

More than a Pretty Face:
How Turkish Women's Magazines Function as Social Spaces

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Beating on the banks of the Bosphorus is the cultural heart of Turkey - the hustling and bustling city of Istanbul. Looking over one shoulder you will see high-rises and mega malls sprawling to the furthest edges, and over the other shoulder will rise the domes and spires of grand mosques puncturing the skyline. The diverse geography of this historic city is a physical, architectural reflection of the political, social, religious, and economic shifts Turkey has endured throughout centuries of change in government and society. These changes not only manifest in physical spaces, but also produce numerous social spaces that are just as varied as the landscapes in which they are formed.

This thesis utilizes visual analysis as a method for exploring how patterns of social, political, economic, and religious change in Turkey lead to the formation of new products and identities, and in turn, how these changes spur people to claim certain social spaces. As the public image of Turkish women has historically served as an indicator of change and modernity in Turkish society, this thesis examines images in Turkish women's magazines in order to gain an idea about particular realities that may inform the creation of new Turkish social spaces, especially for women.

According to sociologist Henri Lefebvre, social spaces are produced through a triad spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation (Lefebvre 1991, 40–43). This means that social spaces are physical locations, as well as 'metaphorical and social phenomenon' (Peterson 2013, 826). For the purposes of this research, magazines are social spaces in both a physical and figurative sense. Physically, magazines are 'representations of spaces' because their imagery is carefully selected to present people who are participating in certain activities, featured in specific locations, dressed in a particular ways, using a set of products, and other specificities. They are physical 'spaces of representation' as well because they are tangible, material commodities that can be bought, held, flipped through, and shared. Magazines are also figurative 'spaces of representation' because the imagery featured within magazines is reflective of larger societal forces that have allowed for the physical production of different types of magazines and their content. Magazines indicate social spaces that exist beyond their pages.

A visual analysis approach is widely applied to traditional forms of artwork (such as paintings) and advertisements, and my project seeks to apply this approach to contemporary visual mediums, specifically magazines. The aim is that the process of analyzing magazine imagery may yield conclusions that support current research about trends of change in Turkey in a wide variety of fields that usually draw upon text and discourse to discover and understand the products of change. Unlike written texts that steer a reader through a particular thought process and deposit them at a more or less concrete conclusion, imagery is more versatile in its delivery and varied in its conclusions, as it is open to people of all languages and backgrounds.

One may ask how images, as snapshots of moments frozen in time, might present how people truly live, and how analyzing them might project certain truths about reality today. To answer, for the means of this research, images are important in two ways. First, they provide a visual template for how a slice of society may function or aspire to function. They convey insights as to current trends in fashion, living, dining, vacationing, etc. — all of which are indicators of the contemporary condition of a society. To emphasize this point, imagery in social spaces has been historically important to Turkey, specifically as an indicator of change and modernity; thus, visual cues from a medium geared toward women may be an important avenue for analysis. Second, the messages spoken through the images are not their only important element; the production methods and current state of affairs that allow these particular images to be published and be produced in a particular manner are important details embedded in the existence of the image as well.

In order to understand the angle from which this thesis extracts meaning, let's conduct an exercise considering the two images on the next page. Without any background knowledge as to their origin or purpose, what do you see? Each image centers on a woman who is looking at the viewer and is surrounded by text. Building from the basics, what elements do you focus on? This thesis directs a reader to focus on three main themes when analyzing images: 1) arrangement and environment, 2) attributes and expressions, and 3) activities, as in the following example.



The spaces the women occupy are very different, with the woman on the left appearing to be in a public place near water, in a boat or on a dock, perhaps in a city like Istanbul (as indicated by the mosque in the far background) and participating in some sort of event. The woman on the right appears in front of a plain, pink backdrop with no indication as to what kind of place she may be in or what kind of activity she may be engaged. The women also display different facial expressions and clothing styles. The woman on the left wears a headscarf and is clothed so that almost all of her body is covered, whereas the woman on the right is wearing a short dress with a deep neckline. The women also convey distinctly different temperaments as indicated by their facial expressions, with the woman on the left gazing stoically and standing with her body in a slightly closed off position, and the woman on the right happily smiling with a more open, playful stance. As contrasting as the women's clothing, facial expressions, backdrops, body angles, etc. may be, they are both clearly posing for magazines covers, as evidenced by the title and the style of the surrounding text.

The image on the left is the front cover of the magazine *Âlâ* from January 2014 and the right image is the cover the magazine *Elele*, also from January 2014. Both magazines were produced in Turkey and advertised towards Turkish women. However, their distinct styles alert viewers to the different types of audiences of Turkish women that *Âlâ* and *Elele* are catering toward and aiming to gain readership. One

may deduce that a fashionable, religiously conservative woman would be drawn to *Âlâ* because her modest body covering and headscarf might be a familiar stylistic choices as their own. And similarly, one may assume that *Elele* would appeal to a secular, fashionable audience because of her clothing choices.

In order to gain insight into the processes that have allowed for two seemingly contrasting magazines to coincide in publication, I next outlay a brief historical background of Turkey. Beginning with the establishment of the Republic, this historical background focuses on aspects of Turkish history such as the transfer of power between parties with different ideologies towards secularism / Islamism, the major coups / interventions, the changing economic atmosphere, and the stirrings of feminist (and other) movements challenging the government's visions for the state and society. The goal is briefly to cover these patterns of change so as to make propositions about how these political, economic, social, and religious negotiations generate new products and demands, and then lead to the creation of new social spaces and the public presentation of identities and values associated with these spaces.

Historical Background

Emerging on the coattails of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923. Through a wave of reforms initiated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi – CHP), Turkey underwent a 'revolution of values' in which there were developments in political structure, social rights, economy, and culture aimed at 'changing prevailing values' (Mutlu and Kocer 2012, 71; Mardin 1971, 209). Known as the Kemalist Revolution, these reforms included the substitution of the fez with the western hat for men, the replacement of the Ottoman script with the Latin alphabet, the adoption of the Western calendar, the banning of the Arabic ezan replaced with the Turkish translation, and the adoption of a new civil code based on European models, as opposed to Shari'a law (Toktaş 2013, 84; Mutlu 2012, 72).

Another huge change, and one which asserted the overarching power of the government onto religion, was the establishment of the institution, Diyanet, meant to regulate all aspects of Islam within Turkey (Gözaydın 2008, 217). The complicated relationship between the goals of the state and Islam

caused a singling out of women as the most ‘visibly oppressed by religion’ and thus, some reforms were explicitly aimed at women and their public and private relationship with religion, such as the banning of veiling and polygamy (Kandiyoti 1987, 321; Tekeli 1996). All of these changes were implemented as a technique to usher into existence a more modernized, Westernized Turkish society, which was synonymous for this movement with secularism.

One of the largest goals in Atatürk’s leadership was to sculpt Turkey in a way that would allow the country to succeed and be recognized as progressive in the global climate, but in a distinctly Turkish way (Ataman 2002, 126). These endeavors to differentiate a particular identity of ‘Turkishness’ required, without any sort of deviation, the participation of all citizens; therefore, an impediment in achieving this homogenous Turkish identity at the core of this new nation-building project were minority identities – Kurds, Gypsies, non-Muslims, etc. — which were considered a threat to “national cohesion and unity” (Toledano 2001, 45-47). Crafting this specific Turkishness was intimately connected to the activities and identities of the people within Turkey’s borders, and thus government imposed societal change and minority suppression was, and remains, a trend of regulation employed by the Turkish government.

These homogenizing efforts impacted women in a double sword fashion, both helping and hindering the growth of women’s rights. The conditions of women’s lives functioned as a visual indicator of Turkey’s development as a modernized country; thus, in an effort to project and create a more progressive outlook on women’s lives, women were granted emancipation in 1926 under the Turkish Civil code. Emancipation, according to Yeşim Arat, means that women were granted civil and political rights equal to men, yet they ‘remained confined by communal norms and customs’ (Yeşim Arat, 2000). Meaning, women had equal rights to men, but they were not liberated in the sense that the patriarchal state had encroached so much upon public space that gender-based issues remained unaddressed (Yeşim Arat, 2000).

New rights included women’s suffrage, the expansion of educational and professional opportunities, and equal rights to divorce and to obtain custody over children, among others (Yeşim Arat,

2000). All of these enfranchisement transformations were strategic decisions guided by state interests. The government intended for women to be educated professionals at work, eager and active participants in social life, and properly trained mothers and wives, who, when in public, acted with the weight of her family and nation on her shoulders (Yeşim Arat, 2004). As Stivachtis puts it, "a new role for the Turkish woman evolved, one in which she embodied both the ideal citizen and the traditional gender roles" (Stivachtis 2011). Together, the aim of these reforms was to increase women's presence in the public sphere as a modernizing initiative, and to begin cementing the state's vision of the ideal Turkish woman. This intimate connection between the image of the state and the image of womanhood lead to an uneven relationship in which Turkish women, who experience life in many different ways and thus have a myriad of needs and desires, were not recognized as pluralistic; rather, they were treated as a monolithic mass who all wanted and needed the same attention. Although these holes were later addressed by women's movements in the 1980s, there continued to be strict control and limitations by the state from the 1940s up to the 1980s, as discussed next.

The restrictive secular legacy of Atatürk's government began to relax when, due to the transition of Turkey to a multiparty system in 1945, the Centre-Right Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti - DP) won the 1950 elections (Mutlu and Koçer 2012, 73). Special to this era was the party's attempt to appeal to the dissatisfaction of the masses by liberalizing public policy towards religion. The party wanted to appeal to those parts of society that felt marginalized by the secularized, Western policies (Rabasa 2008, 35). They accomplished this through allowing the call to prayer to again be recited in Arabic, permitting the opening of Imam-Hatip schools to train mosque personnel, and encouraging construction of mosques and Quranic schools, as well as involving the 'common man' in politics through the creation of local organizations, among other reconciliations (Rabasa 2008, 72-73.) The DP also focused heavily on economic development, joining NATO in 1952, and focusing on privatizing state industries and integrating the economic interests of rural populations (Akşin 2007, 253). These economic development attempts failed, leading to shortages of goods, high inflation rates, and frenzy among DP leaders to tighten

control (Akşin 2007, 253). The administration began straying from democratic ideals as it was applying pressure and obstructions to opposition leaders and censoring the press (Akşin 2007, 262-263). In May 1960, the Democrat government was overthrown in a military intervention and in 1961 a new constitution was ratified (Akşin 2007, 265). This constitution was the most liberal of Turkish constitutions, as it sought to expand associational freedoms and political pluralism (Lipovsky 1991, 95).

The secularist military supervised the country until 1965 when the Justice Party (Adalet Partisi) came to power (Mutlu and Kocer 2012, 72). This party represented a newly emerging political elite consisting of 'industrialists, small entrepreneurs, artisans, merchants, and professionals' (Kilic, 2002) and continued a similar legacy of polarity with the RPP as the DP (Akşin 2007, 270). At the same time, religious organization began to resurface and the Islamist right began to gradually establish itself, founding the National Order Party in 1970 (Milli Nizam Partisi - MNP) (Rabasa 2008, 36). However, the system allowing this party to form underwent more political destabilization as the country endured a military intervention in 1971 due to economic downturn and widespread unrest. The 1970s saw a very state dominated, closed economy in which consumerism was very limited. The economic crisis caused great social discontent, particularly among urban working classes suffering from lack of commodities (Orhon 2015, 13). These tense conditions led to an upsurge in left and right wing clashes and prompted military intervention again in 1980. During this time, the military attempted to combat leftist ideologies through strengthening the role of Islam in public, state-controlled arenas, such as education (Rabasa 2008, 37).

Overall, the period between the 1940s and 1980s in Turkey experienced intense homogenizing efforts and the expansion and contraction of the definition of Turkishness, as influenced by dialogues between political, social, religious, and economic conditions. Turkish historians debate on when citizens finally identified themselves as a more or less cohesive Turkish nation, with research indicating that emotional attachments to the national community were solidified before the 1940s, and that the 1950s through to the 1970s were essential in channeling a specific Turkishness through processes of liberalization, democratization, industrialization, urbanization, etc (Yilmaz 2013, 220). This idea of

Turkishness being more solidified — even though people may have had varied definitions of who or what they considered to be authentically Turkish — is important because this means that people felt justified in claiming certain social and political rights, and began generating demands to fit their lifestyles.

The 1980 coup was profound in Turkey's political, economic, and social transformation (Orhon 2015, 1). Politically, one of the main goals of the coup organizers was to reorganize society so that tensions between leftists and conservatives would not enflame again and cause serious unrest as they had in the previous decade. This endeavor for reorganization manifested through daily life being conducted under the gaze of military rule (Orhon 2015, 21). Ironically, the 1980s were also a time in which the political environment in Turkey was so 'devoid of any serious opposition' that structural transformations in economic policies occurred and civil society organizations began to surface (Balkan 2015, 2). Specifically, the Özal period from 1983 – 1993 saw a huge deviation in ideology towards ethnic groups from the Kemalist tradition in that Kemalist groups 'denied the existence of ethnic groups' and considered all people in Turkey as Turkish, whereas the Özal leadership recognized the existence of ethnic groups other than Turkish (Ataman 2002, 128). This acknowledgement of the plurality of identities existing within Turkey is a sentiment reflected in the issues facing women's identities, as well.

Socially, the intervention of the 1980 coup led to the emergence of second wave feminism in Turkey. The 1980s were a pivotal time in changing how women expressed themselves. Up until this point, women's rights were appropriated by Kemalist elites under a form of state feminism which 'prioritized the state's role in the empowerment of women' (Azak and Smaele 2016, 42). Although women had gained emancipatory rights increasingly since 1923 that granted them, in theory, equality to men, the state still held a tight grasp on how women were allowed to organize themselves, and did not support women's efforts to organize based on their own agendas or lobby for rights that the 'ideal Turkish' woman – from the perspective of the state – would want or need (Kırca 2001).

The state was willing to grant emancipatory rights to women, as they were necessary in emphasizing a modern, western national identity; however, these freedoms for women in Turkey's public

space were highly structured. A woman who was liberated, who demanded full control over her actions and rights in practice, rather than just simply accepting the rights in theory given to her by the state, was dangerous because she could disturb the image that the state crafted for itself and its people. Efforts to express their own identities and to gain public recognition of women's issues and interests arose through a process of liberalization.

The onset of the 1980 coup sparked that process of liberation. It caused all oppositional movements, ideologies, and organizations that existed before the military regime assumed power to be repressed and/or dissolved (Kırca 2001). Although women in Turkey had been involved in social movements revolving around issues such as socialism and anti-imperialism before the 1980s, the vacuum left behind when many of the male activists were imprisoned allowed women's activities to become more focused on issues directly relating to women's concerns (Leake 2011; Şimşek 2004, 124). Women now had more space to focus on specific matters relating to their lives and struggles. This feminism focused on giving women, as unique individuals, and not a monolithic mass, a voice that was not stifled and singularized by the state. Furthermore, liberation efforts sought to publicize the inequalities women faced in the private sphere. Issues discussed were the wearing of the veil in public, violence against women, unequal working rights, and educational opportunities.

Literature was at the forefront of the different platforms in which woman attempted to gain a public voice to express their grievances and goals. Through written publications, women could cluster together based on shared interests and goals and develop new languages of "individualism and autonomy" (Öztürkmen 1999, 289). The "economic structure of news-making" in Turkey had been altered after the coup, allowing for magazines to explode on the scene, as they were able to target particular consumer groups through the circulation of carefully selected imagery and content (Öztürkmen 1999, 277).

At the beginning of the 1980s, the women who helped in liberation efforts of the public realm were "mostly a heterogeneous group of middle aged, middle class professionals" with a fundamental

cleavage being between those who were secular and Islamist (Atakov 2013, 35). Overtime, these cleavages separated into numerous other divisions as the base of women's literature broadened in response to the influence of feminist movements and, later on, the Internet. This means that more facets of women's lives were able to be expressed in one form or another, even if the state did not outright accept them. Feminists defended against large issues such as sexuality, domestic violence, individualism (secular and religious), reproductive rights, etc. Further efforts in the form of advocacy groups emerged in response to the failures to recognize women's issues. Women who had previously stayed out of involvement with state institutions began challenging the impacts of state's policies on the treatment of women (Yeşim Arat, 2000). Due to the advocacy of the women's groups that sought to combat the state's regulations on women's behavior, a "women's machinery" was founded in 1990 which required the creation of "programs to eliminate gender discrimination and collect data on women's status" (et. al). Initiatives such as this lead to the growth and greater visibility of feminist groups.

As the 1980s gave way to the 1990s, Turkish politics were the subject of cultural tensions imbued by multiple groups challenging the homogenous Turkish identity that the Republic had attempted to mold. Traditional Kemalist values of nationalism, centralism, and mixed economy with state supervision were challenged (Kalaycıoğlu 1994, 407). Movements included Kurdish separatists who rejected the monolithic Turkish identity, Islamist groups who were critical of official state policy of secularism, feminist organizations demanding liberation, among others (Çolak 2006, 587). This 'war of cultures' called into question ideas about Turkish culture and led to the proliferation of new social spaces, some which were endorsed by the government, and some which were not (Çolak 2006, 588).

It is important to remember that included among these groups challenging a homogenous Turkish identity were variously aligning feminisms. The basic premise of feminism is that there should be an equality of the sexes; however, how that equality is sought, distributed, and conceived through a feminist lens is different amongst the different feminisms that exist. The feminist terrain in Turkey has undergone three large waves: in the 1920s and 1930s there was a concern for "civic and political rights" that

overlapped with Kemalist reforms; in the 1980s there were independent women's movements arising with feminist activism in which "patriarchal foundations" of the state were criticized; and in the 1990s there was the emergence of feminism that was more concerned with addressing more than just gender oriented issues, and included other identity related issues such as ethnic, religious, and sexual orientations (Diner and Toktas 2010, 55-56). Through the increased attention to a wider range of intersectional identities, it is clear that the feminisms in Turkey have become diversified, and there is a valuing of multiple feminisms.

One type of growing feminism in Turkey is Islamist feminism, in which there is a demand amongst women for the "democratic right to live in line with their beliefs" (Koç 2015, 350). Islamist feminism, which is part of third feminism, and has grown alongside the expansion of conservative political parties such as AKP, is diverse as well. Meaning, not all women who identify with Islamist feminism share the same opinions and outlooks. For example, the women of the headscarf movement, which was a movement in which Muslim women who wanted to wear the headscarf in public sought to do so, do not all support the AKP government that helped bring that freedom to the public (Koç 2015, 351).

Feminisms in Turkey, since the 1990s, have prioritized strengthening the voices of women who are oppressed because of their religious or ethnic identities; however, there has been polarization on opposite sides of the spectrum where choosing to be a secular feminist might mean that you side with the outlawing Kurdish and Islamist practices, or if you were an Islamist or conservative feminist your position could be seen as damaging to the progress of women's rights (Koç 2015, 351). It is important to remember that although feminism can be seen as a binary, or as existing in multiple distinct forms, the distance between these feminisms is actually short and blurry; people may align with one or more different feminisms based on their economic, religious, social, or political needs.

One new flourishing social group borne through developing economic and political power structures was an Islamic bourgeoisie, which "publicly affirms and manifests its belonging to Islam in its discourses, actions, and lifestyle" (Yankaya 2015, 45). The 1994 election was the first in which the Islamist movement, under the Welfare Party (WP), was really successful in elections, first local and then national

(Altınordu 2016, 156). The WP found success through an identity of religious rhetoric, and garnered popularity through favoring state policies that criticized secular reforms of the early Republican era, lessened power of the big, secular capitalists who dominated the Turkish economy, and gave more funding to the rural, small-scale entrepreneurs (Altınordu 2016, 157). Under memberships such as the Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen (MÜSİAD) the Islamic bourgeoisie founded a network that brought together conservative Muslim businessmen under an Islamic work ethic (Yankaya 2015, 46). It was through this combined political and economic representation that the Islamic bourgeoisie's demand for social spaces and consumer products (such as resorts, restaurants, books, etc.) began to be satisfied (Gökarıksel 2015, 26; Yankaya 2015, 46).

Established in 2001, the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party, AKP) is currently the leading party in power in Turkey. It is a 'market-oriented' political party ideologically aligned with the Turkish Islamist movement and has a strong following among Turkey's religiously conservative, middle class citizens (Toledano 2011, 40). Under AKP, Turkey has experienced major transformations in domestic and foreign policy, and has increased hopes for the implementation of a more secure democracy in Turkey (Hale 2008, 132).

