intellectual women's consideration on gender equality depends on inherent characteristics. They do not search for mental and moral superiority or inferiority in terms of gender. They consider man and woman being different than each other and undertaking material and moral responsibilities within a balance appropriate.

However, according to the feminist approach this supports the setup of patriarchy that sees woman as the supplementary element and the "other". It is observed that particularly the institution of family is exposed to these criticisms. In western-origin studies indicate that the women that can stand against the male domination in the public area are oppressed in the private area. It is asserted that women reject the institution of marriage in order to avoid male domination of husbands or other males in the family (Hooks, 2012: 98). Underlining the lack of equality in terms of sexual rights, feminist women consider that women are also oppressed in terms of domestic responsibilities. The topics of child care and the self-construction of woman's identity subsist as problematic issues that support these.

While ideologies and the modern process criticize traditional and religious lifestyles, it is observed that they try to establish systems that can constitute alternatives to these. Having emerged as the extension of medieval Christianity, modernity is a process that brings along mercantilism and capitalism. There are Islamist intellectuals that consider feminism to be a value that rises in line with the needs of the capitalist system throughout this historic process (Tekin, 2011: 211). In this way cheap labor is ensured and the people that do not participate in the production chain are directed towards the needs of the industry and the society.

The idea stating that the approaches criticizing woman's status in the house and her role in the institution of marriage will provide women with prosperity and freedom is inconsistent. Due to this, while criticizing the approaches of Islamic intellectual women on family and man-woman relationships, also those that are offered as alternatives need to be scrutinized.

Most of the religions on the face of the Earth attach importance to family. The fact that family establishes social order is one of the reasons why religions support family. In addition, family is among the elements that ensure the existence and propagation of religion (Tekin, 2011: 282). It is not possible to assert that family is an absolute institution. Nor is it possible to consider that a religious incline will necessarily take place within the institution of family. However, it is observed that family undertakes roles that coincide with the purposes of religion. Religion provides individuals with the capability of self-control. The self-control brought in to the individual also ensures harmony in relationships with the family, close circles and the society. It is asserted that the existence of human is based on understanding and discovering itself and the world. In such a quest for discovery, it is observed that there is no in-depth distinction made between the earthly life and the eternal life.

Accordingly, the human's process of learning and understanding the earthly life also includes religious enlightenment. The lifestyle stipulated by religions for the continuity of humankind requires loyalty to what has been given. Radically reforming gender roles, marriage, childbearing and raising children does not seem to be possible with this point of view. It is known that religions embody rules

concerning the family life. In Islamic belief particular praise is given to marriage and raising faithful children. On the other hand, the Catholic belief among the Christian sects disallows divorce. Family is an institution that connects individuals and fulfills their needs by means of human qualities such as love, respect and loyalty. To give the simplest example, the biological and mental development of humans is completed in long years. In comparison with the other livings in the nature, human is the being that needs its parents for the longest period of time. What we speak of here is to gain self-knowledge, fulfill the needs of nourishment and accommodation and having the skills to maintain one's existence alone. In addition to this, with the consideration of the fact that human is a conscious being different than all other livings in the nature, this process may last for several decades. Continuity of humankind depends on the upbringing of new generations that complete this process. And the essentiality of the endeavor of both mother and father for the sustainment of such a process is quite obvious.

With the consideration of the fact that the social facilities offered by the state bind people to a mechanical system and that family involves privacy within the private area, no institution that may be an alternative to family can be thought of. In Turkey, the works for protecting and upbringing the children that were either abandoned by their families or not raised in healthy conditions, continue with the establishment of foster homes resembling families. With the recent regulation made in Turkey in line with population policies, a separation was made between the government and civil organizations. The topic has also caused ideological divergences between the sections of the society of different opinions. Undertaking the responsibility of raising -yet to be born- children, whose mothers do not want to give birth to, the state has brought the topic of restricting the freedom of abortion to the agenda. The whole of the dispute is a quite tangled topic. Therefore we will not be discussing this topic here in depth, yet it serves as an enlightening example within the frame of state and family. The body of rules set forth in line with masculine discourses addresses woman and child as mechanical objects (Aktaş, 2012b). It is stated that the existence of individual is important for the state and that this will be ensured "without the need of family". The discourse stating that "religions stipulate

family, while utopias stipulate communal living” (Tekin, 2011: 248), is acknowledged to be true. While it does not seem possible for religions to establish bodies of rules by ignoring the human factor, both political structure and ideological demands involve power of sanction for this.

It is observed that the ideologies based on alienating human from the family have problematic aspects. With the industrial revolution, family members became distant to each other. However, the struggle the families involved in agriculture and stockbreeding in rural areas set forth for earning their livings have evolved into a different direction. The time the man, who is alienated from the private area and therefore from the other family members, is to spend in the family, is stipulated strictly. A lifestyle where children's distance from the house due to education, and women's consumption-oriented living is supported has emerged. The collectively experienced daily life has weakened with the transition to the industrial society. In traditional society, family members share common time and common space (Barbarosoğlu, 2013). In industrial societies, on the other hand, individuals that have different lives under the same roof become lonely and grow distant than each other.

Within the scope of social roles and relationships, the concepts of obeying and accommodating to are frequently confused. The citizen accommodating to rules, the soldier obeying to orders and the individual submitting to the hierarchy based on social norms are praised. Unconditional obedience is also coincided with “submission” in line with the religious point of view. Therefore, it is accepted to be a positive attitude. Cihan Aktaş states that religion encourages being rational. She explains with examples that political and martial relationships are based on obedience. The author states that, in the family it is the woman that is expected to obey her husband. She believes that woman is directed by the use of carrot and stick. Aktaş mentions this way of relation that resembles military hierarchy as follows: "The factor that will bring peace to the family may be possible through such absolute obedience, only according to the conservative/new traditional philosophers!" (20 October 2010). From this, it is evident that the author does not accept the obedience culture. She prefers care-based relation to the bonds that are established through

obedience. "Trying to be yourself starts by rejecting borrowed thoughts and beliefs" (Aktaş, n.d.). An individuality that is different than the individualist approach, which locks people to their own worlds, is underlined. We have mentioned in the previous chapters that Islamic intellectual women accept that individuals have responsibility towards the society. However, it is not considered right for one to dominate the other and causing the weak to lose its personality. Also domestic relations are considered from this frame. All relations and institutions are closely related with the state of the individual. Accordingly, "a decent and consistent individual means a possibility for a consistent family" (Aktaş, n.d.). The pronoun I based on the western philosophy and the individuality the authors explain in line with Islamic reference are different. An individuality in which everyone, like a shepherd, is responsible of its own herd is being talked of. Within the context of family and society, the individual has to be aware of this responsibility. Man and woman knowing and controlling themselves, and establishing a humanistic and functional relation should include this sense of responsibility.

It is observed that family renews itself in a cyclical manner (Aktaş, n.d.). Woman and man reinterpret modern life. Workingwoman redefines her role as a mother and the time she will devote to her children. As for the family elders detached and grew distant to the nuclear family, they undertake a role as helpers in childcare. As an extension of nuclear family, single child and single parent type of families spread rapidly in modern societies. Also with the effect of high divorce rates, three generations living in the same house exhibit the transforming and flexible structure of family and also bring into mind the fact that presence of family is a part of human life. As an assuring institution, family sustains its existence despite all changes (Aktaş, n.d.). Family is an institution where individuals learn about the responsibility they have to each other and towards the society. It loses its depth when considered in line with the interests of woman or man. Although what makes the institution a family is not agreed to be unconditional self-sacrifice, the place of human values and virtue is significant. Necessity of family has been discussed by approaching the matter in line with the balance of interests. However, it can be seen that the ideologies discussing the existence of human one dimensionally cause human to be

pragmatic. A point of view that contradicts with the nature of relationships and marriage emerges. "The balance of the relationships between two genders cannot be always explained through logic; because love is a passionate feeling experienced usually at the expense of suffering of women due to reasons connected to social acceptances and economic starts" (Aktaş, 2013a). It can be observed that enlightened women consider marriage as an institution that legitimizes experiencing love.

Ali Şeriati describes individuals that postpone marriage, seek pleasure and live their lives as per their individual interests as miserable. He points at a particular aspect of the feelings, which individuals get to know and consume in their early teen hood that shatters the meaning of marriage. The awakening provided to the woman by her loneliness, man's passions that disappear in time and his subsequent concerns of career or fame bring two genders closer to each other. In other words, marriage requires people living such life to consume everything first. In consequence, marriages resembling a mutual agreement, remote from excitement and sensuality occur, but usually cannot last for long. Even if such marriages do not result in separation, spouses maintain the married life by turning into their own shells and professional lives (Şeriati, 2012: 97-100). Family life should be built on a platform of unity that does not wear down individuals' feelings of compassion, trust and loyalty.

The responsibilities of living a married life and relations without getting married are not the same. The opinions of Islamic intellectuals concerning all individuals being responsible of each other and living in parallel with the values of virtue, morality and reason coincide with Şeriati's criticisms. In addition to the fact that it is considered negatively as a lifestyle remote from values and faith, the way it builds individuals alone and not supporting each other is disapproved. Cihan Aktaş describes the ideal family as follows:

Family is praise-worthy to the extent that it succeeds in being an institution that teaches its members to do good deeds simply for the sake of goodness, to be able to think others before self and to share. It is for this reason that family relations can be constructive only through a process of face to face and mutual acquaintance by actually seeing and

getting to know each other, not through relations where spouses pressurize each other and where the weak is dissolved under the oppression of the strong (Aktaş, n.d.).

Islamic intellectuals' characteristic definition of family and opinions concerning the social order are overshadowed by the traditional patriarchal discourse. Islam's regulations and guidance concerning family and woman are considered to be more dominant than the rules applying to man. In other words, traditional lifestyle and the traditionalist Islamists consider the family as an abstract area borne, regularized and maintained by the woman. The self-sacrifice and emotion-reason balance of woman, and the way she devotedly utilizes these for her family are being mentioned as the sole element that makes a family. The responsibilities man to undertake in terms of the existence and protection of the family are not stressed as much as the tasks stipulated through woman. Nevertheless, as long as the family -weighed on the shoulders of woman- succeeds and its unity continues, it is acknowledged as the success of man. In other words, the efforts of woman are served to the man. Islam's teachings concerning the importance of woman in family, caused woman to be perceived as the absolute responsible in family affairs. The facts that the distribution of roles in the family is not set forth with strict rules, that woman can work just as man and therefore that man can support the tasks at home considered to be woman's are being overlooked. The acclamations directed to the woman and the expressions stressing the importance of her role in the family give rise to opinions that the Islamic belief limits woman with her role within the family (İlyasoğlu, 1998: 53). Viewing Muslim family as the reconstruction of the traditional Arab family in line with the moral boundaries of Islam, the feminist criticism defines Islamic family type in authoritative, patriarchal, polygamous, patrilineal and patrilokal characteristics. It is viewed as a structure that pushes woman to secondary position (Berktaş, 2012: 110-111). Although the family-related opinions of Islamic intellectual women support the discourses of feminist criticisms against the structure-pushing woman to the secondary position, it also points out to a new Islamic family order. It is argued that man can undertake domestic responsibilities as much as woman, that woman can prefer to work and also