The early 2000s also saw economic change under AKP with a rapidly growing economy that integrates different levels of society into the emergent market economy (Tuğal 2009, 217). One of these newly integrated groups has been middle class Muslims. The AKP era has witnessed increased consumerism particularly amongst Islamic lifestyles, and has seen Muslims connecting with one another through Islamic products and spaces (Gökarıksel and Mclarney 2010, 2). This is evident through the creation and consumption of Muslim women's magazines, such as *Âlâ* and *Aysha*. AKP's emphasis upon consumer culture is important because they encourage their constituents to consume particular types of products and thus perpetuate consumption patterns that correlate with Islamic lifestyles.

AKP has extended the presence of religion in arenas beyond economic markets and new products. Through contested issues such as wearing headscarves in public spheres and the growth of

religious vocational schools (Imam Hatips) AKP has also increased the role of religion in social life (Gumuscu and Sert 2009, 958). On one hand, AKP over the past decade and a half has enhanced democratic freedoms, but on the other hand has also transitioned into a more authoritative government. This thesis explores multiple different magazines that are currently produced and published under the AKP government.

What Are Magazines and Why Are They Important?

Although briefly outlined in the historical background section, a further, more detailed discussion about why women's magazines are important is needed. Magazines are important mediums of communication through which audiences are provided with information about the world and a framework to make sense of their daily lives. They are a unique medium of communication because they are a mixture of text, images, and advertisements that are produced periodically and with a specific mission in mind.

Previous research has cited magazines as important because they create “reader groups based on shared consumption habits” meaning that people who want to consume products and styles based on similar values can unite through a magazine that bases itself on certain principles (Chaney 1996). The lifestyle component of magazines is particularly important because it reflects “the social organization of consumption” and reflects how people's identities are impacted by their relationships to the products they consume (Lewis 2015, 110). This is interesting because the availability of products is affected by forces larger than what people are demanding.

Magazine consumption in Turkey is stratified along economic and gender lines, with young, wealthy women being the most common readers (Aydın 2009, 308). Despite this stratification, magazines remain an important form of print media for several reasons. First, they are a strong cultural force in which readers may engage in social change and stay educated on current social trends. Second, magazines are a medium of consumption in which readers are able to actively choose the ideas, fashions, etc. they are exposed to, giving them a sense of agency in the types of social spheres in which they identify and

interact. This platform also provides a space for women's bodies and stories to be published through a lens that is representative of their struggles and goals. Third, there are several different types of magazines, each with their own unique focus and perspective, which is both beneficial in attracting more readers to the genre, and is indicative of social, economic, and political pressures that may be afoot.

These three reasons as to why magazines are an important form of print media — social awareness and education, active sites for choice in identity and lifestyle, and a unique platform for certain needs, as compared to other magazines — all relate to the idea of magazines serving as a social space. The magazine gives women's lifestyles a site for representation, as well as represents social spaces as they currently exist and as could ideally exist.

Although there is a rich history in Turkey of women turning to magazines (and other print media) as a platform to express grievances, feel solidarity with similar moral systems, discover new trends, etc., it is important to ask who and what forces influence their production. For example, Duygu Asena, who was editor of *Kadınca* during the feminist movements of the 1980s influenced the magazine to address topics that were important for women's equality; however, when the publishing company changed ownership, there were disagreements between Asena and the new owner as to the magazine's content, and in 1992 Asena left *Kadınca* (Kırca 2001). Even though a team full of women were responsible for editing the magazine, they had to work within the guidelines of the publishing agency. In addition to the agendas of the people in control of publishing, advertisements, marketing, etc. what are the factors that influence the production of magazines? And why are these factors important? This thesis aims to answer these questions, as discussed in the next section.

Goals and Methodology

Much research has explored the impact of magazines in Turkey as a category of literary agency (Kırca 2001, Yeşim Arat 2004, Duman 2011, Dinç 2016). These works have found that there are multiple ways of being a woman, and that there is a growing desire among women to have outlets that express their experiences, concerns, and interests. Additionally, the growth of the women's magazine market to

incorporate different lifestyles indicates that there is more than one ideal Turkish woman. These findings are important, but they have mostly concentrated on textual analysis; little research has been conducted as to magazines' visual importance. However, visuals are key to how magazines present themselves, tell their stories, and participate in the production of ideals of femininity, beauty, motherhood, and other lifestyle elements. Magazines are covered in photos that are carefully selected to project a particular outlook on life; thus, all of the imagery in a magazine is key to expressing that brand's unique, ideal style and values.

As briefly exemplified in the introduction, this thesis utilizes visual analysis as a method for exploring patterns of change in Turkey, with Turkish women's magazines serving as the medium of analysis, because the messages conveyed through magazine imagery is irreplaceable and essential in getting across a unique brand and set of values. More specifically, I will analyze a series of cover images from seven women's magazines ranging from 1980 until July 2016, and then conduct a more detailed analysis of the imagery inside three magazines (*Elele*, *Aysha*, and *Glamour*) from May 2016.

The methodology I will use to analyze the images focuses on three main themes: 1) arrangement and environment, 2) attributes and expressions, and 3) activities. These three themes were chosen because they provide a consistent basis through which to understand what is happening in an image, as well as direct a viewer to think about what kind of life the magazines are encouraging and reflecting. Through employing these themes, magazines grow to not only represent certain social spaces, but act as a social space themselves. This means that broad factors influencing magazine production are important because they are indicative of current and changing trends in Turkey.

Defining Key Terms

Magazine

Magazines are edited, periodically produced publications that contain articles and illustrations, experience intellectual growth, and respond to the demands of its readership. Magazines may come in print or online formats. During research for this thesis, I came across multiple Turkish terms for magazine, but this thesis only incorporates sources known by the Turkish term *dergi*. This small detail in translation is

impactful for my research because it narrows down my search results, and differentiates between what may be considered a journal (example: *Pazartesi*) and a magazine. This research considers magazines based on the criteria above.

Woman

Academia is becoming more concerned with intersectionality and deconstructing social constructions such as gender and race; therefore, it is important in a thesis about women's magazines to consider the question of 'who is a woman'? This thesis does not seek to answer that question, but does ask how magazines define who a woman is based on their competing ideas about womanhood. It is important to provide context about the varying definitions of woman so as to understand the general framework of thought surrounding womanhood and magazines in Turkey.

Traditionally, in the Turkish republic, a woman was defined by her sexuality and her ability to have children (Stivachtis 2008, 5). Careful control over women's sexuality was important in Turkish culture because the purity of a woman indicated a healthy family and society. Women enacted their roles through behaving modestly and producing children to ensure the continuation of the family, which in turn, entrusted the maintenance of community dynamics and the upholding of the patriarchal system to the actions and identities of women (Stivachtis 2008, 5). The historical relationship between the state's control over female sexuality in the public sphere and the segregation of men and women have shaped a "culturally specific experience of gender" (Kandiyoti 1988, 285). Traditionally the experience of being a Turkish woman meant upholding these ideals of motherhood and wifedom, both publicly and privately. Kemalist reforms altered this experience by adding the pressure of having a successful career, not as a replacement of a woman's duties as a mother and wife, but as another expectation in conjunction with those roles.

Accompanying the political shifts of the 1980s, women began speaking out about their experiences, and challenging their social positions, thus leading to conflicts between how women on the ground wanted to define themselves and the state's vision of a woman as a perfect triangulation of

mother, wife, and worker. Tension still exists today between those who heavily define women through their capacity to procreate, and those who wish to dispel this prejudice. At an event in March 2016 to mark International Women's Day, President Erdoğan remarked that "a woman is above all else a mother" (Nawa 2016). This comment was in line with a dominant rhetoric in the Turkish government, which has pushed policies that prioritize motherhood over women's individual rights, and encouraged each family to have at least three children (Hansen 2013). Of course, President Erdogan is not the only voice of the state; his approach to women is different from previous governments', and there are critics in the form of women's organizations and opposition parties who do not agree with his emphasis on motherhood (Ackerman 2015).

Pinpointing how women define themselves is a more difficult endeavor, and less likely to yield a satisfying answer. Women are multifaceted beings who encompass a vast array of opinions and experiences, and thus there are a plurality of ways in which women may define themselves. Therefore, my research will not begin with a predefined idea of a woman; rather, I seek to understand how the different magazines I analyze in my research construct a woman.

Imported Magazines

In simplified terms, there are magazines that are created and published in Turkey by Turkish companies and staffers, such as *Elele* and *Aysha*. These magazines are not imported - they are domestic. There are also magazines that are headquartered in other countries, such as *Glamour*, which is based in the U.K., yet have established versions of the magazine in different countries. These imported magazines may be staffed by people in the country in which they are sold, in this case, Turkey, but the direction and mission of the magazine is imported.

Importance of Turkish Women's Magazines

Although briefly outlined in the history section, a further, more detailed, discussion about why women's magazines are important is needed. Magazines, as discussed above, are important mediums of communication through which audiences are provided with information and a framework to make sense

of their daily lives and to forge their place in the world. These meanings are communicated through both text and images. The literature that examines the influence of Turkish women's magazines on women's lives mostly addresses the context in which they were created and the social conditions they were responding to. Meaning, the literature currently discusses the written context as influential in creating a spotlight where women can come together in a shared space with other women who have similar interests, struggles, and values as their own. My argument, that magazines are social spaces and imagery is a key element in expressing that magazine's particular perspective, connects to magazines's importance because imagery is the medium that wordlessly reflects the context and social conditions of the time period.

Although magazine consumption in Turkey is stratified along economic and gender lines, magazines remain an important form of print media for several reasons (Aydın 2009, 308). First, they are a strong cultural force for women to both engage in social change and stay educated on current social matters. Second, magazines are a medium of consumption in which readers are able to actively choose the ideas, fashions, etc. they are exposed to, giving them a sense of agency in what types of social spaces they support. This printed platform provides a space for women's bodies and their stories to be published through a lens that is representative of their struggles and goals. Thirdly, different magazines have different focuses, which creates a space of solidarity, recognition, and support for women who may identify in a particular way.

Even further, from a material standpoint. magazines are important because they are products that respond to the push and pull of readers, economic and political influences, and social trends, meaning that the very existence of a certain type of magazine is evidence of the existence of a certain type of prevailing social space within a country. Lastly, specifically in the context of Turkey, magazines are important because they are a medium of expressing women's desires, problems, and lives that has a rich precedent.

In the following chapter, I will discuss the political and social contexts in which women's magazines have been published in Turkey, as well as the role and importance of women's magazines

according to existing literature. Examining this literature will also be important in highlighting what work has already been done, and what questions still need to be asked. The third chapter will outline profiles of all the magazines analyzed in this research, as well as outline in more detail my methodology in analyzing the images. The fourth chapter will analyze the front covers and internal imagery of the magazines, and the fifth chapter will draw together more concrete ideas about my argument. I will argue that Turkish women's magazines are social spaces in that they serve as both a site of uniting people and representing the existence of groups of people in a space beyond the physical pages of magazines. Additionally, I will argue that the rise of different magazines indicate patterns of broad change within Turkey that inspire the creation of new products and identities, and in turn, how these changes lead to cultural demands in which people begin to claim certain social spaces to express their identities.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to examine core research regarding Turkish women's magazines, specifically those that came into publication during or after the 1980s. The amount of literature available with these specific details in mind is limited both in terms of scope and bulk; therefore, this review will first focus on the few sources discussing women's magazines during that time period and specifically in Turkey. The second portion will focus on literature discussing the significance of women's magazines globally so as to provide insight as to the relationship between magazines, consumerism, politics, and identity. Considering that the field of research on Turkish women's magazines extends mostly to content and does not at length discuss the importance of images, this section about women's magazines from around the world is important in establishing a basis as to why women's magazines and the images in them are important and relevant. The main goal of this review is to summarize what knowledge is already known and how the field has previously been approached so as to highlight how the scope of research can be expanded. This will open up a gateway to introduce how I intend to incorporate my research question and methodology into the existing literature.

Turkey

I begin this section with the work of Derya Duman, who focuses on two basic themes in women's magazines — motherhood and wifhood — between 1923 and 1950 (Duman 2011, 75). Although that is not the time period covered in this thesis, the knowledge of where women's magazines began in the Turkish Republic is essential in understanding how they have grown and what broader themes they encompassed before they evolved into the genre rich industry they are today. Additionally, it is important to understand the different, but similar, ways in which the magazines of these different periods create and reflect emerging identities and social spaces.

Duman employs a linguistic method of analysis in order to identify the role of discourse in the construction of an image of the ideal woman (Duman 2011, 77). She finds that the period of women's magazines from 1923 to 1950 boasted a very patriotic atmosphere with texts that contained "anti-feminist

discourse" that were "devoid of a feminist agenda" (Duman 2011, 90-91). Furthermore, the representations of motherhood and wifehood in these magazines reflect a "male" point of view, which merges the image of a "modern westerner with the patriotic Turkish woman" (Duman 2011, 91). Essentially, these magazines publicized the goals of the state by exporting the idea of the ideal Turkish woman as someone who is patriotic completes her nationalist endeavors through being a proper mother and wife. Duman concludes that the Turkish Republic's ideology on gender politics saturates the media, including women's magazines. Although magazines are generally thought of as "light reading and entertaining publications," they actually serve as subtle ideological tools of the new Republic (Duman 2011, 91). Therefore, magazines can be examined for the symbolic meanings carried in their content.

Moving forward to the period in which this thesis is concerned, this section discusses the literature of Yeşim Arat, a prominent academic in the field of women's publications and representations during the 1980's and 1990's in Turkey. Although neither of her articles focuses on Turkish women's magazines specifically, her work acknowledges the presence of magazines, and more importantly, describes the context in which modern examples of Turkish women's magazines began to be produced.

In her work, "From Emancipation to Liberation: The Changing Role of Women in Turkey's Public Realm," Arat discusses how the relationship between women and the state changed substantially after 1980 when women pushed not for emancipation, but liberation. Women not only wanted to have equal rights as men, but wanted to pursue opportunities that were engineered by women, not only those that were an allowance from male leaders. As discussed in the introduction, women were used as a litmus test for Republican reformers to claim that the new Republic was modern. Though women were gaining more freedoms, they were not making the changes themselves.

Arat proposes that one of the ways in which women began gaining voices of their own in the 1980s was when they started producing written publications tailored towards their specific interests and issues. These were interests and issues that were excluded from the mainstream media, which was predominately produced with a male agenda in mind. Publications played a major part in pushing for a

public presence and voice that were not part of the public scene, but were felt and expressed in the private sphere. Arat makes clear that they were essential in transitioning the Turkish woman from a mass defined by the state into individuals who were self-defining. Women were able to exhibit many different faces and mold themselves in response to local priorities instead of a being treated as a monolithic type of woman who consumed the same products, who shared the same values, who sought the same futures. These differences were exhibited in print publications, and the popularization opinions in those publications helped to recognize and cater towards the public emergence of new communities of women. Particularly helpful during this period was the expanding market and increased consumerism, which brought about the proliferation of media outlets. This expansion weakened the state's grip on media. In this article, Arat is primarily concerned with how publications are helping to vocalize women's voices and develop a more complex relationship between women and the state.

In her work "Rethinking the Political: A Feminist Journal in Turkey, *Pazartesi*" Arat focuses on *Pazartesi*, a feminist journal. Although she does not focus on women's magazines directly, Arat, through laying out the context that allowed this new type of feminist journal to be produced, does so for magazines as well. An awareness of this context is important for understanding what type of environment women's magazines were being produced in during the 1980's and 1990's, and how this influenced the type of content they produced. *Pazartesi* was instrumental in challenging political ideology by articulating women's issues and politicizing popular culture with feminist criticisms (Yeşim Arat 2004, 282). Arat analyzes how the journal reinterpreted popular culture from a feminist perspective and then produced for its readers an empowering space in which women icons could be celebrated and up held (Yeşim Arat 2004, 282). This coverage also provided the public an opportunity to learn from women's experiences and created a social space in which values of equality could be upheld.

Political participation by women in Turkish politics was limited, as was their ability to redefine politics through formal means; therefore, women participated informally through avenues such as protests and print media sources such as journals, newspapers, and magazines (Yeşim Arat 2004, 282). Arat

references the period of the 1980s and 1990s as a time in which feminist ideas and values infiltrated women's print media sources, with one of those essential publications being that of the magazine, *Kadınca*. She describes *Kadınca* as a "commercial women's magazine imbued with feminist ideology" and "unlike other commercial women's magazines that perpetuated traditional female roles and values." *Kadınca* discussed issues women faced such as professional dilemmas and domestic abuse (Yeşim Arat 2004, 283). However, despite the content produced through written and pictorial avenues, the commercial interests which kept the magazines funded and afloat stereotyped women's roles and promoted patriarchal values in their advertisements (Yeşim Arat 2004, 283), which was the opposite of the goal of the magazine.

Pazartesi did not face funding pressures like *Kadınca*; this, *Pazartesi* was able to express women's issues and discuss large political challenges, such as the issues regarding Islamist and Kurdish communities. These contrasting experiences in publication, in which some magazines are limited in their expression of issues by the confines of their funding sources, draws to light a major weakness in the abilities of magazines to fully express the sentiments of their subscribers. However, despite the setbacks of external pressures such as the economics of producing a magazine and the politics of devising its content, Arat continually emphasizes how print media is important for promoting a rereading of popular culture to assert certain values of equality, choice, and visibility, such as in the 1990s and 1980s when there was an emerging feminist-focused community.

Another prominent scholar in the study of women's magazines is Süheyla Kırca. In her article, "Turkish Women's Magazines: The Popular Meets the Political," she looks at magazines *Kim* and *Kadınca* to focus on how the role of females and the idea of femininity came to be "treated as transformable" (Kırca 2001, 457). For Kırca's research, women's magazines are recognized as an economic phenomenon and social institution that endures alterations in its content and message as a result of political and economic changes (Kırca 2001, 457). She explores the addition of feminist discourses into women's magazines and looks at how different discourses and interests are managed in the magazines. Kırca agrees with the assertions of previous academics that meanings and values are socially constructed,

and thus it is the institutional power relations which construct the dominant "ideal" image. Yet, she asserts that this viewpoint only recognizes women as consumers, and through her work, she aims to understand how women are producers of cultural meaning as well (Kırca 2001, 459). Therefore, Kırca employs a method of textual analysis to 1995 versions of both *Kim* and *Kadınca* in order to investigate how they construct ways for readers to identify or understand themselves (Kırca 2001, 459). Overall, Kırca explores the possibilities and ways of intervening in popular culture and gaining a space to redefine what it means to be a Turkish woman. She draws the conclusion from textual analysis that the ideal Turkish woman drawn from these magazines is one who is "economically independent, aware of feminist issues, and seeks and alternative life" (Kırca 2001, 466).

Through the works of Duman, Arat, and Kırca, we recognize the developments that have lead to the production of modern Turkish women's magazines. Before the 1980s, as seen in Duman's work, the feminist presence in women's magazines was limited to a form of feminism that upheld and promoted the ideal women according to state feminism, as many of the magazines were owned by men and propagated a nationalist, male centric agenda. There was an overt presence of the government's ideology saturating the magazines, and thus it logically follows that the social and economic forces producing these magazines were prevented from circulating any content outside of the realm of what was approved and encouraged by the state.

Moving forward, Arat introduces how, during the 1980s and 1990s in which there was a liberalization of the market, there was also the emergence of second wave feminist influences which allowed for great change in content and message of magazines because governmental influences became more subtle; meaning, women slowly gained a platform to voice their issues and interests. The dominant state feminism that had encouraged women to be secularists, nationalists, mothers, wives, and workers, was crumbling and making way for 2nd wave feminism which focused on women's experiences in the work place, with their sexuality, interpersonal relationships, family, and more (Diner & Sule 2010, 41). With this development, 'women' moved from being viewed by the media as a mass of people meant to be

the face of modernization into being seen as diverse individuals with desires and demands unacknowledged and ignored by government influences. Here, 'women' is indicated in scare quotes to further draw your attention to the idea that the concept of 'woman' was moving away from being boxed into one type of ideal towards the concept that a plethora of diverse social spaces existed in which Turkish women operate and yet equally identify as a Turkish woman. Furthermore, Kırca asserts that women's identities came to be seen as transformable, and that women, even in light of advertisements and consumerism, are not just consumers, but producers of cultural meaning. This means that women gained greater control in defining their spaces and ideas about who constituted the 'ideal Turkish woman' — and even challenged the idea that there is one.