undertake a productive role in the house. It is stated that the elders, who grow distant to the family in modern society, can be and should be integrated to the nuclear family order. While the existence of family is seriously questioned from the feminist Western frame, same-sex marriages and the possibility to adopt or bare child as an individual, without the husband, is supported. Continuous and regular relationship patterns that may be considered as different forms of family are being generated. The cases of surrogate motherhood and sperm banks that start to spread in various regions of the Earth, in a manner that can be construed as trying to prove that solidity of individual is not the end of humankind, point out to a pursuit, the permanence and success of which is unknown. As a matter of fact, by means of modern technologies woman succeeded in monopolizing motherhood and chose as form of family where she shares her child with no father and where she is dominated by no one. Whether or not the life of the modern individual, who does not make an effort for anyone and who acts in line with her own existence and plans, is easy, functional or happy is a subjective status. Against all these processes, it is seen that Islamic enlightened women favor an “equity” based distribution of roles and participative social relations rather than lonely individuals planning everything for themselves.

3.3. Responsibility Towards Children and Their Education According to Women Authors

The topic of education constitutes one of the controversies that have been discussed in the Islamic circles for long years on the axis of the headscarf ban in Turkey. The young generation that considers the right to participate in national education on the basis of human rights has been trying to find the ways to attend educational institutions with the freedom of dress. Female children's participation in education is accepted as a criterion indicating the development level of the country. However, the citizenship definition has caused social detachments and prevented the whole of the public to participate in national education. Families' inability or failure to have their children and particularly female children attend educational institutions due to cultural and socio-economic reasons is addressed within the scope of social

development projects, and acknowledged as a case that needs to be rectified by non-governmental organizations. However, the topic of education in Turkey, the population of which is quite young, is yet to be discussed within the scope of social policies.

Today, it is witnessed that intergenerational sharing is lost in line with the process of social change, young individuals and children are more knowledgeable on modern society than their families, domestic hierarchy has changed form and even authority for every family member appears as an external force. Examining the characteristics of families, educational institutions, educationists and all forms of communication that renders children and young individuals receivers would be a necessary step of development in terms of getting to know the Turkish society.

We know that Islamic women authors appear in national and international platforms as Muslim women defending the right to wear headscarves. It was mentioned in previous chapters that they attach high importance on education and that they see learning Islamic information from primary sources and attending educational institutions as a right and essentiality. In contrast to traditional approaches, Islamist movement has opened the door for women's education. It is observed that Islamic intellectual women approve and support this change (İslamcılık Kadın ve Erkeği Nasıl Görür? Yıldız Ramazanoğlu / Cihan Aktaş, n.d.). They assert that education is the right of everyone regardless of their gender, and that it should be provided to citizens on the basis of an egalitarian policy without discriminating religion, language and race. Also the rights of citizens that are exposed to ethnic discrimination on the face of the standardizing policies of the government to build the ideal citizen, are being defended (Aktaş, 2011a: 312-315).

Means of education need to be evaluated for allowing individuals to sustain their own lives. In addition to the idea that working life is not equal to productivity, keeping up with the conditions of the modern society is the obligation of individuals (2011a, 344-354). In the lines where Arent questions the significance of labor, it is stated that the laborers in the public area meet in the common ground of "providing for crucial obligations in abundance". It is pointed out that human's labor is

motivated for this purpose (Arent, 2012: 193). It would be wrong for education to lose its focus in time and serve solely for this purpose. It is risky to motivate young individuals, who receive education to be able to earn their lives, in line with the monetary equivalent of education. In the modern world, "... we can define the duty of school to provide a symbolic capital to students via graduation certificate. Later, students convert this symbolic capital into money by entering into the network of economic and administrative institutions" (Meriç, 2012: 214). Whether or not the time spent in education is lost for nothing is determined by the conditions the youngsters face when they meet the real life. National education includes the goal of providing individuals with occupation. However, there are two primary problems that occur in modern society. Firstly, considering the cultural and economic differences, it would not correct to consider a standard education as egalitarian. Financial means enable families to have their children receive a higher quality education and therefore create a process of unfair competition.

On the other hand, considering that every child / young individual have different mental capabilities, it is clear that those that fail to adapt to mass education will lose. In a system where the institutions of higher education are particularly preferred according to the economic means, and where success and competency is measured through this, those that are different will be alienated and described as inadequate. Secondly, weakening of the bonds between children and their parents due to social processes constitutes problems in terms of development of new generations. It is the family's responsibility to support the education provided by official institutions, with in-family education. In addition, families should be the primary element that provides the education of children. In the case that families fall short in fulfilling this responsibility, children will show a higher adaption to secondary sources, namely circle of friends, popular culture and religious groups. The means of education presented to the whole of the public and that provide individuals with the skills necessary to earn their own living are also important.

However, the children of the modern age, which have much more sources than there had been available in the pre-modern societies, experience difficulty in

choosing. Young generation has difficulty in acknowledging and absorbing social rules, beliefs and the body of values of the society.