In thinking about these three pieces of literature together, we notice a budding recognition on the part of Turkish women's magazines that there are multiple ways of being a woman, that each outlet projects their own ideals, and that there is a growing desire among women to have an outlet which caters towards their interests. However, the magazines must also work within the confines of their relationship with economic and political forces that allow for their existence. These broader conditions of the republic are what drive the creation of new identities that demand proper social spaces. Consequently, the magazines, as a social space, must respond to these demands. The expansion and diversification of the women's magazine market ultimately means that there must be more than just one ideal image of the Turkish woman, as projected by the demands of women themselves and the broader societal contexts that lead to the creation of these new social spaces and magazines.

Though Duman, Kırca, and Arat focus on the forces in Turkey that have allowed women's print media to soar, there has neither been a concentrated discussion on foreign owned magazines that are produced within Turkey in a Turkish version, nor a discussion of magazines that are not influenced by anti-feminist or feminist perspectives.

To explore literature that delves into magazines that divert from those that focus on feminist issues, we turn towards the work of Cüneyt Dinç. His article, "*Veiling and (Fashion-) Magazines - 'Âlâ Dergisi'*"

Magazine as a Case for a new Consumer Image of a new Devout Middle Class in Turkey," explores how the magazine, *Âlâ*, represents a specific image of a new Islamic consumer in Turkey (Dinç 2016, 651). Dinç begins by describing how there has been the rise of a class of devout and affluent Muslims in Turkey who demand commodity goods that fit with their lifestyles and perspectives (Dinç 2016, 650). *Âlâ* is seen as a "material result" of social change in Turkey, specifically economic and political change, which have allowed for the rise of a wealthy middle class (Dinç 2016, 651). In order to understand this relationship, Dinç employs a critical discourse analysis in which he reveals three critical discourses found in *Âlâ*, thus showing that even in one magazine there are multiple discourses and ideals. First, there is the '*hanımefendi*' (gentle-lady) discourse, which creates the feeling of a "homogenous readership" and is different from secular magazines that only refer to their subjects by their name instead of an overarching title (Dinç 2016, 653). They want to make their readership feel different and exclusive through using specific language. Second, beauty discourse discusses topics such as make up and plastic surgery, and encourages its readers to be active in their beauty (Dinç 2016, 656). Thirdly, the magazine presents a "religious-familistic" discourse which, again, differentiates itself from secular magazines because they show that they care about "traditional ethical and spiritual issues" (Dinç 2016, 659).

Dinç's article represents a new wave of literature about women's magazines. Not only does he discuss one of the newest types of women's magazines emerging — Muslim lifestyle and fashion — but he discusses *Âlâ* in relation to secular magazines, and how it employs strategies to differentiate itself. Additionally, and most importantly, he is one of the first to engage in a pictorial analysis of the images of women and their body language as part of his argument.

Through Dinç we encounter a magazine genre which has resulted from the splinters of interests spurred by the struggle of feminists in the 1980s and 1990s; however, he does not describe the magazine as having any blatant concern with promoting feminist ideals as did its predecessors. This is not a common phenomenon amongst magazines — both secular and religious — to promote a certain lifestyle with an explicit feminist lens. Additionally, we notice that there have been linguistic, textual, and critical

discourse analyses applied to the study of Turkish women's magazines, and although Dinç's article does begin to explore visual analysis, none of the studies specifically analyze images as their main mode of analysis to gain insight into the different ways in which magazines produce and respond. Furthermore, there is still a lack of substantive discussion of magazines produced in Turkey, but headquartered in other countries.

Globally

In order to address aspects of women's magazines that current research on Turkish women's magazines does not cover, I now turn towards a small sampling of research about women's magazines across the world. This is in an effort to understand the types of questions and approaches being employed in their research. Additionally, it is to get an idea of why women's magazines in general and the images in them are so important. Currently, the only substantial research on Turkish women's magazines extends mostly to content, and greatly overlooks the importance of images.

Imported Magazines

To build off of one of the shortcomings discussed earlier, we begin with a look into the possible impact of imported content and magazines. Similar to Dinç, author Nadia Siddiqui has an interest in *Âlâ*; however, she is more concerned with how it fits into a larger discourse of women's magazines in Asian and Middle Eastern countries, such as Turkey, China, India, and Pakistan. Meaning, she is interested in how magazines in these regions are popularizing certain ideas and images in response to the global expansion of Western media (Siddiqui 2014, 13). In the case of *Âlâ*, the magazine is responding to changes internal to Turkey and global trends by creating a special space for Muslim women that is not largely seen on the world stage of print media.

Siddiqui asserts that women's magazines are "sites of presenting idealism associated with women to perform their gender roles" and that they aim to articulate information about local and global trends; however, Siddiqui recognizes that magazines are cultural products that are made to satisfy needs and demands of its consumers, and upon establishing this position, focuses on the idea that the portrayal of

women in magazines internal to Asia and the Middle East has been changing because of Western influences (Siddiqui 2014, 1). She emphasizes the idea that the magazines are aimed towards local audiences, but some of the magazines have an excessive projection of Western women and Western social values (Siddiqui 2014, 13). By introducing this imbalance, Siddiqui calls into question the origin of demands about women's equality, sexuality, and visibility of their bodies in contemporary magazines, and proposes that perhaps these changes are influenced by Western forces external to the countries where the material is being consumed.

Her questions regarding the balance of external versus internal influences in women's magazines is important in understanding the place of women's magazines that are imported into Turkey (such as *Marie Claire* and *Glamour*) as well as Western content. Her analysis is also important for exemplifying how broader patterns of change in politics and economics are important because, unlike the 1970s era in Turkey, current day policies and attitudes towards the West have allowed for the influx of Western products into Turkey; yet, they have also caused a reaction on the part of people who desire a different, perhaps a less international or more religious, space in women's magazines.

Image Analysis

Moving forward to the other identified weakness of the current body of research, we now look to three studies that analyze images in women's magazines so as to understand how images are essential and important elements in disseminating a particular unwritten discourse. In Chang Yuliang's, "A Semiotic Analysis of Female Images in Chinese Women's Magazines" the author analyses five stories and the accompanying images in four different Chinese women's magazines so as to understand what kinds of social myths underlie the different images of women and what kinds of ideologies they construct (Yuliang 2010, 181). For each story, Yuliang provides essential details including the title, subtitle, main narrative, data source, and a one to two sentence description of the picture data. The short descriptions of the images cover details such as facial expressions, location, activity, gender, etc. Yuliang concludes that there are at least three different kinds of female images that can be gleaned from the magazines: the iron girl

who is a de-gendered (or masculinized) woman and is patriotic and hard working, the considerate wife who loves her family, and the stylish woman (Yuliang 2010, 191). Although there is written coverage of women's issues, the accompanying images contain 'social myths' of a patriarchal society in which women are still expected to yield to traditional roles and "thank their families for their support" (Yuliang 2010, 192). In other words, the images reveal positions on womanhood that written content does not.

Another article about Chinese magazines, "The Making of the Woman - Stereotypical Representations of Gender on the Cover of Vogue China," by Emma Samsioe focuses specifically on Vogue China magazine covers and how they are a powerful medium for connecting the private and the public, culture and consumerism, and the stereotyped versus the real (Samsioe 2010, 2). She begins by emphasizing the importance of magazine covers in acting as a marketing tool and a factor of identification (Samsioe 2010, 3). She also describes how the covers change in response to not only local influences, but global integration and expansion of women's magazines, as well (Samsioe 2010, 2). Through applying a two-fold analysis of the covers, which includes a statistical and semiotic analysis, Samsioe discovers that there is a simplified and a mythical construction of women. This means that the front cover both "communicates and constructs" norms and ideals in lieu of what is most profitable, what conforms to current trends in the fashion system, and what propagates the official rhetoric of the magazine (Samsioe 2010, 38). She examines the hands, the eyes, and the body language of the models as well as the symbolism behind their red lips, pink cheeks, and bare skin, etc., to draw the conclusion that most of the models are portrayed as being sexy, seductive, and independent (Samsioe 2010, 39). Samsioe recognizes that the symbols behind how the women are dressed and positioned do not always resemble reality, but nevertheless, they are still a part of the historical discourse of women (Samsioe 2010, 39). She ends her discussion by emphasizing how the images are both a tool for subjugation and empowerment; meaning that the images are tools of subjection when they have the power to control women's lives and make them conform to certain ideals, but are also empowering in that they also encourage women to create their own styles and become a member of the 'global consumer culture' (Samsioe 2010, 40).

Overall, this article represents an ideal example on how to analyze magazine images, and connect their overt and symbolic meanings to a broader ideology about womanhood as influenced by broader forces.

Focusing on how women audiences perceive magazines, Shirin Zubair's article "Not Easily Put-Downable" researches how magazine representations of Muslim women's identities in Southern Punjab, Pakistan, are powerful resources for Muslim women to construct their identities. Through gathering quantitative data, she is able to assert that women's magazines are immensely popular in Pakistan, and discusses the different types and their publication details; however, before delving further into her research, she establishes how 'women' is a very broad category, and that it is misleading to "lump together women belonging to different races, religious, cultures, ethnicities, and sexual orientations" (Zubair 2010, 177). She asserts that the category of 'woman' is not monolithic. My research echoes the same sentiment.

She discusses how, from both a semiotic and linguistic standpoint, magazines are a site of identity construction for women. Through interviewing women about how they read, receive, and interpret magazines, she discovers that women, older women especially, internalize images of models in the magazines as physical role models in how to construct their own identities (Zubair 2010, 184). She concludes that the onslaught of beautiful women of a certain kind — slender, tall, fair-skinned, etc. — wearing the newest clothing styles "imply that women are idle, vain, and primarily concerned with their images" (Zubair 2010, 184). She concludes that Pakistani women's magazines regard women's bodies and social roles in a particularly patriarchal light, as indicated by their male-oriented discourse and objectification of female bodies and faces. This serves the interests of the patriarchy, who control many resources of publication and perpetuate these particular constructions of femininity (Zubair 2010, 186).

Conclusion

This literature review has reached several conclusions about the research field of Turkish women's magazines. Combined, the sources by Duman, Arat, Kırca, and Dinç establish how the introduction of feminism into women's magazines opened the floodgates for greater attention towards women's interests, thus introducing new markets created for different types of women. They also discuss how magazines are

important in representing and producing an image of the ideal Turkish woman, but because there are multiple outlets and influences in which the outlets are responding, there is not just one 'ideal' for which women should strive. Although they establish the importance of magazines themselves, none of the sources rely heavily on a pictorial analysis as their main method of understanding these changes and idealism, nor do they solidly address a significant part of the women's magazine market (imported magazines).

It is through reading a small sample of research about other women's magazines around the world that we find examples of how images in women's magazines are analyzed and considered essential for conveying messages about how a woman should dress, where a woman should be, what she should be interested in, etc. The following research in this thesis seeks to address these holes.

CHAPTER THREE: PROFILES & METHODOLOGY

In Chapter Two, I discussed and analyzed literature regarding Turkish women's magazines specifically, as well as reviewed examples of literature that discuss women's magazines more broadly from around the world. In this chapter, I will provide a profile of each magazine important to my research. I will detail their histories including publication dates and the context of their creation, as well as discuss the audiences they serve, their genre, and their goals. This type of factual introduction is important in providing essential background information in order to build a feel for each magazine before engaging with the visual analysis in Chapter Four. Although there are six magazines that I will profile in this chapter, only three of them are used as tools during my interviews, and later during my visual analysis.

Each of the six magazines was chosen for a specific reason. I chose to include a discussion *Kim* and *Kadınca* because they were at the forefront of the proliferation phenomenon of magazine genres in the 1980s and 1990s. They were new and unique on the scene, representing an overt feminist voice in comparison to their competitors. *Elele* and *Marie Claire* were chosen because of their long-term circulation status, along with their secular standpoints. *Glamour* was also chosen for its secular standpoint; however, along with *Aysha*, it is a very new and successful magazines on the market, indicating that there is room for growth. *Aysha* was chosen because it is one of the first magazines of a new type of genre — a genre geared toward's women of the Islamic bourgeoisie. Even though not all six magazines are used for visual analysis, they are important because they provide a broader look at the women's magazine market. They also provide background information about the contexts in which magazines have developed over the years, what changing ideas they are negotiating with, and the way in which their content and imagery reflect changing conditions.

This chapter will also include a discussion of the approach that I will use to analyze my research questions in Chapter Four and which materials I am navigating through to learn about the state of women's magazines. This direct address is important because the next chapter will connect what I discovered in previous literature with what I have found through my own navigation of materials in order

to reach a conclusion about the indications of the varying and changing portrayals of women in Turkish women's magazines, as well as the change in the types of magazines published.

Profiles

Kadınca and Kim

The 1980s and 1990s saw the immense proliferation of the print media market specifically in terms of sources that were created to satisfy the women of newly emerging women's movements. The two popular magazines that reflect the diversification caused by political and social movements of the time are *Kadınca* and *Kim*. *Kadınca* was launched in 1978 and ceased publication in 1998; *Kim* was launched in 1992 and ceased publication in 1999 (Kırca 2001, 458). These magazines were aimed towards middle and lower middle class Turkish women between the ages of 20 and 30 (Kırca 2001, 460).

Both magazines, for a period of time, were under the direction of chief editor, Duygu Asena, who was a famous author and feminist advocate. She sought to emphasize women's daily lives and introduce strategies for improving women's equality, especially in the space of the male-dominated editorial world. Through her leadership, *Kadınca* became a leading voice for the sentiments of feminist demonstrations and petition campaigns of the 1980s.

Published during the changing media market, *Kadınca* was one of the first women's magazines offering women information about what liberated women's goals should be, such as "employment, education, health, female sexual pleasure, and equal rights, alongside fashion, home, and childcare" (Kırca 2001, 460). Generally, women's magazines during this period were thought of as a force moving the representations of women and their roles in society away from traditional conceptions (Kırca 2001, 460). Like *Kadınca*, *Kim* had a similar agenda of addressing women's concerns about "relationships, sex, beauty, and fashion" but unlike *Kadınca*, there was a lack of coverage of sports, environment, and employment (Kırca 2001, 460). This cutback on the assortment of content was one way in which *Kim* was less concerned with diversification of topics,

and is also one example of how women's magazines covered a certain set of popular topics, but in the specific style of that magazines.

Due to a change in ownership and the lack of agreement between the new owner and Asena and her staff, in 1992 *Kadınca* was transformed into a traditional fashion and beauty magazine, and Asena left to work as chief editor of *Kim*. *Kim* was seen as a spinoff of *Kadınca* but had more glossy advertisements (Kırca 2001, 461). Even though it existed alongside popular and commercial advertisements (unlike *Kadınca*), *Kim* still continued to support independence for women and fostered the feminist perspectives of *Kadınca*.

An important incorporation of the feminist movement into the rhetoric of *Kim* and *Kadınca* was the slogan, “the personal is political” which is a metaphor describing the political implications of women's lives (Kırca 2001, 461). This marked a point in the popularization of the discussion of the issues and desires stemming from women's private lives. Both magazines were concerned with constructing a woman who is interested in learning about “her rights, her body and about life in general” with an emphasis on being independent, successful, and intellectual (Kırca 2001, 463).

Although the content of the magazines sought to move away from cliché images of women, they faced funding pressures. They needed not only to be popular for readers in terms of content and ideology, but they also needed to generate profits, which was often done by running advertisements, including those which may not have aligned with the magazine's content mission. Eventually, the main reason *Kadınca* went out of publication was because it was unable to attract enough advertisement investments to cover the cost of publication (Kırca 2001, 465). *Kim* was published by a larger company — Doğan Corporation Media Group — but also failed to attract enough advertisements to keep the magazine afloat.

These pressures faced by *Kim* and *Kadınca* to accommodate and balance different pressures is not isolated to the magazine industry; in fact, this phenomenon is widespread in all types of media and products, which is indicative of broad patterns of change in Turkey. The rise, the settle, and the

fall of magazines and their content correlate with social, economic, religious, and political patterns of change in Turkey because these factors influence how the country operates, how people live, and in turn what sort of demands are generated. There was a push in these two magazines for a feminist agenda, a breaking down of boundaries, and a questioning of what it meant to be an ‘ideal’ Turkish woman, which was an agenda that the audience was obviously interested in as evidenced by continued sales; however, the push and pull of a number of pressures, namely economic and social factors, propagated advertisements that contrasted with those missions. Although these images did not correlate with the progressive content, they were a necessary and pervasive force that funded their circulation. This connection between the developments of magazines as an indicator of broader patterns of change in Turkey is why the visual analysis of women’s magazines, with certain questions in mind, is an important window into understanding certain aspects in Turkey’s development and its new social spaces.

Elele

Elele, meaning ‘hand to hand’ began publication in Turkey in 1976, and, since then, has released a new addition monthly. The magazine’s 2013 media kit quotes, “Kadın oldukça; elele, yolunda yalnız kalmayacak...” meaning that women will not be alone on their path (*Elele* Media Kit, 2).

The reader profile (okur profili) according to the media kit is mostly women (88%) with 19% of readers being between the ages of 15-20, 50% of the readers being between 21-34, and 31% of the readers being over the age of 35 (*Elele* Media Kit, 2). Of these readers, 61% share the information that they learn from the magazine, and 71% consider it a valuable information outlet (*Elele* Media Kit, 3). Many of the women also indicated that they found *Elele* relaxing and something they would read for enjoyment in their free time.

Two pages in the media kit were dedicated to information not directly related to the readership demographics of *Elele*. One page featured information about a spinoff magazine of *Elele* — Bebeğimle — that focuses even more in depth on an important topic of womanhood for the magazine — motherhood.

The other page featured the different digital platforms in which *Elele* is expanding. There were icons advertising for Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and their upcoming app. These aspects of *Elele's* expansion are important because it shows that *Elele* is growing and encompassing more demands of its readership, including issues dealing with motherhood and the desire to have access to *Elele* products and discourse beyond a printed format. The dedication of two whole pages to elements of magazine-related content is incredibly important because this space could be used to describe the magazine more, but is instead utilized to emphasize other elements that are seen as important. This indicates two huge developments that are important to *Elele* producers.

Elele began publication 2 years before *Kadınca* and has had a more successful run, as evidenced through its continued publication and its expansion into spin-off magazines and digital media. This success begs the question what the differences and similarities between the two magazines that might account for the success of *Elele* over *Kadınca*? As described earlier, *Kadınca* originally began publishing with a heavy influence of feminist forces, but then morphed into a traditional fashion/lifestyle magazine, and then reverted back into a feminist magazine. There were large changes in content due to ownership, and these essential changes may have decreased the loyalty of their readership.

Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, there was a great chasm between what the written content and associated images were trying to get across and what the advertisements, which funded the circulation, were portraying. *Elele* focuses on the betterment of women, but through a certain feminist lens that is different from *Kadınca* and *Kim*. *Elele* is more conducive to glossy advertisements for makeup, clothing, etc. than the other two because it is more mainstream and consumerist. This versatility and ability to compromise must be a factor in its continued success — as if the *Elele* staff understood the boundaries they can push, adjust, and compromise.

Marie Claire

“*Marie Claire* is more than a pretty face. It is the fashion magazine with character, substance, and depth, for women with a point of view, an opinion, and a sense of humor. Each issue is edited for a sexy,

stylish, confident woman who is never afraid to make intelligence part of her wardrobe.” (Marie Claire Groupe).

Marie Claire was founded in 1937 by Jean Prouvost, a French industrialist, whose goal was to “present the realities of life mixed with fashion and beauty coverage”(Marie Claire Groupe). *Marie Claire* magazine is produced by the Marie Claire Group, which states on its website that it is dedicated to identifying and following “women’s greatest trends and aspirations by offering them magazines that follow a single requirement: to provide selective and high quality information” (Marie Claire Groupe). They also state that they uphold feminine and humanistic values and seek to be a “diverse and attractive reflection of women. All women.” (Marie Claire Groupe)

Today, the original magazine — not including the special parenting, travel, beach, etc. editions — is published in 34 countries (Marie Claire Groupe). The magazine expanded to Turkey in 1998 and has been published every month since that time. As with all other country-specific versions, the Turkish *Marie Claire* is governed by a commercial prerogative of “innovation and efficiency” that is “imagined to anticipate and follow as closely as possible the market developments” (Marie Claire Groupe). The immense proliferation of *Marie Claire* throughout the world since 1982 with its main magazine and its multiple spinoffs and expansive digital media presence yields questions about the consistency of content and ideology of the magazine. Does each version uphold the same feminist and humanistic values, or are they set according to that country’s particular context and desires? Would the version of *Marie Claire* in Turkey feature the main cover story or market the same products as a version of *Marie Claire* in countries such as England or Germany that do not experience a similar push and pull between secular and religious consumers?