Youngsters are expected to be the leaders of change and innovation. However, the violent protests and ideological disputes in the late history of Turkey cause the society to view youth movements as dangerous events. It is the society's expectation from the youth to undertake the roles attributed to it, to comply with the determined social norms and to develop in harmony with the system regulated by the state. Aktaş invites the youth to share their rightful questions in the right ways. An effect that would trigger mental transformation in the society can only be achieved in this way (Aktaş, 2011a: 273). Aktaş also states that expecting the youth to act as adults are pointless and that it would make life monotonous (2011a: 271). Cihan Aktaş stresses that we do not know the youth and that we cannot answer their questions in line with modern paradigms. Islamic circles that evaluate the modern world with their criticisms on modernity become inadequate and desperate when it is necessary to guide the youth (Aktaş, 2013a).

In his articles on civilization, Cemil Meriç describes the mission that the ruler minority needs to have. Change is essential for the existence of civilization and therefore the ruler minority needs to be farsighted. The insightful ruler sect having influence and that is capable to monitor the change of the public and to respond to the emerging questions and problems indicates to the continuity of civilization. Development of civilizations is based on an existence issue beyond political progress and technological breakthroughs. Development of civilizations is considered as the increase of self-determination and self-articulation, immaterialization of social values and simplification of equipments and techniques (Meriç, 1996: 112). It is expressed that bloody conflicts and dissidences are typically not present in strong and advancing civilizations. There is a bond between the ruler sect and the public that is based on harmony, truth and consent. A structure beyond the strategies carried out by governments to dominate individuals is required. The ruler identity based on the superior qualities of being leader is emphasized. Accordingly, social development policies should have a flexibility that involves all differences and

allows means of change. Setting forth education as a means to “create the desired citizen” and evolving the principle of unity and solidarity into security for the hierarchy between those who rule and those who are ruled contradict with the development principles of civilizations.

The intensity of the young population renders educational policies even more important. Ümit Meriç sees it necessary to evaluate the definition of the youth concept as a social category (2012: 207). She bases the concept of youth of western sociology with the start of mass education in the 19th century. The author mentions the existence of the category of youth also before industrialization (Meriç, 2012: 208-209), however in the modern world; the youth is being limited with the duration of education.

The concepts of education and teaching have different meanings. "Education is to raise and develop individuals by considering all their present skills and tendencies. Teaching on the other hand is to obtain information, keep it in mind and to recall when necessary. ...Teaching is the name of the exercises made solely to develop mental skills" (Meriç, 2012: 210-211). Education and teaching should be complementary and should support each other.

As determined with the 1990 census, 26 million of the total 56.5 million population of Turkey consists of the youth under 20 years of age. The researches made in the same year set forth the number of university graduates as 1,5 million (Özdalga, 2007: 117). Considering the dense young population of the country, it can be better understood why Cemil Meriç wants to draw attention to the topic of youth. Acknowledging the youth and addressing it independently from the dominant social policies is based on this necessity. The fact that the topic of basic education is left in between political conflicts and the subjective reflections of ideological disputes on the educational life constitute a situation that may be problematic for Turkey. The conflict between Islamist groups and the Kemalist structure has taken its place among the problems of the youth in the pages of recent history (2007: 170).

Among the many things modern societies include in the market, also education has taken its place. As long as the basic educational process, which runs in the form of controlling the population and masses and designating a life purpose and direction, is not united with teaching, the period of youngness turns into lost years in individuals' lives. Furthermore, the fact that families consider national education as the sole basis for child development also supports this situation.

An occupation that brings a lower level of income does not receive praise in the society and within the family institution. Because, for an individual the state of being well education and the effectiveness of the time the individual spent for education are being attributed with the social identity of that individual. For example, it is likely for the choice of a youngster, who prefers being a farmer rather than a medical doctor, to be scrutinized by its family and social circle in a way violating its freedom of choice. It is observed that families aspire to have the "perfect child" without even considering the metaphysical and ethereal dimension of raising children. There are cases where the efforts of parents having both financial and moral means start even before the birth of the child, for securing the education of the child. The eugenic applications criticized by Nazife Şişman are another form of -or even beyond- families interfering with the education and success of their children. With the possibilities provided by genetic technologies, the educational strategies to be formed after the birth of children now also include the pre-birth period. With her expressions that question the effect of parents within the scope of the freedom of the child as an individual, Şişman emphasizes on the importance of being or raising the "absolute human" instead of the concern for "having the perfect child" (2011a: 117-124).

In modern societies, national education trains and looks after students up to the age where they will gain competence in the tasks considered by the society to be those of adults, and from which they can independently maintain their existence, yet at the same time it isolates them due to their appointment as a specific part of life separated from the society in line with their biological ages. At the end of this process, which also includes childhood, it is expected that individuals will transform

from being the passive elements of the society to active position. The activeness mentioned here means the capacity of an individual to make decisions concerning its own life. In pre-modern societies, there is a social process where the daily life, collectively lived by family members, was not divided to different parts and units. In geographies that are not industrialized yet, or in rural areas this situation still maintains its existence and childhood and teen hood is left to their natural process without being limited with definitions. As per the distribution of roles in industrialized societies, the father is occupied with his job during the times he spends away from the family, and the mother engages in domestic responsibilities if she's not working, or if working spends her time in the public area, away from the other members of the family. Within this structure, children of the industrialized societies on the other hand spend their years until adulthood in formal educational institutions. It is observed that, education is being transformed into a form of service offered to children with a mechanical functioning.

3.4. Description of Ideal Society and Social Structure as Written by Women Authors

There are researchers examining through different studies the effects of ideological and political detachments that separate the social base. Also the way of urbanization affecting social life in the recent years has a different impact on the public. Stabilized housing estates are creating their own residents. While deciding on their living areas, people consider the world view of the residents in the area as much as they consider economic criteria. This situation that rises as the barrier in front of social integration is based on the negative incidents left on the social memory by political polarization. The imposing aspect of the architectural structures that are offered as a “ready-made lifestyle” should not be overlooked. This situation that sustains its existence in today's society as a body of unwritten and unuttered rules constitutes one of the pieces the individual stands against for its own existence. With the effects of the political split between the years 1970 and 1980, this form of polarization which resembles districts and regions under the control of a certain

group is quite problematic. The human selectivity of cities are guarded and strengthened by the current system and social acceptances, as if they have souls without the human factor. While inviting their own “noble” residents, essentially an “other” is created through the same criteria.

Although we will not discuss it comprehensively, since doing so would bring our study to a different area, the connection between the city and human is very important. Today, there are controversies within the scope of “urban transformation”. However, even if not due to the effect of urban transformation, in Turkey where the process of urbanization continues, people are affected from the boundaries of their living spaces. The appropriated areas of the modern society impose different identities to people in order to let them feel they belong to somewhere or simply to accommodate. It is observed that these settlement areas inspire confidence in people. Strangers of the appropriated areas are seen as threats and therefore not accepted (Özvarış, 2013). This form of socialization that points out to the strength of class discrimination and ideological separations, will sustain its existence as long as it satisfies people and is approved by them. Indicating that the public area is equipped with a control beyond the domination of the political authority, contradicts with the concept of social harmony. While the political and the sociological content of the public area is argued, it is observed that its physical structure is separated from this content. However, the way sites affect socialization remains as a topic that needs to be evaluated within the scope of studies on cities and humans.

Forms of urbanization that separates the society into different layers and sections make it difficult to establish the ideal society. On the other hand, forms of socialization that ignore some of the factors that constitute the whole of the society should also be reviewed. Streets, parks and gardens fall short in fulfilling people's demands for public areas. Mentioning that there is a decreasing -yet still existent- state of alienation in terms of public area, Aktaş states that the secular society offers a partial possibility for socialization to the religious Muslim woman (Aktaş, 2013c). She believes that the public areas such as parks and beaches where men and women are together and the means of public transportation offered for common use, do not

serve particularly to Islamic women and generally to women as they should. She states that conservative women have not preferred to enter the public area unless they had to. They have seen this as a choice for living their lives in line with Islam. However, this constitutes an obstacle in front of socialization. The Islamic sect that turned in on itself with concerns of corruption and degeneration has set off its own process of isolation. In addition, the discriminatory attitude shown by the sect acting through Kemalist, secular and modern motives has also strengthened this isolation. It gives cause to arguments on the interrelations and nature of topics such as religion, society, ideology, politics and economy.

A transition from the structure where the social order stipulated by religion was predominant, to the society where the political power and social actors give shape to the religious area was witnessed in Turkey. Today, it is seen in Turkey that religion is accepted as a phenomenon that separates individuals and divides the society into segments. The fact that religion may cause social detachments can be seen in many historical instances. However it is a more expected case for religion to guide independent elements in thinking and acting synchronously and therefore in establishing harmony by offering an integrity of thoughts, beliefs and values. In addition, the fact that all universal religions include orders suggesting peace and harmony guides socialization to be built on a peaceful basis. It would not be wrong to state that in the modern period the relationship between religion and society has evolved into a problematic dimension. Because it is witnessed that a perception that universal religions are seen to be contradicting with the internal dynamics of societies is created and the secular world strengthens this perception by keeping its distance with religion. The acceptance that religion should be limited with the conscience of individuals, which contradicts with the very nature of religion, tires both the faithful individuals and the authority groups that commit themselves into controlling this. "Social studies conducted with religious themes show that there is no problem in terms of living a religious life at individual level in Turkey, but within the faith-society relation, the effectiveness of religion on the society is ignored" (Tekin, 2004: 119). However, "no religion can remain as a subjective experience solely living in individuals. On the contrary, religions become objective by

transforming into a concrete form or attitude. In this way, religion and society start to interact mutually” (Ünver et. al., 2012: 46). The effect of religion concerning the processes of social change can be viewed in three ways. It is possible to speak of religion as a factor that prevents social change, as a factor that enables and supports change and as a factor that is affected from the process of social change. In cases where religion is misunderstood due to the conservative elements it includes, it constitutes an obstacle in front of the innovative movement. As it can constitute a conservative effect, religion can also lead societies to the process of change, by means of its capability to spread to all parts of the society through the philosophy and practices it offers. In addition to these, it was also observed that social change can significantly influence religion (Ünver et. al., 2012: 386). Proximity of the Islamic intellectual women, the opinions of whom we asked within the scope of the study, to religion is known. Their critical approaches to the ways that religion is reflected upon the society or to the practices attributed with religion, do not cause them to conceive social order on an ideological platform that is independent from religion. They openly state that Islam is reflected upon their ideas as a fundamental and guiding factor. Gaining effect on the social dimension is an inevitable process of religion. By its nature, religion introduces rules that regulate individuals and accordingly the society, and it improves the ongoing habits with its own integrity of values. "We can state that religion takes root in individuals that are inherently capable of living, experiencing it, and after a while it goes beyond individuals, takes an interpersonal characteristic and determines the way universe is viewed” (Tekin, 2004: 118). It is observed that the modernist approach builds the principles of equality and freedom without mentioning religious disciplines and in an integrity independent from the religion as much as possible. Modernist intellectuals set forth the dogmatic aspect of religion that contradicts with the concept of freedom, and also view the downfall of societies due to the effect of corrupted religion.