Glamour

Glamour magazine was first published in the United States in 1939, and has since then expanded to 16 countries, ranging over 5 continents (Glamour Media Kit). The newest expansion occurred in February 2016 in Turkey. *Glamour* prides itself on being a “guide to stay happy and have a stylish life” and

boasts that it is inspired by the “styles of world famous stars” (Glamour Media Kit). They want their readers to believe that they can be as “attractive as celebrities” in their daily lives (Glamour Media Kit). In order to create a space in which women can gain beauty skills and condition themselves to be more happy, *Glamour* offers sections on ‘Fashion & Beauty’, “Sex & Relationships”, and “Street Style”. The reader profile of *Glamour* belongs to the upper and middle socioeconomic classes between the ages of 18 and 35.

In the context of Turkey specifically, publishing in Turkey was the initiative of Condé Nast International, a magazine conglomerate based in London. Condé Nast prides itself on its commitment to autonomy and decentralization, believing that each company operating directly within a particular market knows best the needs for that market and has the responsibility to carry out the mission of Condé Nast within the context of that market. Their main goal is to “deliver influential content and brand experiences for discerning individuals who demand to be inspired’ (Conde Nast).

Aysha

The Turkish women’s fashion and lifestyle magazine, *Aysha*, began publication in January 2013, and seeks to provide advice for women on shopping, beauty, and social life (88 Rue Du Rhone). There are limited English resources available with information regarding *Aysha*’s circulation statistics, history, and mission; however, the sources that are available about *Aysha* concur that the magazine addresses the fashion and social lives of upper-class Muslim women, and promotes a strong Muslim individual (Sayan-Cengiz, 58; Karagöz and Deveci, 28). In addition to producing a monthly print copy of the magazine, *Aysha* is also extremely present on social media sites such as Instagram and Twitter, posting almost daily, and is active in the fashion community of Istanbul, participating in events such as the Istanbul Modest Fashion Week (Atakanaydin 2016). Even though *Aysha* is appealing to a Turkish audience, the spelling of the name, with the ‘sh’ instead of the ‘ş’, is interesting because this is spelling is foreign.

During the interview portion of my research, my two interviewees were given the options to look through *Elele*, *Aysha*, and *Glamour*. The reason these three magazines were chosen is because they represent

a range of what is new and old, what is Turkish and what is imported, as well as what is ‘mainstream’ and what is ‘specific’. For example, both *Elele* and *Aysha* were originally produced in Turkey, whereas Glamour’s headquarters are in the UK. *Elele* and *Glamour*, though originating from different countries, both operate within a similar secular sphere whereas *Aysha* has religious outlook. Finally, *Glamour* and *Aysha* are similar in that they are both fairly new publications, having been released in the past 5 years whereas *Elele* has been around since 1976. Limiting my analysis of magazine images to this specific sampling will narrow my research and allow for a focus on what is happening and being produced today. Understanding the history of the other magazines establishes a context in which these chosen magazines are in conversation with today.

The interviewees themselves were all women living in Istanbul. The youngest, Luna, aged 21, is half-British, half-Turkish, and grew up in Istanbul, but is currently attending university in England. My other interviewee, April, is in her early forties and was once an English teacher, but now owns and works at a Mexican restaurant in Beyoğlu. Beyond being Turkish and being able to communicate in English, my interviewees were not chosen based on specific criteria as were the magazines. Their insights about the magazines, though not essential to this research, were helpful in formulating relevant questions. Portions of their interviews will be inserted into magazine analysis in Chapter Four.

Methodology

Although we depend on imagery for evidence of a reality, images, due to the subjective nature of their production, can be presented in a certain light or be used to emphasize a stronger or weaker version of a particular reality. Therefore, all images absorb and portray societal tensions, and are constructed through a conversation between their immediate and broader contexts (Faigley 2003, 100). The immediate context includes the creator's conscious selection of materials and decisions about what to focus on, as well as through what methods the image is being produced and for what purpose. The broader context involves the circumstances in which the image is produced. According to *Picturing Texts*, a guide to visual communication, there are four broader contexts at play: historical, cultural, social, and

economic (Faigley 2003, 15). This thesis replaces consideration of the cultural and historical contexts with political and religious contexts, as they are more specifically related to changes occurring in Turkey between 1980 and 2016. I will examine the immediate contexts — the women's magazines — through the lens of specific themes in order to better understand how these broader contexts (economic, political, religious, and social) may be changing.

Magazine imagery specifically is a product of what a producer desires to share according to their mission, what they believe their audience wants to consume, and what current social, political, and economic tensions allow them to produce. This thesis focuses more on what types of images are being generated through the platform of the magazine, as opposed to how specific audiences are interpreting the images. Although the opinions of the viewers are important, a great deal more interviews and a more in depth, encompassing research project would have to be undertaken to understand how the audiences of women's magazines are responding. Therefore, this thesis focuses on how women's magazines represent a social space, and how current and newly created magazines absorb and portray particular trends according to the mission of the magazine and the demands of their target audience. In order to explore how images in women's magazines are indicators of these broader influences, I will detail the physical attributes of several images in multiple magazines according to the following three themes.

Themes

I developed three key themes to analyze magazine images based upon what elements I have determined are important elements in understanding social, political, religious, and economic changes. My development of these themes was mainly informed by Dyer's checklist for exploring how certain qualities or signs in human photography produce meaning (Faigley 2003, 80-82). Dyer's checklist points are indicated in parenthesis next to the method that correlates closest to my methods. Her specific checklist is important because her research focuses on certain signs, or qualities, of images that produce meaning. This list is key to exploring what signals in human imagery may symbolize.

- 1) Arrangement & Environment (Props & Settings) focuses on what elements of the image are included and what may be excluded, as well as what is present in the foreground and the background. There is not only a focus on where a person or object is placed, but what sort of meaning it may hold based on its social significance. We want to know whether the person is at school, work, home, etc. and what this may say about their position in society.
- 2) Attributes & Expressions (Representations of Body and Representations of Manner) focuses on bodily attributes and expressions, such as the feelings that may be expressed on a person's face, where they are looking, how they are standing, what they are wearing etc., as well as basic descriptive characteristics such as age, gender, build, etc.
- 3) Activities (Representations of Activity) focuses on what a person is doing and where they are doing it. Is the person in working or having fun? Are they active or passive? Is there a certain spatial arrangement of people who are active and what are their levels of engagement and their roles?

The main goal in using these themes as a guide to analyzing magazine images is to understand an image in light of the pieces that compose it, and then layer these elements together so as to gain an idea about the 'bigger picture'. The following chapter begins my analysis using *Elele*, *Aysha*, and *Glamour*.

CHAPTER FOUR: MAGAZINE ANALYSIS

Now that each magazine has been introduced and the methodology for examination has been laid out, this chapter focuses on image analysis. I begin with an analysis of several front covers of each of the magazines considered in this research — *Kadınca*, *Kım*, *Elele*, *Marie Claire*, *Glamour*, and *Aysha*. I am discussing the front covers first for two reasons: 1) The front cover is an audience's initial interaction with a magazine, meaning that there must be an important element on the cover that pulls in the reader to open the magazine, and 2) the front cover sets a precedent for what will be found inside the magazine. After surveying several front covers of all of the magazines concerned in this research, I then move forward to analyzing the images inside the May 2016 issues of *Elele*, *Glamour*, and *Aysha*. I will conclude this chapter by discussing the prevalent trends I found inside those three magazines individually and compare them with the collective trends found on the front covers of the rest of the collection of magazines used in this research. The goal in exploring patterns of change in Turkish women's magazines over time is to utilize the conclusions as indicators of broader change in Turkish society. This method of analysis seeks to answer questions about what forces may be causing change in Turkey and what these changes may look like.

Part One: Front Covers

In this section about magazine covers, I seek to outline important patterns of continuity and change that have occurred in each magazine over the span of time in which they have been, or were, in publication. That being said, obtaining cover images for some of the magazines was an easier process than for others. *Kadınca*, *Elele*, and *Marie Claire* each sport a plethora of easily available front covers; however, covers for *Kım* are not as easily available, perhaps due to the length of time in which the magazine has been out of circulation, and the covers for *Aysha* and *Glamour* are also limited, more so because they are new on the market and have less material in circulation. Regardless of the amount of covers that have been found, examining the larger picture of Turkish women's magazines over a 35 year

span of time is important in picking out patterns of change occurring in the magazines individually, as well as more broadly within this group of magazines.

Questions I will be asking for this section about front covers in particular include: What are the common trends, if any, of change in style of cover? Are there changes in the types of people who are featured and how they are positioned and/or fashioned? Do the front covers portray women in a multitude of environments with gradient (i.e. decipherable characteristics) or in a static environment? Are the people engaging in some sort of activity, and what is the nature of this activity (i.e. passive)? Do the subjects present a certain sort of attitude through their facial expressions and body language? All of these questions focus on important elements of the front cover imagery and, together, they may indicate what is important to the magazine and women during a certain time period, as well as reveal the type of social and political environment in which the magazine was produced.

Kadınca (1978 - 1998)

One of the first noticeable patterns of *Kadınca* covers throughout 1980 and into 1981 is the limited coverage of women's bodies. The covers tend to only show head shots, which include the woman's face, hair, shoulder region, and the occasional hand lifted to touch her face. Though only covering a small portion of a woman's body, the covers do feature women with varying styles of hair, ranging from dark to light, and length, ranging from short to long, with the shortest hairstyle falling to no shorter than the shoulders. The women's facial expressions bounce between sexy, content, or happy.

What might be the reason for not showing more of a woman's body beyond her face and shoulders? Coming off the heels of the limited consumerism of the 1970s, an economic mindset of limitation and homogenization may have persisted in the early 1980s, impacting the level of variety in fashion and expression the magazine creators may have thought they could produce. Or, perhaps the gaze of the military, which was in control of the government at the time, did not foster a creative environment for magazine publishers. Whatever the reason, as the 1980s carried forward, the imagery on *Kadınca* covers slowly began to diversify.

November 1981



November of 1981 is the first cover of *Kadınca* featuring a woman's body beyond her face and shoulders. The woman wears a yellow, shoulderless dress with white flowers on her chest and white lace on the shoulder sleeves. Her curly blonde hair is fashioned on top of her head and she is smiling directly at the camera. The left side of her body is angled away from the viewer with her right side and shoulder angled upward towards the viewer. The background is a fully black backdrop, so we are not given a clue as to where she may be or what she may be doing; however, her coy, friendly smile coupled with her bright, summery dress indicates that we should imagine her as being in a fun,

warm place. This cover is the beginning of a trend in the 1980s in which *Kadınca*'s front covers diversify from headshots to include a range of clothing and body positions. However, until 1985, the dominant environment in which women are featured is one devoid of worldly placement. The backgrounds in front of which the women pose are blank, and similarly, there is a lack of any sort of pattern of activity, meaning that the women are not engaged in any specific activity beyond posing, perhaps to show off their clothing or themselves.

September 1982



The first cover of *Kadınca* featuring a woman's full body - from head to toe - is the September 1982 issue. The woman is wearing a sleeveless, calf-length black dress with a neckline that plunges to her waist, and black high heels. Her black hair is pinned up, allowing her neck and shoulders to be more visible, and she is looking expectingly at the camera, neither quite smiling nor pouting. Her positioning on the chair, with her upper body leaning forward and her hands grabbing on the edge of the seat between her knees, permeates a relaxed and confident personality. Although the audience may be unsure of her

location due to the gradientless background, one may imagine, due to her open body stature, that if she was pictured in a public setting, she might be in a place where people socialize, perhaps at a bar or a party. This assumption is built upon the clothes she is wearing and the type of elevated chair she is sitting on. The combination of her black dress and heels may signify that is dressing up for some sort of special social occasion, and the elevation of the chair suggests that she is in a place where a person might have sit up to something - such as a high table or a bar counter. Although we can neither definitively place her in a particular environment nor draw a conclusion about her specific activity, we may assume that she is in a social place, possibly interacting with other people.

The style of her clothing, the assumed activity she may be engaged in and where, are all different from the woman in the yellow dress on the 1981 cover. We are able to gather from these images that these two women, though similar in that they are featured on the cover of the same magazine, are different and individual. Though this small comparison may seem insignificant to point out, it is actually important to draw one's attention to these differences in styles of clothing, hair, position, facial expression, and (not in this case, but in other cases) environment and activity because they important elements in distinguishing women as individuals rather than a forgettable, monolithic mass.

March 1981

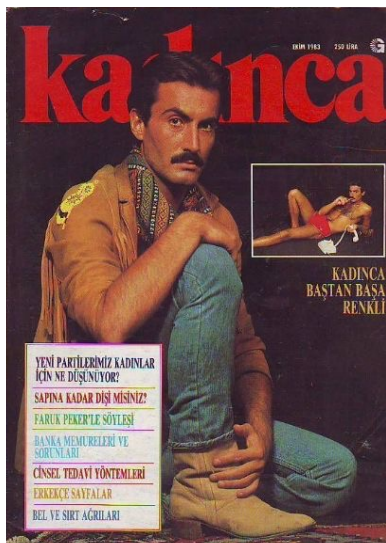


In 1981, during the period in which *Kadınca* still only featured head shots, there was the first emergence of a man accompanying a woman on the front cover. The March 1981 issue presents a man and a woman who are both smiling and looking straight at the viewer. They are positioned together in a comfortable, familiar manner, with the woman in front of the man, leaning into his shoulder. They appear to have equal roles in this frame, both posing for a picture as if they are a happy couple. It is not clear where they are located, but the positioning of their bodies suggests that perhaps they are not meant to be in a specific place - they may just be posing for a photo that is meant for the

sole sake of a photo. I chose to include this cover, even though it may appear to be a simple picture of a couple, because its simplicity and ‘normalcy’ is what makes it stick out on the cover of a woman's magazine. In this context, as the later portion of this chapter shows, the appearance of a man on the front cover of women's magazines is a rarity because, increasingly, cover images are more focused on the beauty and allure of women, and not so much their relationships with other people.

The next occurrence of a man appearing on the front cover of *Kadınca* is a more complicated image, and may be more telling about *Kadınca's* different approaches in bringing women's issues to the forefront. The October 1983 issue features only a man. He is displayed in two pictures. In the larger, main cover photo the man has a mustache and his hair is combed. He is clothed in jeans, boots, and a tan jacket with what appears to be a patterned, collared shirt underneath. His expression is serious as he stares in the audience's direction. Positioned in a similar manner to the women on other covers of *Kadınca*, he is crouching close to the ground on what appears to be a carpet, gripping one knee close to his chest while the other is positioned underneath of his body to sit on. His body is packed together and taking up little room. Departing from this position where he is constricting the amount of space his body fills, the same man is featured in a smaller picture on the right of the cover occupying a great deal more space. He is propped on his left elbow, lounging on the ground with one leg stretched out forward and the other bent

October 1983



at the knee. He is wearing red underwear and has a suggestive look on his face as he holds a cigarette to his mouth in one hand and a white telephone receiver in the other. Following the consistency of preceding *Kadınca* covers, the audience is not aware of his specific environment, as the background is only a black backdrop. However, the audience is given hints about his situation based on his scanty clothing, body stature, and activity in the smaller frame. It is highly likely that he is involved in some sort of sexual situation, whether that is a consensual and/or legal situation, the viewer (without reading the surrounding text) is not aware.

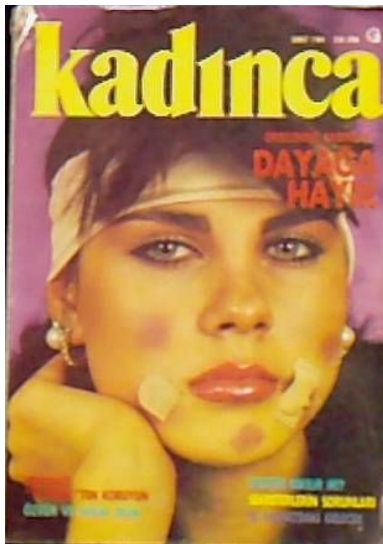
To feature solely a man, and such a dynamic man at that, on the front cover of a woman's magazine that is supposed to promote equality between men and women and demand a public cognizance of the plurality of women's identities, experiences, and issues, is ironic. Given that this issue of *Kadınca* was published in 1983 during a wave of feminism that called for women's voices to be heard over the voices of men who had spoken for them and over them for so long, does giving a man his own space in a space that is supposed to be for women taking that space away from women? Or is it possible that this cover was meant as an intentional tactic in channelling women's thoughts directly towards an idea that men are not always who they appear to be, and that even though women are increasingly gaining spaces of their own, men are still invading these spaces?

From the mid-to-later 1980s, there was a greater increase in the angles and clothing styles in which women were positioned, as well as the continued, yet occasional, instance of men (both posing with women and alone). *Kadınca* also began introducing women into specific environments, featured them engaging in decipherable activities, and expressing a wider range of emotion. These changes to diversify the representation of women were part of a larger series of efforts on the part of the women's movement to bring to the forefront women's issues and legitimize their claims of individualism. However, throughout the 1980s, the military government restrained political organization of both the Left and the Right; thus, it was important that the women's movement kept their activities decentralized from traditional political activities (Atakav 2013, 28). Presenting women's issues and concerns through the platform of a women's magazine was thus an especially advantageous method in forging women's interests and voices forward. Also working in the women's movement's favor, though incredibly sexist and belittling, was the fact that feminist initiatives were deemed "politically insignificant" and were viewed as personal issues, not as political ones (Atakav 2013, 28). The pattern appears to be that the increased diversity in *Kadınca's* portrayals of women's activities, expressions, and environment correlated with the increased involvement of women in acting out feminism in a depoliticized public space.

The women's movement of the 1980s witnessed a rise in popular feminism that openly criticized the oppressions of women through focusing activism efforts on issues such as domestic violence and the limitations of self-expression (Öztürkmen 2013, 256). Through launching feminist publications, organizing campaigns against violence and sexual harassment, as well as, increasingly throughout the 1990s, developing institutionalization efforts to raise awareness about women's inequality and empowerment, the women's movement was able to articulate and make visible in the public sphere women's identities, and aspects of women's identities that had beforehand been overlooked or unable to be expressed (Onar and Parker 2012, 378). These two issues - domestic violence and the freedom to visually express oneself as one so chose - were addressed by *Kadınca*. Two editions covering these issues are discussed next.

The February 1984 edition of *Kadınca* shines a public spotlight on the issue of physical abuse against women in the private sphere. The woman on the front cover sports a short haircut, is wearing make up (eyeshadow and lip gloss), a headband, and large pearl earrings. Her face is propped on the heel of her hand. Despite only picturing her face, the image of this woman is very eye-catching because her face is covered in bruises and bandages. During the 1980s, a large goal on the agenda of the women's movement was to publicize domestic abuse in the public sphere so as to draw attention to an end the issue.

February 1984



This cover clearly and straightforwardly demonstrates the physical impact of abuse upon women, as well as encourages a reader to question what happened to this woman why. Furthermore, it is possible that this cover resonates with some women on a personal level, reflecting a reality in their life and creating a sense of community awareness. For a publicly circulated women's magazine to so blatantly visually address the issue of domestic violence is to display their cognizance of the issue and their desire to initiate a discussion about the issue.

The 1980s also saw the transformation from the discouragement of wearing the headscarf to the legal ban of the headscarf in public arenas such as government offices, hospitals, and schools (Smith 2013). Turgut Özal, the prime minister of Turkey from 1983 to 1989, attempted to lift the ban, but his initiatives were blocked by the Kemalist judiciary (Akbulut 2015, 433). Jumping forward to the 1997 military intervention, policies were imposed that eradicated signs of Islam in public, further banning the headscarf from the public sphere (Akbulut 2015, 433). This ban was problematic for several reasons. It pitted religiously observant Turks who were ascending to power in the government beginning in the 1990s against secular elites who were also vying for power within the Turkish state, as well as heightened concerns for Muslim women wearing headscarves who were discriminated against when looking for jobs (Arsu and Bilefsky 2013). It was not until 2011 that the prohibition of headscarves was lifted at universities, and until 2013 that prohibition of headscarves in state offices was abolished (et. al.).

With this history in mind, the November 1986 issue of *Kadınca* is important because it features a woman wearing a black head covering during a time in which wearing a veil in public was discouraged and in some public arenas, illegal. The woman on the cover looks straight at the audience as she holds part of the cloth to cover her mouth. There is a smaller accompanying image on the front cover in the bottom lefthand corner featuring a woman wearing sunglasses and a white button up shirt. She does not

November 1986



have a head covering, and we are able to deduce that she is engaged with her audience through intense visual contact. Due to the lack of visual cues, such as location, activity, body language, interaction with other people, and other details, it is difficult to tell whether *Kadınca* is supporting or opposing the headscarf. Yet, even though we are unable to pin down a stance based on imagery alone, the fact that *Kadınca* is presenting a woman in a headscarf on the front of the magazine during a time when headscarf politics were intensifying is important because this imagery publicly provides a catalyst for conversation about the issue.

March 1986



Continuing with the theme of women's expression, the next magazine cover addresses the issue of inequality in the workplace. The March 1986 edition of *Kadınca* features a man and a woman in front of a plain white background; however, the props, body language, and clothing convey a strong message that successfully locates them in an office setting. Both the man and woman are wearing what may be considered business clothing by Western standards - the man has on a suit and tie, and the woman has on a skirt, heels, hose, and a patterned blouse. These clothing clues leading one to assume that they are in a

business environment. Yet, no matter how normal their clothing may appear, their physical arrangement is out of the 'literal' normal of what one may see in a business environment. I say 'literal' because there is a literal meaning associated with the physical placement of their bodies that is not normal, but there is also a loud, figurative meaning that fits into the state's patriarchal influences that women were attempting to combat at the time.

In the image, the woman is tied to a chair with her hands behind her back while a man stands beside her, one leg raised so that his foot can rest on her chair, and his elbow resting on this thigh. They both have expressionless faces, as if you just walked into a room where they were having a normal conversation. His stance is one of comfortable, relaxed power whereas she is clearly in a submissive, physically oppressed state. In a literal sense, the cover is displaying how a man has dominated a woman and has securely put her in a place where he wants her, where he may easily look over her and make sure she is where he wants her.

Symbolically, the cover may be expressing issues such as inequality in the work place, subordination of women in general due to the direct action of men, as well as the relaxed, approving manner men have in response to women's forced subordination. This third issue is still relevant even if we are to assume that the man in the picture was not the person who tied the woman up. Although he may

not have been the subjugator, through his lack of action and complicity, he is still at fault for not being an ally in bringing about her equality. Yet, extending this idea of complicity, the woman's face and body do not portray a struggle or surprise; she appears nonemotional, as if she has accepted her position and is not willing to fight to obtain equality with the man. Therefore, this image could be both a critique of some men's and women's absence in movements to gain women's equality.

May 1986



Two months later, in the May 1986 issue of *Kadınca*, there is what appears to be a family in a home setting. As part of the scenery there is a baby sitting on the floor on top of a rug and pillow, a toy, a plant, two pots, and a dog. In the middle of the frame is a woman, who in this cover is assumed to be a mother, holding a man who may be the father figure, and a second child. She is the only person in the image engaging in any type of active action. Similar to the front cover of the man and woman in a business setting, the man, woman, and children in this home setting has both literal and figurative interpretations.

The woman is literally holding up her family, and is the only standing element amidst a sea of duties - taking care of the dog, cooking, watching the children, etc. She is the only person engaged in an action - holding up her family. This solo action is applicable to all of the other elements on the cover, meaning that she is the one who takes care of the dog, who watches the children, who maintains the home, the one who does the cooking and the cleaning. She is wearing what appears to be a nice work shirt and skirt, implying that she possibly has a job outside of the home as well.

Apart from literally holding her family in her arms, she is figuratively gluing them together as well, as it appears that everyone and everything is relying on her presence to exist as it does. This cover speaks to how women, even as the women's movement is actively working to elevate women's status in society beyond motherhood and wifedom, is still portrayed as the essential backbone to family life. Without her, how would all of these elements operate successfully? This cover glaringly shows that the

burden of caring for the family — and by extension the nation — is heavy; however, the image also presents the idea that a woman does all of these errands seemingly effortlessly, as indicated by the smile on her face.

February 1989



In another cover featuring multiple people, the February 1989 cover features two women with their backs to one another. The woman on the right is wearing a long skirt down to her calves, a loose, white blouse covering her arms and shoulders, and is holding flowers up to her chest. The woman on the left is wearing a black, puffy dress that covers her arms, and extends to her mid thigh. She is wearing black pantyhose, high heels, and is holding what appears to be a long cigarette in her hand. The placement of the women — back to back — could either illicit a notion that they are at odds with one another, and that they are meant to be compared and contrasted by their audience.

Or perhaps, their placement could suggest that although they are different, they are supporting one another, utilizing their different strengths and personalities. However, it is my inclination to assume that these two women are positioned back to back in order to have the audience engage in an exercise of contrast and comparison. Supporting this proposition are the drastic differences in clothing style, body positions, and facial expressions. The woman on the left projects a more open, social, edgy clothing style and body language with her chin held high in the air; whereas the woman on the right has a more modest style of dress and what appears to be a more demure attitude as she gazes down at her flowers. In addition, coupled with their blocked body language, the distance between them signals that they wish to remain in their own spheres, and not get closer to one another.

Featuring these two women in full-length, side by side, is important because this image serves as a commentary about women and their relationships with one another. Clearly, women are different. There are women who choose one style over another, with style potentially concerning how one chooses to live,

dress, worship, behave, etc. Yet, regardless of these differences, each woman equally deserves a social space where they may live out their life according to their own preferences. The differences between women do not mean that they are unequal. Even though they are back to back, both share an occupation of this space in their own right.

July 1992



The final *Kadınca* cover to be discussed is the July 1992 issue in which a man and a woman stand outside, looking one another in the eye, separated by a tall white picket fence. The flowers that are on top of the fence situated between them and the woman's outfit, which consists of a red tank top and long skirt, suggest that it is a warm season, perhaps Spring or Summer. The intertwining of their hands and their comfortable body language whereby they are smiling and looking one another in the eye, indicates that they are familiar with one another. They may be engaged in some sort of romantic relationship. Although

they are comfortable with one another and appear to be happy, the large white picket fence physically separating them points to the notion that there is some sort of symbolic barrier separating them as well. Considering that they are probably in public (such as a park) or a semi-public area (such as between different homes or apartments) the white picket fence may stand for a social barrier existing between men and women in public spaces. It could symbolize that although they may not have interpersonal issues to work through, their relationship is still impacted by larger social forces that influence relationships between the different genders.

The ten issues of *Kadınca* discussed in this thesis cover a wide variety of topics, including women's roles in the private and public sphere, relationships with family, men, and other women, domestic violence, inequality in the work place, and the role of religion and religious expression in public life. These topics were increasingly addressed with greater layering and complexity of image construction. The front covers underwent a transition from featuring simple, headshot images or gradientless backgrounds, to

involved setups in which the subjects were engaged in some sort of activity or were modeled in such a way that their activities and emotions were rendered decipherable.

This increased complexity in visual representation allowed for the issues discussed in the magazines to be more readily apparent. This does not mean that the contents of the magazine issues that had less complex covers did not address complex issues; to be clear, the issues which presented more involved and/or clear environments, expressions, and activities were able to more clearly broadcast the issues in a format that was understood without having to be read. This visual medium allowed for a more vocal (per say) commentary and critique of women's roles and lives in an easily accessible format.

Kim (1992 - 1999)

The sample of analysis for *Kim* is much smaller than the sample gathered for *Kadınca* because there were less accessible covers. Therefore, drawing out big picture ideas and changes over a long period of time will not be as plausible with *Kim* as it was with *Kadınca*. However, analysis of *Kim* covers is still important in identifying possible topics of interest in women's magazines during the time period of *Kim*'s publication. The three covers chosen were selected from a group of seven *Kim* covers that I was able to find. They were chosen because they are all distinct from one another and represent the widest range of image diversity in the group from which I selected.

December 1995



The first *Kim* cover in this group is the December 1995 issue. The woman on the front is sitting against a wall on some sort of raised platform, with her left arm propping her up and her right arm casually laid across her lap. She is wearing a black dress with 1-inch thick straps, a deep V-neck, and a slit on the side that makes visible her left thigh. Her long, brunette hair is free flowing, and her facial expression looks inviting, but not too friendly. Although we are not able to place her into any specific environment, we may deduce based on her outfit that she is at an event for which the norm is to dress up.

This cover echoes the September 1982 issue of *Kadınca* discussed earlier, where the woman was also wearing a black dress and appeared to be in some sort of public place for socialization. Both women also appear relaxed and confident, as if they are in a place that is familiar to them or the they are with friends. Although these two front covers are featured on different magazines and are 13 years apart in publication, the similarities in their clothing, expressions, and passive activities, point to an idea of consistency over time. It is possible that in the time that passed between *Kadınca* and *Kim*'s publications, elements of society, politics, the life of women, etc. remained the same. This would be an ideal time to incorporate textual analysis into my analysis in order to draw out specific nuances between the written content on the magazine covers; however, the strength of this thesis is that it draws conclusions based on visuals that textual elements may look over or portray differently than written text. Therefore, we will move forward with the assumption that although Turkish society may have endured great change, basic elements of social interaction remained the same.

January 1997

April 1997



The January 1997 issue is very different. It features only the face of a woman, and she is gazing at the viewer with an unplaceable expression. The black, white, and gray color scheme of the cover leads one to narrow the possibilities of feelings or thoughts she might be having into a category of seriousness, thoughtfulness, sadness, and any number of thoughts or emotions associated with this color scheme. This cover is very subtle compared to the April 1997 issue, which is in full color and features a woman bent

forward toward the audience with a big smile on her face, almost as if she is laughing. Her hair is pinned up in a bun, and she is wearing a white dress covered in a print with red cherries. This cover is very playful, bright, and colorful compared to January 1997 issue of *Kim*.

Considering all three covers together, and assuming that the rest of the covers fall into this pattern of variety, it may be loosely asserted that the magazine presents a multi-dimensional woman who feels a wide range of emotion and operates in different social spheres. However, tying them back to the *Kadınca* covers, the *Kim* covers lack a certain complexity of character because they do not place the women in any particular environments or have them engaging in any specific activity. The woman's features, including her facial expression, clothing, and body language, are the focal points of the covers, giving no hint as to what or where her place in the world may be. Considering that *Kim* only published for 7 years, and that there was a constant battle over content and advertising between the editors and funders, it is understandable that the face of *Kim* - the front cover - would appear to main mostly neutral on issues, as compared to *Kadınca*.

Elele (1976 - Present Day)

Out of the magazines discussed in this research, *Elele* has experienced the greatest change in terms of characteristics of the people featured on the front cover. The earliest cover found for *Elele* in this research is from December 1976, and features just a face — the face of a baby. The child — we cannot clearly define the sex of the baby — is staring straight at the camera and is licking their upper lip. The baby's brownish-blond hair is brushed to the right side, and they are simply looking forward. There is no one else in the picture with the baby, the baby is not participating in any activity, and does not appear to be in a certain location. The next earliest cover found for *Elele* is the February 1977 issue which also features a baby. However, this baby is accompanied by a woman who is caressing the baby on her shoulder. We are able only to see their faces. The baby is sleeping and the woman has a content, happy look on her face. Due to the closeness of the woman and the baby, we may assume that they are mother and child.

December 1976

February 1977



This pattern of babies, or mothers and babies, on *Elele*'s front covers continues throughout the early 1980s. Not until 1986 (in what I was able to find for this research) do we begin to see a pattern of cover photos in which mothers and children are no longer a part. This leads one to conclude that the early years of *Elele*'s publication had an overt focus on babies and motherhood, but then something happened to cause *Elele* to shift gears and change the face of the magazine.

Flashing forward to the January 1986 issue of *Elele*, the cover is entirely different. It features a young woman who appears to be celebrating the New Year, as indicated by the glass of in her hand, her nice outfit, and the Christmas tree in the background. As we will soon see, this is one of the most prop-involved covers of *Elele*. The May 1989 issue is simpler compared to the 1986 issue, but is similar to the pattern of covers that *Elele* will produce for the next 20 years in that there is no background, and the image mainly focuses on the woman's beauty and surrounding text.

The June 1996 edition of *Elele* features a woman from her hips upward, with her hands lifted above her head. She is standing in front of a white backdrop and is wearing a colorful yellow, purple, red, and blue crop top that allows her midriff to show, and red bottoms. Compared to the December 1986 issue, we have no idea about what type of activities the women in the 1989 and 1996 issues are engaged in, or even what they may be feeling. Their locations, motivations, and purposes are unclear. It is as if the reader is simply supposed to look at the image of the woman as an element to catch their eye, or perhaps

the women are famous actresses, authors, activists, etc. and their notoriety is also, in part, supposed to be an enticing element. Regardless of the women's career or goals, their lack of location or activity clearly encourages the audience analyze the woman and draw their attention to the words surrounding the woman.

January 1986

May 1989

June 1996



This change is a pattern that continues up to today, where from 1986 onwards we see only women alone, and there is no longer a focus on motherhood (on the front cover, at least). This change begs the question of what happened in the early 1980s to cause *Elele* to change their focus from mother and child to young women and fashion. As discussed earlier, Turkey transitioned from a closed market economy in 1980 to an open market in which goods, and thus ideas, flowed more easily into and out of the country. Perhaps during this time, *Elele* underwent changes in ownership, shifts in staff, alterations of vision, etc. as a response to economic changes. Or, the change could have been socially and politically motivated, whereby the women's movement for justice and equality filtered into the magazine industry through the demands of the readership and the cognizance of the staff to cater towards those needs. This massive transformation is indicative of how magazines, their missions, their content, and their imagery, are not created in a sterile environment - they are the product of economic, social, and political shifts.

And whatever the ultimate influences causing the literal changing of the face of *Elele* magazine, this shift is also a testament to how magazines are social spaces that are able to absorb and respond to change.

Beyond the change of focus in the mid 1980s, there are also noticeable transition in style of front cover imagery: 1) the decreasing complexity of women's arrangement and environment, and 2) the homogenization of women's expressions, body language, and 'activities'.

First, the pattern of arrangement and environment becomes less complex. No longer do we find the women in recognizable, real-world settings; instead, they pose in front of blank backgrounds. This pattern continues throughout the 1990's and early 2000's whereby the women are not posing in a recognizable locations or engaging in any sort of activity. However, in the late 2000's and early 2010's, the blank backgrounds begin to change color from cover to cover - white, pink, yellow, orange, red, etc. as displayed in the August 2013 issue. There is also the occasional usage of a blurry or undistinguishable background that allows the reader to imagine the woman is in some place other than a modeling studio (refer to October 2009 issue). Overall, the diversity of women's environments is scant, as they often do not have props or scenery. This causes the viewer to focus solely on the woman in front of them, to analyze her face, her clothing, her body, and the text surrounding her.

December 2000

September 2005

October 2009

August 2013



Though the viewer is encouraged to focus on the women's aesthetics, it is not as if the women's arrangement, attributes, or expressions are particularly more revealing than their environments. This leads us to the second noticeable transition. Beginning in the mid-1980s there begins a consistent look to women's attributes and expressions, whereby they oscillate between sexy, happy, faux serious, and playful. From what has been found in this research through combing through many covers of *Elele*, there are no instances of a truly angry or upset or panicked expressions. There is definitely a particular type of countenance that *Elele* uses to entice readers and espouses to them to aspire towards. The style of clothing and hair do not diversify much, either. Many of the covers feature women in dresses, shorts, or skirts - regardless of the season in which the issue is produced (Fall, Winter, Spring, Summer). In addition, the activities of women are severely limited to striking a pose in front of the camera.

This pattern of inactivity whereby women are used as a marketing item for a brand, as if their activities do not matter, continued until about the 2010's when, slowly, women began to be featured with dynamic backgrounds, such as the beach, home, or a garden, etc., as shown in the August 2015 issue. On the August 2015 cover, the woman is sitting outdoors on a porch near railing and some sort of body of water behind her. She is also wearing a swimming suit and a robe over top, as if she is taking a break from hanging out on the beach. This is one example of a cover showing the budding pattern for *Elele*

August 2015



whereby women are located in specific environments. However, her activity is still passive. She is still just modeling, and not really doing anything substantial. Though happily lounging at the beach may be a part of women's lives sometimes, such as on holidays, this image does not represent the daily life of women and the activities in which they engage. In addition, the woman's countenance — happy and relaxed — repeats the same pattern of almost every *Elele* cover since the 1980s. Certainly, the advent of changes in the mid-1980s introduced a consistent brand image for *Elele* that is still used today.

This discussion of *Elele* continually points out the magazine's consistencies (agreeable, happy, non-active, location-less woman) in a rather negative light. Yet, considering that *Elele* has been in publication for over 30 years, perhaps this type of consistency is not a drawback, perhaps it is satisfying to *Elele*'s audience. This idea is clarified during my interview with April. I met April one evening at her restaurant in Beyoğlu when I was out to dinner. It was early for dinner, so my friend and I were the only people she was tending to. During her downtime, I saw her across the way, flipping through a magazine. My interest was immediately peaked that she was casually looking through a magazine, and so I set up an interview with her about her experience with Turkish women's magazines.

April is the owner of a Mexican restaurant in Istanbul, one that she took over for her brother when he moved to the United States. She is in her early 40's, and has been working in the restaurant business for over 10 years. Before then, she worked as an English teacher in elementary schools after earning her degree in English in Ankara.

In our interview, she pointed out a possible explanation as to why a cover without a lot of image depth and overt awareness of social and political issues may be attractive. She said that her demands for a magazine are simple, saying:

"I'm just looking for fun. Magazine means fun to me. Just in my spare time, with my coffee, with my drink, with my lemonade. Just to pass the time, while I work, and at the beach. I just don't want to do anything, don't want to read my book or don't want to... I don't want anything to be on my mind."

She later goes on to say:

"Yea, magazines mean relax to me. And doing something to search for my hair or my make up or what is new, like about perfumes.... I want to know this time."

For April, magazines are meant to be informative about matters of leisure. She's looking for quiet entertainment that does not require a great deal of critical thought, something devoid of political and social worries. At the beginning of our interview, before even learning about her preferences in magazines,

she noted that she was not interested in magazines that were politically related. We were looking at the covers of three magazines (*Aysha*, *Elele*, and *Glamour*) and she said:

April: Yea, I love Glamour. This is the first time I am seeing this one. (She points to Aysha.) This is the first time.

Alexis: I think it is a newer one, made in Turkey.

April: Yes yes, this is all Turkish, yes. I don't like this one because there is some political stuff here.

Alexis: Oh, in here, in Aysha?

April: Yea, yea.

Alexis: Do you try to avoid politics like that?

April: Yea, I do.

The idea that a woman wearing a headscarf would be political for her was not a surprise, given the tensions surrounding the wearing of the head scarf in public spaces. And, in understanding April's relationship with women's magazines where she uses them as a form of leisure, it is understandable that she would not gravitate towards *Aysha*.

Returning to the discussion about *Elele*, the magazine has remained steadfastly secular. And although a magazine does not have to be secular to be relaxing, the seeming lack of political connections - whether overtly or subtly - may be one of the features that is appealing to the *Elele* audience. When *Elele* underwent a shift in the 1980s from being a magazine overtly focused on motherhood to a magazine focused on fashion and a happy, healthy lifestyle, *Elele's* staff was clearly listening to and fulfilling the demands of the public, tailoring itself to focus on aspects of women's identities, concerns, and interests outside of motherhood. In doing so, *Elele* took the position that a woman is more than a mother, more than a provider — she is an individual with style and the desire to craft herself as an individual in a particular light. Thus, *Elele* crafted itself to be a specific type of resource for women.

However, as religion becomes more visually integrated into Turkish public life, *Elele* has chosen not to roll with this tide, thus projecting a certain stance in its decision to exclude certain popular styles. *Elele* is catering towards women who wish to present themselves in a certain fashion, one which does not

include headscarves, possibly because they are considered political or religious. As a Turkish magazine produced in Turkey by Turkish people, this stance to not incorporate women who wear the headscarf on the cover — or even on the inside of the magazine, from what I have seen — is a powerful decision that positions *Elele* as a secular magazine.

This choice is especially important for *Elele* as a women's magazine founded in Turkey in the 1970s because clearly the magazine creators and publishers have had to make choices about whether or not emerging styles are appropriate for *Elele*, and how those choices reflect the magazine's ability to create and keep up with social trends. *Elele* has survived through different political and social climates in Turkey, making adjustments according to these broader changes as well as changes within the magazine market itself.

My projection of *Elele* being a secular magazine arises from comparing it to emerging magazines in the same field, such as *Aysha* and *Âlâ*. I am defining *Elele* in comparison to Muslim women's magazines in particular because their existence, how they are perceived by the public, and the forces that allow for their continued production means that *Elele* does not exist in a politically 'neutral' state. This is not to say that *Elele* existed in a politically neutral state before the publication of Muslim women's magazines, just that *Elele* is facing new pressures through the relationship of religion in the public, that position it in a certain way, that way being secular. To emphasize why I am labelling *Elele* in a firmly secular way is because the magazine does not even feature images inside of women in head scarf, thus not even visually aligning itself as an ally of women who wear the head scarf. Therefore, although *Elele* may not explicitly market itself as a secular magazine, it may be labelled so in terms of its competition and by its consumers. It will be interesting to see the aesthetic decisions and possible incorporations, or continued exclusions, of *Elele* as religion continues to become more pervasive in the Turkish public sphere.