The facts that Islam was descended to a tribal society and that it offers values that binds tribes (Mardin, 2008: 66) are worth consideration. By its essence, Islam exhibited a reformist spread instead of a radical change. In modern societies where religion has no political claim, it continues its existence as an element guiding the

uncertainties of the private area. By generating rationalist, positivist and liberal values, the western modernism achieved a heterogeneous and pluralistic social structure. Turkish modernism, on the other hand, is based on the principle of nationalism, and is a civilization project that does not include the values of pluralism and differentiation. Turkish nationalism rejects the values out of its control. The understanding of local Islam is among such values (Göle, 2011: 171). The fact that modernization in Turkey includes these policies carries the topics of modern society and religion on a paradoxical ground. Perception of religious individuals' civil right demands as “reactionism” and the consequent reactions (Aktaş, 2013c), exhibits this aspect of Turkish modernization. During the establishment of the Republic, the modernization movement was planned as a method for advancement. Accordingly, secularism was accepted as one of the principles that serve to that purpose. Prevalence of positive sciences gained strength. Secularization is the natural extension of rationalization which renders human life mechanical and controllable, or in other words that makes human manageable” (Ünver et al., 2012: 411). In secularized societies, institutions and individuals are ascended to a position that affects religion. In other words, religion becomes the receiver of the social process. The insistence of Turkish modernization in estranging individuals to Islam harbors this very truth. As we have mentioned that the lack of knowledge on religion can emerge as a factor that prevents social change, there have been also cases where conservative reflexes were exhibited within Islamist groups. Nevertheless, evaluating religion with the secular moral motive further increases disintegration. Islamic intellectual women, on the other hand, criticize the exclusion of religious values from the fundamental dynamics of the society, and suggest to solve ongoing social problems through the reference of faith. Instead of a differentiating and separating religion perception, they have a pluralistic perspective. It is observed that Islamic women emphasize on the social concerns of different groups through their own experiences and support their claims for rights within the context of human rights (Ramazanoğlu, 2012b: 46).

Yıldız Ramazanoğlu suggests that ideological innovation is necessary in order to end the violation of rights in the society. She finds inequity in the Turkish

society, the majority of which she believes to be Muslim, even graver. As she includes in her statements, as a Muslim individual she is displeased with the majority of individuals that lack the senses of equity and justice. She believes that such senses can be gained through a demanding process. She states that the responsibility of leading individuals is heavier. Particularly the leading Muslim individuals in the society need to be aware of this responsibility. However, the author underlines the fact that there are individuals that have no interest in Islam, yet have the senses of compassion and equity, which many Islamic individual lack. In terms of humanistic values, she considers superiority out of the religiousness of individuals. On the other hand, the lack of such qualities in religious individuals is a paradoxical situation. The author states that she wrote her ideological articles for the purpose of fulfilling her own social responsibility. Excluding her literary works from this purpose, the author asserts that each individual needs to be aware of its own social sanction capacity. She further states that the awareness between corruption and change needs to be acquired and thus a right line for advancement can be achieved. If the resistances in the Islamic sect due to the concerns of corruption and degeneration are not based on an actual ground, they cause lack of trust towards faith (Ramazanoğlu, 2013). Causing loss of values, this situation will also harm the relationships different social groups establish on the bases of logic and equity. The author states that individuals need to acquire a sense of responsibility for the whole of the society.

Referring to the study of Andree Michel that affirms the status of Muslim women (Michel et al.), Cihan Aktaş attributes the worsening status of women in the Islam world to the effect of the West. The way western societies see woman as the source of disturbance and malice due to their religious cultures, was also reflected to oriental cultures in time. This interaction that started with the 10th and 12th centuries is a factor that negatively affects the status of Muslim women. Women that worked in significant institutions of higher education before this period in the East are known. It is expressed that women undertook any role they wish without being exposed to any restriction. Therefore, connecting class discrimination with the lack of values of a civilization would not be wrong. The most correct approach in evaluating discrimination in any given society is to seek its roots in lack of

knowledge. "The deterioration in the perspective concerning women is a manifestation of the general mental deterioration, if not its forerunner" (Aktaş, 2011b).

The attitude of Islamic intellectual women that evaluates violations of women's rights sensitively through different topics, as mentioned earlier, is based on an understanding of equity that covers the whole of the society. "Before everything else, Islam seeks to rectify the oppressive tutelage on people, and aims to provide individuals with a cultural and mental environment where they can liberalize themselves and use their own caliphate potentials by becoming the direct counterpart of Allah" (Aktaş, 2011b). It is essential for every individual to atone for their freedom, or in other words, to be aware of their personal duties and responsibility. For women, fulfilling their own human responsibilities lays in acknowledging and using their mental skills. Giving up on pushing social norms with a cut-corners and hedonist approach is not a praiseworthy behavior. Women should prefer equality-based, rational pleasures to cutting corners. Otherwise, their mental skills will not be utilized for useful deeds (Wollstonecraft, 2007). The author uses the expression "single human" as the equivalent to the concept of individual. The meaning the West attributes to the concepts of individual and individuality is different. The social acceptance of the West that defends the right of existence of the strong contradicts with Islamic morals. Accordingly, it is not expected from a faithful individual to move in line with the principle "big fish eats little fish", to adopt professional ethics in line with this, and to position its social role on this. If one would desire to rephrase this saying according to the Islamic pattern, it should be something like "the big fish is responsible of the little fish".