Marie Claire (1989 - Present Day)

As discussed earlier, *Marie Claire* was chosen to be analyzed in this research because it is a long established, imported magazine to Turkey. By imported, I mean that *Marie Claire*'s main headquarters are

in New York, New York, not in Turkey. Therefore, *Marie Claire* is one of many imported cultural items into Turkey from what is generally considered the West. This fact is made apparent by the types of women featured on the front covers, with a good deal of them featuring Western women (Europeans and Americans).

I was unable to find covers from before 1994, which means that we do not have covers from the earliest years of *Marie Claire*'s publication when the creators were attempting to establish and differentiate the magazine. The first cover available is the April 1994 issue, which features a woman sitting down in front of a brick and wood wall. She is wearing a very spring-like purple dress with yellow and red flowers. Her long brunette hair is cascading down over her shoulders, with a few pieces casually falling in front her right eye. She seems relaxed, as if she has been sitting outside chatting to friends and is greeting someone who is walking up to her.

The January 1998 issue is less dynamic, in terms of background, but a viewer is still able to conjure up ideas about where she is going or what she is doing based on the masquerade mask in her hand. She is wearing a dress with a fluffy bottom and a checkered, strapless top that shows her collarbones and shoulders. The way she is leaning over with her right hand placed in her lap and her left hand holding the mask in her lap, she must be sitting down, perhaps on a tall stool. She is gazing out at her reader with a look that could, considering the mask in her hand, thought of as mysterious.

April 1994



January 1998



October 2002



The October 2002 cover, though not featuring a background or props in which people might be able to locate the women on the front or make propositions about their activities, the body language and diversity of the women do draw a viewer's attention. There are three women on the front cover, and they are all featured on the right side, standing up holding one another. They are all shirtless, hands upon on another's upper bodies. Each of the women have a different skin tone and hair color. It is possible that this front cover, in showing three diverse women mostly unclothed, is trying to point out that differences are only skin deep. All women, regardless of color, style, background, have a place with this magazine.

But, do they really? Where are the women with diverse body sizes and hair, with headscarves and piercings, who are old or disabilities, etc? Where are the women that could be seen walking down the street, their flaws and beauties presented as if it were a normal day? *Marie Claire*, as will be discussed next, does begin to change the format of their covers in terms of diversifying the environment and the poses in which women are featured; however, this diversity is not shared across the board in terms of what type of women are featured and what their purpose and goals might be. Even though *Marie Claire* might declare on its website how it is a fashion magazine “with character, substance and depth, for women with a point of view, an opinion and a sense of humor” and may indeed follow through with this more-than-a-pretty-face mission through the topics written about within the magazine, the front covers certainly do not evoke that sort of open, deep character.

These three front covers, though simple, engage the reader in some sort of visual exercise that causes them to ask questions about the women beyond the topic of what they are wearing or who they might be. Each cover calls upon at least one of the three categories of analysis this thesis employs to analyze imagery: attributes/expressions, arrangement/environment, and activities. This pattern lapses from the mid-2000's until the early 2010s whereby many of the front covers feature women mostly in front of placeless, gradientless backgrounds and not engaged in any sort of activity. Their bodies are not usually shown past the waist and their facial expressions generally fall into categories of positive or neutral emotions (happy, sexy, content, etc.) as opposed to negative emotions such as angry or sad. There is also

an increased focus on featuring Western women, though Turkish women are also still featured on the front covers in noticeable numbers.

December 2006



October 2010



May 2010



The May 2010 issue is very interesting because it features a woman holding a young child. Thus far, *Marie Claire* has featured mostly women by themselves, and the occasional man, making this cover quite out of the ordinary. The manner in which the woman is holding the child combined with their matching outfits leads one to believe that they are mother and child. It is difficult to determine the meaning behind this front cover solely based on the picture, but because it is so out of character for *Marie Claire* covers, the woman and her story with her child are clearly important. It is also possible that while motherhood is not a topic frequently displayed on the front cover, that perhaps it is a topic discussed within the magazine.

The mid-2010s began a trend of increasing the amount of covers that had a dynamic background, and this trend continues today; yet, this trend only does so much to create a story for the women. For example, the July 2014 issue features a woman sitting on her knees on a sandy beach. She has on a bikini bottom, and a white blazer with navy accents draped across her shoulder, and a long golden chain necklace with a big gold circle at the end resting above her belly button. Her body is positioned head on in front of the camera and she is looking directly at the audience. Her open body language, unbuttoned blazer exposing part of her chest, and sultry facial expression all exude sex appeal. The

audience might be able to place her on a beach but her activity is not determinable. It appears that she is just sitting on the beach to pose for the magazine— there is no greater purpose to be drawn out from this front cover beyond analyzing her fashion and her beauty, or perhaps they fun places she may frequent.

July 2014

May 2016



Similarly, the May 2016 issue of *Marie Claire* also places the woman in front of a gradient background — near a set of windows that looks out to another building. She is leaning against a wall, her left hand lifted above her head and her shoulder area up against the wall. Her clothing is also similar to that of the woman in the July 2014 issue in that she has on a pair of black bottoms (in this case, shorts) and a blazer, though she is wearing it fully, with her arms in the sleeves, not just draped across her shoulders. Again, this cover does keep up *Marie Claire*'s current trend of diversifying the environment in which women are placed, but the cover does not emanate a discernible goal, activity, or purpose for the woman.

Overall, from a visual stand point, *Marie Claire* is a women's magazine that has consistently privileged beauty and notoriety over depth of imagery. It provides easy imagery for its audience to consume, instead of material that may cause them to challenge or think more deeply about a topic. Although *Marie Claire* may indeed write about thought-provoking issues, they certainly don't attempt to draw people in with visuals related to these topics; instead, similar to *Elele*, and as we will discuss in the next section *Glamour*, *Marie Claire* fills its covers with images that are easily consumable.

Glamour (February 2016 - Present Day)



Glamour, similar to *Kim*, does not have a lot of covers through which to identify large patterns of style and change. This is because *Glamour* first began publication in Turkey in March 2016; therefore, considering that this research sets the boundary of time to examine magazines up to July 2016, there are only 5 copies that may be examined. Though small, this limited amount of covers is, not a limitation because *Glamour* is trying to establish and distinguish itself in the Turkish market; therefore, the first issues must be a hit, they must be eye-catching amongst the other magazines they are sold next to. There are already very popular magazines that have been in circulation for years - *Marie Claire* and *Elele* specifically - which appeal to a secular, fashionable woman, covering both an international and Turkish perspective.

So what makes *Glamour* different? One difference, from *Elele* in particular, is that it features more than one type of nationality of woman, which makes sense since it is an internationally focused magazine. However, from the front cover imagery thus far, not much appears to make *Glamour* different from its competitors. In fact, *Glamour* seems to be employing a similar cover-trend as *Marie Claire* in that it mainly features women in front of plain backgrounds, but is also open to diversifying the cover by including props and recognizable backgrounds.

From March to July, all of the women on the covers are either smiling or looking at the camera in a sexy or confident manner. Four out of the five of these covers do not place the woman in any sort of specific environment - most of them are posing in front of a placeless background, drawing the audience's focus on the woman, her clothes, and her beauty. The July 2016 issue is a bit different from the other

covers in that it features a woman posing on what appears to be a beach and holding circles that suggest maybe she is playing a game or is engaging in some sort of exercise. Her clothing, which consists of a white bikini bottom and a sporty green top, could be a swimming suit. It is similar to the *Marie Claire* cover of the woman in the bikini bottom and blazer in that they both feature women on the beach; however, the *Glamour* cover does have a suggestion of activity.

The newness of *Glamour* makes it so that we can only assert very weak claims about what type of visual presence the magazine may be seeing to establish, and through this, what type of social space it is creating; however, in comparing *Glamour* to similar magazines on the market, we do not yet find many aspects that differentiate it from the crowd. Perhaps the inner content is what distinguishes *Glamour* from its competitors.

Aysha (2013 - Present Day)

January 2013



Aysha is a fairly new magazine, both in terms of its production and its type. It is marketed as being a magazine for modern, fashionable, religiously observant Muslim women. The first issue, published in January 2013, features a woman from the shoulders up with an amused smile on her face. She is wearing all black (from what we can see from this head shot), including her head covering. On top of her head scarf, she is wearing a headband that appears to be made from diamond-like stones. She is also wearing a short, large, silver and black necklace around her neck.

This first cover is simple in that the woman is not engaged in any sort of activity nor located in a specific environment; however, the fact that she is wearing a headscarf on the front of a publicly circulated magazine in Turkey is not a simple image to digest. Even more so, the woman appears happy, amused, and fashionable, which allows the debut of *Aysha*, although a serious introduction onto the market, to be fun and approachable.

June 2013



The first instance of a woman posing in an environment was for the June 2013 cover. She is wearing a white, long sleeved, collared coat and a red headscarf wrapped around the top of her forehead. We can see her from the waist up. Her right arm is bent so that her hand rests under her chin, giving her an inquisitive, attentive, intelligent, thoughtful appearance. Though the background is not clear, we are able to make out that she is inside some sort of building that has windows that look out to greenery.

Several other covers feature women with a dimensional background - balcony, greenery, living room, etc. Compared to the other women's magazines in this analysis that are currently on the market, *Aysha* places women in more real world settings. The magazine also places women in front of blank canvases, but not nearly as often. Less varied, however, is the spectrum of facial expressions, which usually features a range of either serious, reserved, or happy expressions. The women do not express anger, sadness, or fear.

Being a Muslim women's fashion and lifestyle magazine, *Aysha* does feature women in head scarf, which is definitely a distinct characteristic from the other women's magazines on the market. *Aysha's* covers contain great diversity in terms of the types and ways in which these headscarves are fashioned. Some of them are tied under the chin, covering the neck, others are tied just around the head, exposing the chin and neck. A few covers even feature women without a headscarf. This diversity in style was brought up during my interview with Luna, specifically in terms of how certain ways of tying of the head scarf might change how she interprets the women.

Luna is a university student at Bristol in the UK in her final year, but was raised on the European side of Istanbul. Her mother is British and went to a French school, as did Luna, so is fluent in French, alongside Turkish and French. She has interests in both computer science and music, and hopes to apply

her skills to creating virtual reality games. Although she was raised in a Muslim household, she does not participate in daily prayer or holidays such as Ramadan, and does not wear the headscarf.

Our conversation about the head scarf went as follows:

Luna: There is just this certain way of covering that just immediately has nothing to do with religion in my mind just immediately political."

Alexis: Okay, what political connotations does it have?

Luna: I relate them to the current government.

Alexis: In support of?

Luna: Yes, an that makes me... um...

Alexis: Is that something that's positive or negative or just neutral?

Luna: That is very much negative for me.

Alexis: Okay

Luna: Because the current government is not only affecting us. You know maybe stuff going on with Syria or internationally.

They have, an agenda in my opinion. A profile for the country, the education system, our press, our human rights, gender equality, everything is just... we are going through a bad shift and... Its weird, I feel bad talking about this while I am on recorder.

Alexis: Oh!! I'm sorry, I can totally delete this (reaches for recorder)

Luna: No no, it's fine! I just realized why I am not speaking. You don't have to, like I haven't said anything bad. I was just like, 'Why am I not talking?' It's just one of those things....

Alexis: Okay okay, I see, but if you ever want this gone, let me know.

Luna: No no the things I'm saying now, these aren't things I wouldn't say otherwise. I will say another thing. Even the fact that I felt bad, that I should be not talking, indicates what the current government makes people feel. You know, that feeling that you are out of line, and I'm not out of line.

Alexis: Yes, apprehensive?

Luna: Yea, and really some type of covering your head just makes me feel that way... like I'm not going to relate to this woman, that she is in another Turkey than I am, and that Turkey is way different than my Turkey.

Luna explicitly explains how certain ways of covering immediately cause her to think of politics, and furthermore, of the current government. And, in connecting those certain styles of headscarf with the agenda of the current government, she assumes that those women and herself are living in different Turkeys. Even though Turkish women may live within similar contexts in that they all participate in Turkish culture, live under the same government, and are impacted by social, economic, and political forces within Turkey, their experiences of living in Turkey as a woman are different. Harkening back to the desires of the women's movements in Turkey that pushed for recognition of these pluralities, *Aysa* is a good example of how this desire to have a social space that corresponds with a niche identity is being fulfilled. Within the space of this magazine, women are able to find a community of women that lead similar lifestyles, experience similar issues, and hold similar values.

Luna's connection between different ways of tying the head scarf to certain lifestyles and political opinions is also important because it shows how veiling is not just veiling. Veiling is perceived in many different ways by different people. As a female college student who was raised in a Muslim household but is not a practicing Muslim herself, Luna perceives certain ways of tying the head scarf as an extension of the state. She represents only one opinion on a spectrum of opinions on this issues, but it is clear that wearing the head scarf is not just a religious decision; there are definite cultural and political significances. This idea of women's clothing choices being political can be extended beyond the head scarf to include other decisions that are visually apparent in a woman's life such as other clothing she wears, what she does, the places she frequents, etc.

The February 2014 issue of *Aysa* provides rich material in all three categories that this thesis uses to approach image analysis. The front features a man on the right in a black and white tuxedo, and a woman on the left in a floor-length black dress with long sleeves. She is wearing a thick red headband, allowing her long brown hair to fall behind her back. The man and woman are not facing one another,

but appear to be touching elbows and are situated in such a way that neither one of them looks as if they are in a dominant or submissive position. They look to be a team, as if they not only literally have each other's backs, but figuratively as well. Their body language and attire also suggests that they know one another and that they are attending some sort of fancy event together. Neither of them look very excited or happy as they stare in the same direction beyond the camera; rather, they look as if they are trying to be indifferent, as if they are posing for a picture that will be circulated as a memory and statement that they attended the event.



The July 2014 issue is simpler, but includes an important prop that yields assumptions about the woman beyond her choices in fashion. Featured on the cover is a woman in green head scarf and dangly, pearl earrings. Pictured from the shoulder up, we are able to see a huge, open-mouth smile on her face as she stares at her audience. The left side of her face is mostly covered by a camera that she has lifted to her face as if she is getting ready to take photo. Although the background behind her is white and placeless, if we assume that the camera is something more than just a prop, then we may assume that her holding the camera so excitedly suggests that she has an active hobby or job relating to photography or travel. In whatever way being a photographer might be a part of her life, it is clear that she is engaged and excited about photography.

July 2015

March 2016



In comparison, the July 2015 issue of *Aysha* is simpler. The cover feels ‘fresh’ with its white and green color scheme. The woman on the front is wearing a white head scarf, a green top, and standing in front of some sort of greenery. Considering that this issue was published at the height of the summer, these cool colors are probably refreshing in a landscape of heat. Beyond placing her in front of some sort of outdoor looking background, though, this front cover does not do much to explain what she is doing or what her interests may be. This is one of the simplest front covers I have seen for *Aysha*, but it still has a layer of complexity that focuses a viewers attention beyond the woman’s clothing and body. This appears to be a pattern for *Aysha* - to direct the audience to elements of the woman beyond her own visual attractiveness, such as her background, her activity, her relationship to another person, etc. That being said, style is still a huge part of *Aysha*’s image, but this idea of style is not just applicable to clothing styles - it is also relevant to lifestyle.

Aysha not only features women who wear the head scarf, women who choose not to cover also have a place within the magazine. The March 2016 issue features two women on the front cover, the one on the right without a head covering and the one on the left with a head covering. The women appear to be engaged in a side-hug, posing for a picture to be taken. Their comfortable closeness, and the similar color palette of their clothing suggests a camaraderie. Though the two women may be different in that one chooses to wear the head scarf and the other does not, this does not mean that they will be divided on

these grounds. They are still able to build a close relationship, perhaps because they agree on other terms, such as their values and the types of lives they lead.

This cover echoes the February 1989 *Kadınca* cover in which two women were featured back to back with distinctly different styles. That cover expressed how women could be very different, but occupy the same space and be on equal footing. This front cover suggests that although women may be different in their outward styles, that they may be unique and have their own ways of working within the same social sphere, there is a common thread that unifies them - perhaps that they are Turkish or that they are women - and that they create a stronger front when they unite and hold one another up despite these differences.

Aysha, though not marketed as a politically affiliated magazine, may be viewed as one because of the way women are dressed. This type of magazine is a testament to how women's images, bodies, and roles are political, and by extension, how they are the site of ideological tension. *Aysha*, amongst a wide collection of women's magazines that do not feature women in head coverings, provides a space for some women wearing the head scarf to feel comfortable and represented.

Discussion of Part One

In order to synthesize what I have gathered from analyzing the front covers, and then allow that information to guide my analysis of the inside pages of the magazines, I will discuss the findings in terms of category: 1) Arrangement and Environment, 2) Attributes and Expressions, and 3) Activities. In taking a look at the progression of this group of women's magazines overtime, we find that all three categories become simpler, but that there is a slowly growing movement to create more engaging covers.

Kadınca and *Aysha* present the most diverse covers in terms of arrangement and environment. *Kadınca* often featured women in multifaceted environments, such as in front of a fire place, at a table with food and drink, tied to a work chair, lifting her husband, etc. In *Aysha* we see less complex environments, but women are still featured with backgrounds that place them in a real life setting. We see a small effort

on the part of *Elele* and *Marie Claire* in the past few years to have women pose in real life settings; however, these instances are far and few between.

The arrangement of women's bodies also becomes less complex. This limited range of body language ties in with the types of activities the women are featured engaging in, which, apart from *Kadınca*, is mostly nothing. A great deal of the *Elele*, *Marie Claire*, and *Glamour* covers do not feature women engaging in any sort of activity, and as follows, the body language of the women is mostly arranged in such a way that they look like they are only modeling for beauty's sake. Similarly, apart from *Kadınca*, the women's expressions on magazines have mostly stayed consistent in that they feature women who are smiling or gazing at the audience in a sexy, questioning manner or are in a contemplative mood.

Throughout the discussion of the front covers, I mostly discussed the simplicity in a negative light. This is because when viewing a conglomerate front covers together, and seeing a continual, non-changing pattern of a woman standing in front of a blank background, you start to wonder with the redundancy what makes the magazine interesting or special or different? A light was shed on the possible appeal of this pattern of simplicity during my interview with April. Some consumers are drawn to the simplicity and stability of the magazine because it makes the material more easily accessible and digestible. Not everyone who opens a magazine is looking for something that challenges their senses. And furthermore, it is true that a woman can express herself sexually or happily or pensively or in any sort of way and still have a serious and/or feminist agenda.

One big change that has occurred are the attributes of women, specifically the types of clothing they are featured wearing. Of course, styles of dress have changed over time and the magazines reflect this change. *Aysha* in particular represents changing styles, as it features women in head scarfs and clothing that may appeal to a Muslim woman who seeks to dress modestly. Representing this type of style is important because although wearing the headscarf can be perceived as a politically charged decision, women who choose to wear the headscarf do so based on their own set reasons and, regardless of the nature of these reasons, women deserve to have a space where they feel comfortable and represented.

As gathered through my interview with Luna, it is not only the very presence of the headscarf that is political, but there are also certain ways of tying the head scarf that may represent symbolic support for the current government. These nuances are important because they reveal how budding styles and products are a result of complex negotiations between social, religious, and economic forces all battling on the ground that is the woman's body, identity, and appearance.

Through analyzing the front covers chronologically, we have found that there has been an expansion and diversification of the women's magazine market. This growth of the kinds of women's magazines available in the public sphere indicates the recognition of a plurality of women's identities. Some of these magazines carry forward featuring patterns of lifestyle that have been recognized by the public and the market for years, whereas others have only recently been able to obtain the resources to create these material social spaces through which to reflect their lifestyles.

One aspect of these front covers that is important in further defining the material space, but is not delved into in my research, is the significance of the people who are featured. All of these magazines use well-known people from different industries and feature a story about them inside the magazine as a technique to draw the attention of the audience. It is important that famous people are used to attract readers because their authenticity as recognized figures in popular culture may lend itself to the legitimacy of the content in the magazine.

Magazines are important because their images are a tool for creating spaces for women to unite based on similar lifestyle preferences; thus, the consumption and creation of magazines is important because the ones that are successful reflect popular trends and opinions. Magazine images are carefully selected to portray certain ideals and values; therefore when women gravitate towards a particular magazine, when the front cover draws a woman in and then the inside content keeps her attention, this means that the content is relevant to a community of women. In short, through analyzing the cover imagery of these women's magazines, we have found that magazines do not just sell products, magazines sell styles and identities that are popularized by different social, economic, religious, and political forces.

Part Two: Internal Magazine Images

Examining the magazine covers was an important exercise in establishing patterns of change and style. Now, in light of those conclusions, I will proceed to examine the insides of *Elele*, *Glamour*, and *Aysha*. Through this analysis, I hope to explore specific themes that arise in magazine imagery.

Elele

Main Spread

The main spread in the May 2016 edition of *Elele* features Bade İşçil. Her spread spans 10 full pages, with 7 of those pages being photos of her that cover the entire page. Much like the front cover, Bade is wearing a series of similarly light-weight, white, beaded and/or laced clothing. This theme is consistent in all of her outfits - whether they are dresses, pants, blouses, etc. - except for one page (pg. 54) in which she is wearing an orange dress with white accents.



This spread strived for consistency. She was constantly featured with a similar facial expressions of happiness and sociability, as indicated by her smiles and what appears to be laughter. There was only one frame in which she was not smiling (pg. 57). In this picture, she appears to be in the process of looking over her left shoulder, her hair in mid-motion as she turns, perhaps looking at someone behind her who was calling for her. Despite this photo leading one to believe that she is possibly not alone outside, Bade is never featured with another person in this spread.

Her location and activities on each page are also consistent. The setting is a vague, backyard-looking venue, with most of the shots featuring a white picket fence in the background. In most of these images, it is clear that Bade is modeling. Although she is not featured as participating in any sort of specific activity or with other people, it is important that she is outside, happily by herself. This shows that Bade, and other women, can be confident and comfortable while alone. They can explore environments outside their home and enjoy their time. Women are autonomous, curious, and capable.

Motherhood & Children

A common theme I recognized when flipping through *Elele* was the relationship between mother and child, and an emphasis on the activities of children. *Elele* began as a magazine that focused on the importance of motherhood, often featuring mothers and children on the front cover before a shift in focus in the mid-1980s. It appears that although prominently featuring motherhood and children is no longer a priority of *Elele*, offering advice and featuring products relating to this aspect of a woman's life is still a part of the magazine's focus.

One of the most gripping images of a child in this issue features a young girl participating in multiple activities. Through a series of six photos, arranged with three in a top row and three on the bottom row, a girl is shown smiling at a computer, wearing goggles as if she is participating in some water sport, listening to music through large headphones on her bed, riding a bike with her helmet on and a book entitled 'English' in the bottom right of the frame, happily eating ice cream, and in the last frame



she is smiling upward at someone giving whoever is behind the camera a thumbs up.

All of these photos are similar in that the girl is smiling in all of them, and that she looks to be enjoying whatever activity she is involved in. This advertisement features a female engaged in more activities than any other spread in the magazine. She is represented as being a multifaceted individual who participates in a wide arrange of activities - both leisure and work - and is content and happy being engaged in all of them. A unique

element about these images together, beyond her evident happiness, is that she is a young girl. It is as if this page is saying that young girls are involved in many activities in their lives, they are well rounded people, and being a multifaceted person is fulfilling. To mothers in the audience, it says 'your daughter can be like this, too'. There is a hope for the future in this advertisement, that women are capable of being interested and involved in a plethora of activities, that they can independently decide what they want to be involved in, and that being active is an important part of life.

There are several other motherhood related advertisements throughout *Elele*. Two of the advertisements I chose to include are for baby products. The brands being marketed are Chicco and Hipp, which produce bath products such as shampoo and lotion. Not only are the products similar, but so are the images in the advertisements. The Chicco advertisement features a woman standing by a window in a room that is assumed to be her baby's room. She holds a content-looking baby in her arms and she has a small smile on her face. The gentle green and white coloring of the page lends a calmness to the scene. The Hipp advertisement is very similar in that there is a mother and a baby enjoying time with one another. She is smiling as she lifts her baby in the air and the child is touching her face, also smiling.

I draw two conclusions from these advertisements. First, motherhood is painted to be a fun aspect to life, that you can enjoy time with your baby. Second, the presence of advertisements geared towards



mothers for their babies means that

there is a demand from a portion of *Elele*'s readership to see products related to babies because being a mother is part of their lives. *Elele* recognizes being a mother as an important part of life, and is fulfilling these needs through incorporating these products as part of their advertisement base. Further emphasizing this idea is *Elele*'s advertisement for its partner magazine Bebeğimle, which means 'with my baby'. Clearly the demand for material about babies and motherhood is so prevalent among *Elele* readers that a new magazine entirely was created to funnel these needs in a more directed manner.

Distinctly Turkish

"Yes, achievable. I think it still exists probably more so in the past where adverts and the people in the adverts were something you looked up to, and maybe something you dream about. And now you know it's not cool to just dream and not be able to achieve. You want something achievable, relatable, someone where it's not weird for me to see them on the street, but then when it's a woman that just has nothing to do with the type of women you see around or who you are, it's just... 'Yea, she looks awesome and I'm going to buy it because she's using that shampoo, but she has nothing to do with me so... (shrug).' So, I guess people got bored of that as time went by, and now... we are going back to our roots." - Luna

The above portion of my interview with Luna brought up the idea of how some products and styles are distinctly Turkish, and others are not. Luna could not put her finger on one set of criteria, but poked around with the idea of patterns and body features. She began discussing how even in the course of

her lifetime, as understood through her personal experiences and through her mother's, advertisements more broadly had changed. They became more geared towards Turkish women by featuring women who appeared to be Turkish, as well as products and patterns that were familiar. When flipping through *Elele*, there were several advertisements for brands that are based in Turkey, with three of those brands discussed next: İstikbal, Doğadan, and Sırma.

İstikbal is a popular furniture company in Turkey. The setting of this particular advertisement is in a living room. There is what appears to be a family unit - mother, father, and child - all sitting on the couch together and engaging in some kind of learning activity, as indicated by the notebook and pens in the child and mother's hands. It appears that maybe the mother and child had been working on the activity together, as the mother is holding some of the supplies and is sitting closer to the child, situating the father as a newcomer to this activity. Also suggesting that the father is just joining the group is the way the child is looking at her father as if to show him what she has done, and for approval.

This advertisement uses the home of a family unit as a way to entice customers. The family appears to be happy and functional in their home. They are not only close in their relationships, but the furniture allows them to sit physically close to one another and engage in activities together. Although the setting of a



family spending time together is not distinctly Turkish, this advertisement is from a Turkish company that commonly features its advertisements on billboards and television commercials; therefore, this is a familiar brand to Turks.

The other two advertisements are for drinks with one being for Doğadan green tea (yeşil çay) and the other being for Sırma, a mineral water brand in Turkey. The Sırma advertisement features a huge bottle of lemon Sırma alongside a slightly shorter woman. Both the bottle and the woman feature bright yellow

tones matching with the lemon flavor of the drink. The bottle looks very refreshing because the sides

appear to be splashing with the mineral water. The woman beside the drink wears a sleeveless, short yellow dress with yellow heels. Her left hand, she is holding a section of her long blonde hair, and her right hand is resting on her waist. She is neither drinking the Sirma nor engaging in any sort of activity with the drink beyond standing beside it, which begs the question as to what her purpose might be. It is possible that she is featured in the advertisement as a way to draw more attention to the drink with her beauty, and is being employed as a method by which to connect drinking Sirma to looking healthy and beautiful.

Unlike the other two advertisements, the tea advertisement does not have a person pictured; instead, there is a nature-like setting with a blue sky and clouds, green leaves, and a big green mug. Particularly special to this advertisement is the sample tea bag stapled to the bottom right of the page. From my experience in Turkey, which is limited in time and place, tea is a large part of the daily life of



Turks. In Istanbul, there are tea shops everywhere throughout the city, and people often take tea during and between meals. Tea is a fundamental part of social life in Turkey; therefore, to my foreign eye, the presence of a tea packet in a magazine is an element, compared to imported magazines such as *Glamour*, that is uniquely Turkish. This goes to show that although *Elele* does feature products and styles from outside Turkey, it still caters to the tastes of its Turkish audience with Turkish brands and culture.

Traveling & Vacation

Elele includes a lot of advertisements for beauty products (make up, lotion, shampoo), clothing, and accessories, and in this issue there is a large spread that cleverly incorporates travel with this mission for beauty. This 5 page spread features pictures of the cities Tokyo, Paris, Marsilya (Marseille), Santorini, and London, as well as a make up regimens and other fashion products that one might want to wear while travelling in these places. In combining these two elements, beauty and travel, *Elele* is not only encouraging their audience to buy these products, but is also suggesting that these cities are desirable vacation destinations for the beautiful, fashionable women who wear these products. The chosen cities are meaningful because they are mostly European or extremely wealthy cities. Even though *Elele* is a magazine based in Turkey, it is not encouraging its readers in this issues that is published at the beginning of summer to go on vacation in Turkey to places such as Bodrum or Antalya; instead, there is a a desire to connect its audience to the world outside of Turkey, specifically wealthy, Western areas of the world.

Further connecting this idea of travel and leisure to places outside of Turkey is the V for Voyage advertisement (pg. 45). The spread features a man and a woman sitting on the edge of a boat on the water at sunset. Although it is not clear whether this boat is near Turkey, it is evident through the



English title of the travelling company (V for Voyage) and the description of the company (exclusive motor yacht charter) that this type of vacation is geared toward people who either know English or are interested in vacationing in areas that speak English, and who are wealthy. Similar to the other advertisement, there is an association between the West, wealth, and travel. This focus on travelling outside of Turkey to Western and/or English speaking areas, and to wealthy, cosmopolitan areas reveals *Elele's* connection to the international sphere.

Out & About

Although the front covers of *Elele* lack in featuring women in everyday environments, the imagery inside the magazine does feature women in diverse environments and activities. The first example is a spread that focuses on a woman in a short yellow dress (pg. 140 - 141). This spread is different from other images in the magazine because in all three pictures of this spread she is surrounded by and interacting with people. Aiding in her sociability is the fact that she is present at some sort of social event, perhaps a party. She looks to be enjoying herself, moving around the crowd, and participating in the same activities as her peers. In the last image, her activity is the center of attention. This spread is important because it shows an active, sociable, happy side to a woman's life. Clearly, *Elele* supports an active lifestyle that involves engaging with other people, and encourages women to incorporate social activities into their lives.

The second example that focuses on women's activities outside of the home is a spread featuring two women and their dogs (pg. 174). The group is gathered at a set of steps outside and near a body of water. There is a boat on the water behind them, as well as a land mass. Both women wear long jeans, a



jacket, and a scarf. The woman on the right is standing up with her hair blowing in the wind, and she is looking in the direction of the camera with her right hand lifted as if to wave someone over to her and her friend. The woman on the left is sitting down, both dogs standing in front of her and she is also looking in

the same direction. The fact that both of the women's dogs are on leashes and that the women appear to have stopped at this location together, indicates that perhaps they were out walking their dogs together. Perhaps this is a time for them to not only walk the dog and get exercise, but to chat to one another about what is going on in their lives.



These two spreads are examples of how *Elele* encourages women to be social and to have a life outside of their home, outside of their family, and outside of their career. Similar to the advertisement featuring the little girl engaging in multiple activities, adult women should be able to engage in activities and hobbies that bring them happiness and allow them to be social.

Aysha

Main Spread

The main spread in *Aysha* is 12 pages, and features Büşra Ayaydın. Her spread is consistent in locale, but she wears a diverse range of outfits. Though not entirely clear where she is located, Büşra is pictured in an outdoor settings with greenery, leading one to believe that she may be in a garden or a park. There is only one picture (pg. 63) that breaks this greenery theme. It is the same setting as the front cover, where she appears to be standing on a porch that overlooks a backyard and a city in the far distance. Her body language is open enough to feel calm and inviting, though not so open that she appears excited. In all of the pictures, whether she is standing or sitting, she is looking at the camera with either a smiling or inviting look on her face. In none of the pictures does she exude a negative feeling such as worriedness or uncomfortability.

Of the 10 times she is pictured, she is wearing 8 different outfits, and varying styles of head scarf. Generally, her outfits are colorful, including colors such as yellow, orange, blue, purple, and lots of white.

Her head scarfs range from being tied on top of her head in a knot and exposing her neck, to being tied on top of her head in a way that comes back down to tie around her neck, to being tied around

kapak özel

BÜŞRA AYAYDIN Nefsimle Büyük Bir Savaş Verdim

ROPORTAJ: Merve A. Tokay
FOTOĞRAF: Serhat Kaplı
STYLING: Kübra Kaplı
MAKYAJ: MAC-Tuğba Aykırı



Büşra Ayaydın henüz 22 yaşında genç bir oyuncu. Biz onun yüzünü çok iyi tanıyoruz. Küçük yaşına bakmayın, 'Kurtlar Vadisi', 'Hatıra Sevgili' gibi fenomen dizilerde rol almış 'tecrübeli' bir oyuncudan söz ediyoruz. Fakat bunların yanında şimdi başka bir şey var. Göz önündeki kadının gibi o da artık sadece bir oyuncu değil. O artık, tesettüre girmiş genç ve başarılı bir oyuncu. Geçtiğimiz aylarda hastanelinde oynadığı Ateş filminin galasına baş örtüsüyle katılarak herkesi şaşırtan Büşra Ayaydın bu kararı nasıl verdiğini ve tepkileri anlattı.

"Tesettür, çocukluktan beri içimde olan bir şeydi"

Çok küçük yaşlardan beri tesettüre bağlı mıydınız?
Evet, tesettüre çok küçük yaşlardan beri bağlıyım. Benim için tesettür, bir yaşam tarzı değil, bir inançtır. Benim için tesettür, bir yaşam tarzıdır. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır. Benim için tesettür, bir yaşam tarzıdır. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır.

Bir de artık başörtüsü var...
Evet, başörtüsü benim için bir yaşam tarzıdır. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır. Benim için tesettür, bir yaşam tarzıdır. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır.

SANSA İNANMIYORUM
Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır. Benim için tesettür, bir yaşam tarzıdır. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır.

Yeni bir alanda çalışmaya başladınız...
Evet, yeni bir alanda çalışmaya başladım. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır. Benim için tesettür, bir yaşam tarzıdır. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır.

Büyük bir başarıya imza attınız. Bu başarıya nasıl ulaştınız?

Büyük bir başarıya imza attım. Bu başarıya ulaşmak için çok çalıştım. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır. Benim için tesettür, bir yaşam tarzıdır. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır.

BENİM KARARIM BENİM SEÇİMİM
Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır. Benim için tesettür, bir yaşam tarzıdır. Benim için tesettür, bir inançtır.

Yeteneğiniz ve eğitiminiz varsa hakettiğiniz yere geliyorsunuz."





her head (without a knot) and

around her neck. It is clear that Büşra's style is wide ranging, and that she is not limited by her decision to wear the head scarf or to dress in a modest way that correlates with wearing headscarves. This spread does just as much to show that conservative Muslim women can be fashionable, as it does to show that this type of fashion is diverse.

In addition to asserting that women who dress in a conservative style are not limited in their scope of fashion, *Aysha's* decision to feature Büşra outside also indicates that the magazine is encouraging its readers to explore and interact in outside environments. This style of dress does not have to be limited, and neither does the lifestyle of the women who dress in this way. Women are not limited in the places they can be or the things they can do. Women belong in private indoor spaces, as well as public outdoor spaces. Similar to the *Elele* spread, this spread does not show Büşra engaging in any specific activity or interacting with any other people even though she is in an outdoor space; yet, these images are important because they reject the notion that women may be limited to a certain style or space.

Motherhood & Children

Aysha does not appear to place as great an emphasis on motherhood and children as *Elele*. It is possible that *Aysha's* target audience is not yet at a point in their lives where children and motherhood are a large focus, or it could just simply be that this topic is simply not as large a focus compared to the other

categories because *Aysha* is more concerned with other aspects of a woman's life. That being said, even though *Aysha* may include less imagery and advertisements about children and motherhood than *Elele*, it still includes far more than *Glamour*. This aspect of a woman's life is acknowledged, even if it is not a focus.

For Mother's Day, there appears to be a special spread (pg 110-111) where there are three headshots, each of a mother and daughter hugging, scattered among products such as kitchenware, purses, shoes, shirts, dining ware, and food — all suggestions of gifts that a daughter could give her



mother for Mother's Day. Continuing with this theme, there are several advertisements that feature a mother and child including the Reis food advertisement (pg. 123) where a mother and daughter are cooking together, the Evolvيا NutriPro baby food advertisement where there is a cartoon image of a mother holding her baby (pg. 107), and the same Korkmaz advertisement found in *Elele* where a mother and daughter are laughing together (pg. 47).

Further confirming *Aysha*'s moderate interest (according to imagery) in motherhood and children, is the AnneBebek (mother/baby) section of the magazine. It does exist, but in this issue, it is only one page, or two if you count the baby formula advertisement (pg. 106-107). My interviewee, Luna, was interested in the article on this page, as it detailed information about a new learning technique. She said:

The imagery accompanying this article is of a little girl with blonde hair in a pink jacket, pink hat, and pink hair ties holding back her pigtails. She is standing outside, playing with the leaf in her hand. From this imagery, it is not possible to tell that this article focuses on children's learning; you are only given a hint that there is an interest in children's lives and wellbeing by the presence of the little girl. The

Distinctly Turkish

The different styles of head scarf in the main spread, and throughout the magazine is important. My interviewee Luna mentioned how in a certain picture a woman tied her head scarf in a way that immediately caught her eye (pg. 84). To me, I saw the obvious — that the woman was wearing a light pink head scarf —



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This point is made clear when comparing and contrasting imagery between *Aysha* and *Elele*. For example, *Aysha* is a fashion and lifestyle magazine for religiously conservative Muslim women, and thus, some of the pictorial content features mosques. This edition specifically features a mosque in (what is assumed to be) Turkey at night, and is lit up with a sign in Turkish saying “İman Allahadır” (belief in God). This imagery is important for two reasons. First, the picture of a mosque in a women’s magazine and an accompanying article about the activity, holiday, or ideas surrounding the presence of the mosque indicates that the magazine is for Muslim women, with emphasis on Muslim. And second, the Turkish setting and Turkish writing further defines the type of woman the magazine is meant for, which is a Muslim woman in Turkey. Through these two conclusions, we understand that *Aysha* closely connects being Turkish and Muslim, and is looking to appeal to this intersectional identity.

Even though people may experience life in Turkey differently, there are still common products and brands that are Turkish, and that Turks are exposed to when walking down the street or watching television or flipping through magazines. For example, the same Istikbal advertisement in *Elele* is in *Aysha*,



as well as a Korkmaz ad for cooking appliances. These similarities show that even though people’s experiences are different, they are shaped by similar forces. However, how one is positioned and chooses to deal with those forces impacts how their lives are lived out. *Elele* and *Aysha* are appealing to different

audiences that operate in the same space, but choose to do so differently, and thus they are creating specialized social spaces for these differing groups based on their interests and concerns.

Home and Style

There is a huge focus on the home in terms of where one should want to live and what kinds of products one should have in their home. Many of the advertisements for desirable homes include a focus on nature. The Remax collection (pg. 142-147) especially features homes with greenery, and displays the pictures in such a way that the inclusion of nature is the best selling point. This idea is further emphasized with the bottom of two of the pages (pg. 146 & 148) being lined with a grass pattern. Most of the homes also appear to be part of a larger apartment community, leading one to believe that this advertisement, and perhaps the audience of the magazine, are appealing to people who want to locate to a city or who already live in a big city with limited space, such as Ankara or Istanbul.

The Nazenin Konakları Çengelköy, another housing advertisement, follows a similar nature theme, with the background featuring a drawn river, trees, and even a mosque. The mosque in the background, combined with the ferry on the river and the way the houses are placed as if on hills in the background is reminiscent of Istanbul. In the city, greenery is not common, especially among the many large apartment complexes that sprawl across the city. Therefore, living in a place with trees and other



plants is a luxury. It appears that by featuring these particular living in communities, the magazine is promoting a certain lifestyle in two ways: first, it is funneling people together who have the resources to live in wealthier communities that have greenery; second, it is encouraging like-minds and lifestyles who read this magazine to live in these communities together.