The fact that Cihan Aktaş uses the expression *single human* instead of "individual" is due to this separation. An individual's struggle for existence is not solely a responsibility for itself. They have an understanding of equity that is based on the acceptance that there is no equality and sameness due to creation. Therefore, the existence struggle of human is not a responsibility solely to itself and its creator. In this line, human needs to acknowledge other humans and even non-living beings.

Individuals' freedom and responsibility should not be under custody. "Responsibility for an individual means to have an intellectual and critical mind and to be able to make self-criticism" (Aktaş, 2011b). Each singular human is responsible towards others, as much as it is towards itself. However, this responsibility should not be turned into devotion to someone else. Individuals should not start to ignore others' rights due to the responsibility they have towards themselves. On the other hand the responsibility towards others should not reach to devotion to others and therefore to lack of conscious. A point of view close to the concept of selfishness, which Ayn Rand defines as a virtue, is in question. However, the point that is essential to be stressed is that, Islamic individuals look after a body that they consider to be entrusted to them and therefore undertake their roles on the basis of their faith.

Humans' living together in a free, peaceful, prosperous, helpful and rationalist society can only be possible in line with the principle of rational selfishness -according to the equity principle-. ... Two important gains of living as a society are information and commerce. Humankind is the only being that is capable of increasing and transferring information from generation to generation; the information human can potentially access is much more extensive than what an individual can acquire throughout its life and each person acquires numerous benefits from information discovered by others. The second significant benefit is division of labor. Division of labor enables humans to focus their efforts on a particular area and carry out transactions with others that are specialized in other areas (Rand, 2006: 43-44).

As the prerequisite of such civilization, Ayn Rand sees a rational, productive and free society and rational, productive and independent humans. She considers exploitation, domineering and violence as immorality and therefore states that the approved social solidarity needs to be distant to such relations.

In an ideal civilization, marginalization or alienation of a group or individual is unconscionable. In a society formed by virtuous people, the phenomena of unity and togetherness are factors that enhance the value of the society.

CONCLUSION

The present study has analyzed the opinions of Islamic intellectual women on gender roles, from the exemplary perspectives of Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu. With their published books, varying kinds of literary works, columns and articles published in various media, the authors in question are prominent names within the Islamic woman movement. Also being among the significant references of the struggle for women's rights from the Islamic front, the authors are significant names that bear witness to the recent history of Turkey. In addition to these two authors, also the articles of other Islamist intellectuals on the recent period were addressed. The cases and approaches that support the opinions of Islamic intellectual women were tried to be reflected within the people, cases and opinions that receive their criticism.

Being also the living witnesses of the 1980s, Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu, the opinions of whom we adopt as the primary references in our study, are prominent names focusing on today's Islamic women. Particularly their articles and works published in newspaper columns focus on current issues and contacts various sections of the society. However, considering their works in general terms shows that they particularly address the topic of woman and objectively evaluate the reflections of the 30 years of transformation in Turkey on woman's identity. In addition to their ideological works, both of the authors open a window to the world of the Islamic women also with their literary works. The world of the Islamist woman has been kept closed and concealed due to many reasons, the primaries of which also include privacy. It is possible to state that Cihan Aktaş and Yıldız Ramazanoğlu have opened the door of the literary world that used to be closed to woman and particularly to religious woman. This has carried the ongoing privacy in Islamist women's lives at a different level. They have set forth works that may -in time- influence those who have mostly unrealistic opinions on the religious women.

Aktaş and Ramazanoğlu have written varying woman archetypes with their ideological books, articles, stories and novels. Their works that enable in-depth and

realistic analysis of Islamic women were examined in terms of understanding their perspectives on gender roles.

Ideological divergence between the Islamic intellectual women and Islamic intellectuals was also addressed within the topic. Despite the fact that they tend to focus on current issues in Turkey, it is observed that many Islamic intellectuals maintain the traditional approach and depend on the studies intended to understand the basic sources. The importance attached to secondary sources in Turkey, where Arabic -the language of the Koran- is not spoken and an alphabet other than the Arabic alphabet is used, may be connected to the problem of language. However, in addition to this distance, the modern world and religion are being positioned as two poles that cannot come together. Islamist intellectuals' consideration of the demands and transformation of Islamic women as corruption and religious weakness may be particularly attributed with this situation.

Both the traditional Islamic acceptances and the new Islamic approach were addressed due to their effects on the identity of religious woman. Islamic women have announced the religious and free woman identity with their own definitions on international and national platforms. However, they state that they have difficulties in this. For the sake of the clarification of these arguments, our study also included the enlightening ideas of Islamic women concerning their world of faith. They are thinkers that from one hand define themselves as being religious and from the other hand direct serious criticism to Islamic circles. It was observed that, although not directly participating in these arguments, Islamic intellectual women are targeted by these arguments.

Islamic women are observed to discuss the matter of women's rights on the principle of equity and equality. With these discourses, they are being characterized of Islamist feminists or feminists. Yıldız Ramazanoğlu and Cihan Aktaş, on the other hand, do not identify themselves as Islamist feminists or feminists. However, they state that they are feminists in their own ways. In the study it was explained with reasons that Islamic intellectual women do not see women's rights to be superior or requiring more priority than the rights of the other oppressed sections of the society.

Whether or not the Islamist women's movement has achieved success is not a topic problematized within the scope of the study. However, in order to present a general evaluation, the Islamist women's movement has turned into a process where individual identities gained prominence and Islamic woman identities got diversified. It is witnessed that women are rendered capable of maintaining their struggle for existence individually and social acceptances are made questionable from varying aspects in terms of woman's freedom. The Islamist / Islamic women's movement is approved since it is considered to have made a significant contribution to woman's identity. It is observed that the current point is a period included in the "normalization" process for the Islamic women identity. The process for Islamic women, who diverge from the communitarian structure, face the rules of modernism present in all areas and freed or trying to be freed from the political and therefore social pressure and sanctions, to build their own identity still continues.

Islamist women state that they are negatively affected from Western women and the restricting opinions of pro-Western intellectuals. Islamic intellectual women attach high importance to individual choice and assert that this is a right to be maintained for each and every individual.

Islamic intellectual women criticize traditional roles in terms of quality. Transformation of woman into a worthless domestic worker is not approved. The mentality that promotes the man in all cases needs to be changed. Families, individuals and societies that push woman into the background, make her existence dependent to man and ignore her mental skills are rejected. Tradition and religion have to be separated from each other and Islamic lifestyle has to be grounded with reality. Besides of these criticisms directed at tradition, with modernism the position of woman was changed yet new problems were introduced. Woman was brought to a position where she lives in the family focused on consumption and that maintains her role as a mother far beyond what should be. Researchers particularly emphasizing on the importance of the connection between the mother and the child on the child's future, have rendered mother dependent to the private area and her child. Having superseded the pre-modern family raising multiple children despite the tougher

conditions, the type of family that has few number of children but aims to entirely program the lives of children is being evaluated by Islamic women. Woman defines herself through her motherhood. It is observed that Islamic intellectual women evaluate the motherhood role of woman once again by maintaining the balance between faith and logic. Every child means a different soul and a different fate. Although being one of the inherent characteristics that make woman more valuable, motherhood is not the purpose of existence for women. On the other hand, children given birth to are not the property of their mothers. The protesting attitude of feminism that rejects the fertility of women is not approved. On the other hand, Islamic intellectual women also reject the strong motherhood role shaped with a materialist perspective in the modern society and the acceptances that obliges women to motherhood in line with the traditional/religious approach. Islamic women defend the right of choice also concerning the matter of motherhood. In addition, motherhood is not the only way to realize the existence and identity of woman.

Islamic women consider the choice between the public and private areas a right of woman. Beyond this choice, human in general and woman in particular should be productive and take responsibility. Because, by their creation every individual is special and a part of the society. It is observed in modern societies that individuality gains prominence and social bonds are getting weaker. Disintegration of the family and the estrangement of family members are related with this. In extended family mother, father, elders, children and even close relatives share the same roof. Whereas in nuclear family it is only the man, woman and if available children living in the same house. In line with the modern process, family members are occupied with their own daily routines and can spend only a limited amount of time together. Islamic intellectual women criticize how individual identities evolve into a form that prevents us to bind with the people in our close circle. Today, as it can be also seen in Muslim societies, alienation of the elders from the house and having them live in senior houses is part of the estrangement process of the modern human. Islamic intellectual women consider the society as a whole and emphasize on the importance of family bonds and social bonds. For an individual, realizing itself is a struggle not for detaching from the whole of the society or the family, but on the

contrary for being a part of this integrity. They assert that also woman's identity need to be built in this direction.

The concept Islamic intellectual women heartily defend and build their opinions on its basis is the freedom of belief. They believe that the modern Turkish society is capable of bringing different elements together by maintaining its values within the global system. It is accepted that religions smooth out the chaotic existence of human. However, the assertion that religions have become a part of the chaos in the modern society has to be taken into consideration. Among the reasons of this are the ever-increasing population of the world and the diversifying belief systems. Islamic intellectual women set forth a system of unity and togetherness that embodies all different elements of the society and protects them with a real sense of justice.

In their articles where they discuss women's rights Islamic women authors also address the religious mystical philosophies and ideologies of the postmodern system. The new world that surrounds the existence of individual requires women's rights to be re-discussed under new topics. As a part of this whole global transformation, the position of the Islamic woman is also affected. Having been discussed in the recent history in Turkey, milk banks are also among the topics criticized by Islamic women. While the discussions of modern society, religion, secular circles and tradition continue on the axis of women's rights, new topics of have been introduced for discussion. It is observed that Islamic intellectual women also work on these recently emerging discussions and evaluate the identities of man and woman within the light of these discussions. It can be seen that Islamic intellectual women take these newly derived discussions into consideration. Their discourses that invite the Islamic community to increase its awareness on these matters are justified. Instead of avoiding the effects of a given society, group or the global system, developing a reflex of following and controlling the change is more appropriate. It is possible to read this, the inevitability of being a part of the change, from the conditions of the women living in regimes that are more closed and stricter than that of Turkey. The Islamic community needs to start discussing the limits of

enlightenment and transformation, and the reality of the anticipated world. We find the fact that Islamic intellectual women evaluate these discussions in their most up-to-date form positive. If ideological, political and social transformations are hoped to positively affect gender roles and women's identity in the Islamic community, such discussions need to be maintained at the top of the agenda. It is observed that as a consequence of the social process they experience Islamist women adopt the principle “Science is what Muslims lost” and therefore prefer to be active actors.

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