It is not only where women live that matters, but also the interior style of their homes. *Aysha* features many advertisements that are geared towards home products, ranging from products that are

THE
RE/MAX Ahenk
COLLECTION

Emirgan Yatırım
Güvenli Yatırım
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0532 500 31 73
caglan.gun@remax.com.tr

BOĞAZ & DOĞA SİZİN İÇİN ÖNCELİK İSE, KÖY'DEKİ BU SATILIK VILLA TAM SİZ GÖRE !

zeri Yeniböyü,
Bilgili ile tercih
tarafımızda
Korusu'ndan
Uzuna
nde olan kayışlı
Sizime 724
nik & sosyal
olumuzaktadır.
180 m'2 bahçe-
na lare geniş
lanavizdir.

EMIRGAN'DA TARİHİ KÖŞ SATILIKTIR !

Her 3 katında bulunan balkonlarla ve odalarında ferahlatıcı İstanbul
Boğazi & Boğaziçi Köprü manzaraları ile günün 24 saati doyumsuz bir manzara
seyretmeye ne olursanız ?

• Kendine ait özel açık
yüzüne havuz ve bahçe
sahnesi.

• Emirgan sahline
5 dakikalık yürime
mesafesinde.

• Komple yapı yenilenmiş bugün
olumuzda hazır.

• 5 + 5 oda 320 m'2 brüt
kapalı alanıdır.

• Ormanlı Ormanlı nede
Havemim & Semaika çıkarak
bulunmaktadır. Söyazaki

Köşümüzi
Hareim Bölümüdür.

0532 500 31 73

0532 500 31 73

0532 500 31 73

Emirgan Yatırım
Güvenli Yatırım
Gözetimli Yatırım
0532 500 31 73

[illegible]

used to make the home look more attractive to those that help ease at-home tasks such as cooking. I spotted three main patterns in the types of home products marketed towards the *Aysha* audience: dining sets (pg. 16, 49, 55), kitchen appliances (pg. 57, 111, 122), and house furniture (pg. 18, 33, 101, 150). Of these spreads, only three of them featured women with or using the product. This modest frequency of featuring of women in imagery, especially in comparison to *Elele* and *Glamour*, is a pattern that continues throughout the magazine.



One

of the



advertisements including a woman is the one for Fakir Hausgeräte kitchen appliances (pg. 57). Initially catching my eye was the woman's vibrant, silky, purple dress billowing around her, and taking up most of the page. The woman stands in the middle of the page looking quite fancy in her dress, jewelry, and curled hair. Her hands are placed on her hip and thigh, and she is looking forward towards her audience. The color of her dress correlates with the color of the appliances, leading one to believe that the selling point in this particular advertisement for this brand of kitchen gadgets is the purple color. The Fakir brand is clearly using the attractiveness of the woman and the beauty of her dress to sell the product, as indicated by her lack of active relationship with the appliances — she is neither using nor even touching them.

One of the other advertisements featuring a woman is also for kitchen appliances, this time for the Korkmaz brand (pg. 122). On the upper lefthand side of the page, there is a woman who is pictured from her waist up, and is wearing a simple blue sweater.

She appears content as she holds the same appliance in different colors in both of her hands. Below and beside her are featured several different products — pots, pans, mixers, beaters, etc. — listed with the color options and prices. Although Korkmaz and Fakir are selling similar products for the kitchen, they are taking different approaches. The Fakir approach is using the woman's attractiveness as a method by which to draw the audience's attention towards their product and perhaps convince them that if they buy these appliances, then they will be just as fabulous as the model; whereas Korkmaz presents the woman as she might be dressed in everyday life, and focuses the audience's attention more so on the variety of colors and prices of the appliances that the company produces.

Most of the other advertisements for home and style products do not include women in their marketing approach at all. Take for example the dining sets and house furniture advertisements. Perhaps it is the elaborateness of the dining sets, with all of their pieces and patterns that are catching the eye, and thus does not require the assistance of a female model. And for the furniture, perhaps featuring a person using the furniture would take away from marketing strategy to appeal to people's aesthetic tastes rather than to their imagination of how they might use the products. Whatever the reason women are absent, these advertisements follow *Aysha*'s general pattern of only occasionally featuring pictures of women. In addition, this great focus on home-oriented goods may both encourage an interest in cultivating a fashionable home in a particular style, as well as reflect an already held prioritization of the home space.

Traveling & Vacation

Unparalleled in image frequency in *Aysha* are travelling and vacation advertisements, and the types of activities one can do while travelling or vacationing. In the first few pages (pg. 6-7) we find the first spread for vacation, which is for the Selge Beach Resort and Spa. One is given a view of different aspects of the resort including where visitors eat and sleep, and the outside grounds of the resort such as the different types of pools and the beach. The advertisement also makes clear that it is a kid friendly place by showing that a kiddie pool, water playground, and a game room are available.



Seyahat

GÜNEŞLE YIKANAN 3 MASAL DİYARI

Yurt dışı tatilini gerçekleştirmek çok... Her türden tatil için de uygun yerlere bakarsanız, yakınınızda bulunan yerler de tatil için uygun olabilir. İşte bu türden yerler...

Dünya'nın En Güzel Halları İçin
Dünya'nın en güzel halları için... İşte bu türden yerler...

Hayallerden Pula'nın İçin
Hayallerden Pula'nın için... İşte bu türden yerler...

Avrasya'nın En Güzel Halları İçin
Avrasya'nın en güzel halları için... İşte bu türden yerler...

Seyahat

DÖRT DÖRTLÜK TATİL ARAYANLARA

Avrasya'nın en güzel halları için... İşte bu türden yerler...

Konaklama Önerileri
Konaklama önerileri... İşte bu türden yerler...

The House Hotel
The House Hotel... İşte bu türden yerler...

There is a long stretch of pages relating to vacation and travel made up of spreads for different resorts and companies (pg. 86-105). The first page features four different locations outside of Turkey where someone might want to summer vacation — Scandinavia, Italy, Africa/Zimbabwe, and St. Martin. The following three pages (pg. 87-89) are full-page, overhead pictures of green islands and beautiful blue waters. It is not clear just from the picture where these islands are located, but they appear to be serene and calm. The next five pages (pg. 90-95) suggest the different activities (boating, sun bathing, spa, swimming at the pool or in the ocean) and housing options (hotels, mini-huts on the water) that one may enjoy on this type of vacation.

Tantım

V FOR VOYAGE ile Düşlerdeki Tatile...

Denizin üzerinde macera ve eğlence...

Tatil boyunca eğlence ve macera... İşte bu türden yerler...

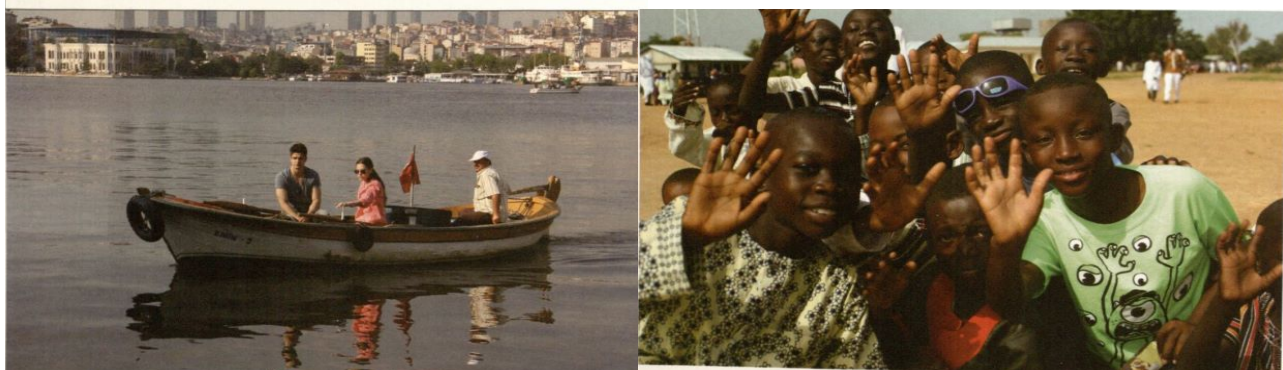
Similar to the images focused on home and style, many of these travel/vacation related images are of the places being advertised, but rarely feature women — or anyone for that matter — engaging in activities in these spaces. Whether this pattern is a stylistic choice of the brand or a deliberate choice of *Aysha* to only include advertisements that are less focused on the body and more on the place/activity is unknown. Most likely, it is a combination of the demands of the magazine, as well as the stylistic choice of the company, which was chosen because it caters towards the magazine's style.

One of the only vacation oriented advertisements that features women, men, and children engaging in activities together is for the V for Voyage (pg. 102-103) yacht company. This company was also featured in *Elele*, except *Aysha's* spread covers two pages and has more detailed photos as to what the vacation experience may entail. On the first page there is a picture of the yacht, zooming across the water, along with three pictures of the inside of the yacht including the bedroom and lounging areas. The second page is more geared towards the activities a family can enjoy on the yacht with the first picture featuring the family eating together. The other two pictures on the page focus on activities such as the father fishing with the son and daughter, as well as the father taking the son on a ride on the jet-ski. Why cannot the mother be involved in teaching the children how to fish or navigating the jet-ski? In a group of advertisements that rarely feature people, to have only 1 of the 3 pictures feature a woman, and to have none of those pictures featuring her with agency is a severe imbalance. This V for Voyage advertisement leads one to believe that the mother is either uninterested in or incapable of teaching her children how to do these on-hands activities.

More to the point, this extreme focus on vacation, travel, and relaxation in general, signifies that *Aysha* is not only representing a woman who is interested in these leisure activities, but the magazine is also spurring this interest to spend one's free time in a luxurious way. In short, *Aysha* is appealing to a crowd of wealthier people who have the money and time to enjoy these luxuries.

Out & About

As pointed out earlier, interesting to *Aysha* is that, outside of product advertisements, images of women are a lot less frequent than in *Elele* and *Glamour*. One of the first images of a woman not found in an advertisement is small picture a woman in a tiny boat with two other men (pg. 38). She is in the middle of the boat sitting next to a man who is at the front of the boat, both of them are looking forward, and she is pointing towards something ahead of them in the water. Another man is in the back of the boat, controlling the motor and steering. It is possible that boating along what appears to be a river, or perhaps a lake, is a fun activity that the man and woman at the front of the boat have decided to do recreationally. Either way, this images features a woman out and about in the world, participating in an activity, and not for the sake of selling a product.



During my interview with Luna, she was drawn to several articles discussing the activities that women are involved. One article she was drawn to is described below:

“Let me see what they are doing. It’s called ‘Hasene’ and it is about the work they are doing. They do charity stuff... so they provide water and make water fountains where people don’t have access to clean drinking water and they also obviously do work with Muslim countries because they send help for Eid. So they do work in 51 countries and in Turkey in 28 cities and 3 refugee camps. They provide food and drink during Ramadan.”

It is possible to tell from the photographs accompanying this article that *Aysha* is interested in displaying relationships with people. The first image in the top right hand of the page is of a group of young children dressed in everyday clothes and waving at the camera. The second image in the bottom

left is also of a group of children, this time dressed in uniforms and standing in front of what appears to be a school. It is not entirely possible to extract from these images that *Aysha* magazine is interested in covering the activities of volunteer organizations, as the images do not clearly feature women involved in those volunteering efforts. It appears that *Aysha* chooses to include imagery directly related to the goal of volunteer work, which is the people who are helped. In addition, similar to the article about the new play therapy technique in children's education, the magazine choose to convey the details of the volunteer work through written communication, as opposed to imagery.

In looking at the categories of Home & Style, Travelling & Vacation, and Out & About altogether, it is noticeable that imagery in *Aysha* focuses more on the product or the outcome of women's actions rather than incorporating images of women while involved in those activities or using those products. Also, *Aysha* appears to appeal to wealthier Muslim women who have the time and resources to carefully select the community they live in, the detailed styling and stocking of their home, where they choose to vacation in the world, and more.

Glamour

Main Spread

The May 2016 issue of *Glamour* in Turkey stars Ezgi Mola. Of her 10 page spread, only two of those pages have written content; the rest are pictures of Ezgi in multiple different places throughout what appears to be a home, and in a wide range of summer clothing (pg. 138-137). On the first two pages, she is wearing the same orange dress and pink earrings as she is on the cover, except her hair is down in this shot, making her appear more relaxed. She is looking upward with a big smile on her face, and gripping the thin branch of the tall plant in front of her. The first of the second two pages features Ezgi near that same plant, except this time she is sitting down and tying the long ankle laces of her shoes. She is now wearing a see-through black and white striped top with purple, blue, green, and yellow flowers, and light purple pants. The second page is the main text in her spread.



#EZGİYLEGLAMOUR

EVDE VAR EZGİ

FERAH, AYDINLIK, RAHAT AMA ASLA SIRADAN DEĞİL İŞTE İNSAN EZGİ MOLANIN YANINDAYKEN KENDİNİ BÖYLE BİR EVDEYİMİŞ GİBİ HİSSEDİYOR. AH MUHSİN ÜNLÜ'NÜN ŞİİRİNDEKİ GİBİ "İŞTE SEN GÜLÜYORSUN VE BİZİ DAHA GENİŞ BİR SALONA ALMIŞ OLUYORLAR."

FOTOĞRAF: SPER DOĞRU • YERİ: TUGBA ANKEN • YERİ: AYŞİM ÖZGİR

GLAMOUR.COM 139



Each following picture of Ezgi in this spread features her in a different room in the house and wearing a different outfit. In one of the pictures (pg. 142) she is sitting sideways in a chair with her legs propped over the arm of the chair in a way that indicates she is comfortable with this furniture and in this space. Behind her is a modern-looking, built-in-the-wall bookshelf with books, photographs, a clock, and candles. She is wearing a dress of many colors — yellow, gray, green, red, black — with thick straps across her shoulders, and is holding a book open in her lap as she invitingly looks at the audience. This setting leads one to believe that Ezgi appreciates reading and may do so in her free time. She is not just beautiful and fashionable, but has an intellectual side to her as well.

On the next page, she is sitting on the bottom few steps of a wooden, winding staircase. She is wearing a striped, sleeveless jumpsuit, with the top part made of green and white stripes, and the bottom of yellow and white stripes. Interestingly, her feet are bare. There are many earthy elements on, with twigs and pinecones in large, flat bowls on the floor off to her right, a wooden floor hallway leading to a living room with a large, beige couch and a huge, wall length window looking out onto trees. The brightness and openness of the room, along with her bare feet and big smile, make for an inviting, relaxing atmosphere.

The following pages feature Ezgi in other rooms and clothing, which leads one to draw two conclusions about *Glamour's* style of presenting women. First, diversity in one's fashion and a commitment to beauty and style is important. Second, women are not limited to existing in one environment, to one fashion, or to one lifestyle — they can, and are encouraged, to explore. And, as discussed in the next section, *Glamour* stays true to this mission of inspiring women to be confidently fashionable, and providing the resources to do so.

Beauty & Image

Glamour is the most image heavy magazine of the three magazines in this analysis. There are only 3 pages in this issue that you can open up to that do not include a person's face or body. Clearly, as compared to *Aysha* specifically, *Glamour* places a huge emphasis on the body. A great deal of the magazine revolves around the selling of products such as lotions, clothing, jewelry, shoes, and other accessories.

Therefore, most often images of women are included as part of an advertisement to model a product for a specific brand, or women are featured modeling a product, such as jewelry, shoes, or glasses, and are included among many images of that certain product (pg. 49, 50, & 53).



Other times, pictures of famous women in their daily life and/or models walking down the runway are included to promote a certain style. For example, there is a spread with the faces and hair of many women modeling different hairstyles (pg. 84-85). There is also a section of cutouts of four women wearing different kinds of red dresses (pg. 26), and then on another page (pg. 30) five cutouts of one woman in different outfits. A viewer is supposed to compare and contrast these images to figure out for themselves which among these fashions is the most appealing for them.

This extreme focus on the body and beauty is in some ways concerning and in other ways inspiring. It is concerning because almost every page of the magazine draws an audience's eyes to analyze another woman's style and body, to judge how they look, and to either adopt, learn from, or reject that look. To constantly draw one's attention to physical features, as opposed to the non-material accomplishments and personality of a woman is to constantly put one in a position judging another person solely on the way they look as opposed to their nonphysical qualities. *Glamour*, however, prides itself on being a magazine that provides coverage of popular celebrity fashions to its audience and encourages women to take the reigns of their own style and be confident in how they look. Therefore, in filling their pages with a plethora of products, clothing, and styles, *Glamour* is delivering to its audience a wide variety of choices.



Although *Glamour* excels in providing an abundance of fashion, it lacks in featuring women of diverse body sizes. Generally in *Glamour*, the women appear to be fit or trim, like models. There was only one picture I found of a woman who may be considered plus size (pg. 111), and it was part of an advertisement for a show on TLC about a woman who is considered overweight. For a magazine that focuses on building the confidence of its readers through fashion and beauty, the limited coverage of women outside of a certain body size is an issue because it perpetuates the idea that only a certain body size is desirable. It is even worse that this type of rhetoric is coming through in the imagery in a internationally focused, published, and circulated magazine such as *Glamour* because this means that this type of twisted idea about body size is being circulated around the world.

For what *Glamour* lacks in coverage of diverse body types, it does not lack in its featuring of men. There is even a spread that focuses on a man, placing him in multiple barnyard settings and similarly

themed outfits (pg. 162-169). The inclusion of men, and pictures of men and women together, is more frequent than in *Elele* and *Aysha*, and is important because although this women is geared toward women and their fashion needs, men are still part of women's lives, the fashion industry, and may even influence how women decide to dress. Women's fashion and lives do not exist in a vacuum without men, and *Glamour* does creates a social space for their audience that is aware of the presence of men.

Similar to *Elele*, but quite different from *Aysha* especially, is that *Glamour* features pictures of women's bodies with limited clothing, as well as pictures and articles related to sex and being sexy. Although *Aysha* was full of advertisements for beaches and resorts, there was never a picture of a woman lounging in a bathing suit. *Glamour*, on the other hand, features women in bathing suits (even when they are not near a beach or a pool). Take for example the back cover of the magazine, or the multiple bathing suit and suncream advertisements (pg. 35, 44, 46).

There is also a distinctly sexy picture, perhaps for a lingerie advertisement as indicated by the lingerie on the next page (pg. 118-119) featuring a man and a woman suggestively embracing in their underwear. Through this openness in picturing women's bodies, one may draw two conclusions about



Glamour's ideas on the relationships between a woman's body, fashion, and her relations with other people. First, women's bodies should be celebrated and dressed in such a way that reveals or conceals however much is appropriate for the season and your personal style. (Though, as pointed out earlier, *Glamour* has not yet reached a point where it is celebrating all women's bodies.) Second, men exist in women's lives, sometimes in sexual ways, and the topic of women's bodies and relationships with men are important to feature and discuss.

Distinctly Turkish

My summer in Istanbul introduced me to the popularity of astrological signs in Turkey. Several women upon first meeting me asked me what my sign was, perhaps to use this information to reveal something about my character that wasn't readily apparent through our conversation. Therefore, when I was flipping through the magazines, I was interested to find that both *Elele* and *Glamour* included a section towards the back with that month's astrological information. Although astrological signs are not unique to Turkey and can be found in the magazines of other countries, the combination of my experience with women asking me about my astrological sign in Turkey and the exclusion of the signs in *Aysha* cause me to place this portion of the magazines under the category of distinctly Turkish. This goes to show that even though an idea, lifestyle, trend, etc. may be popular among some Turkish women, it is not popular among all. This brings us back to the idea that Luna discussed, where although women may live in the same society and be impacted by the same laws and government and economy, the way they interact with their environment is shaped by their unique positions.

Other than astrological signs (which I am not entirely sure if they were included because they are part of the stock layout of *Glamour* or because they were meant to appeal to Turks), the only other visual element of Turkish *Glamour* that I found that might cater towards Turkish women specifically, was the scattering of Turkish celebrities throughout the magazine.

Traveling & Vacation

Similar to *Elele* and *Aysha*, *Glamour* has it's own way of advertising travel and vacation to its audience. In some areas of the magazine, there are pictures of specific places, such as Italy with its spectacular views (pg. 190), or of the places where one may stay when travelling, such at a spacious resort with indoor and outdoor pools (pg. 134 - 136). Other areas of the magazine focus more on marketing the places alongside products, similar to the method discussed for *Elele*, as



well as throughout the rest of *Glamour*. For example, there is a spread featuring postcards from other countries (Spain, France, Greece, New York) and for makeup and beauty products used in those places (pg. 79). Similar to *Elele* and *Aysha*, the audience of *Glamour* has a desire to be connected with other places, most generally in the West, outside of Turkey. However, *Glamour* does also feature vacation site in Turkey, such as Bodrum and Çeşme.



Further spurring an interest in travel are two resources featured within the magazine. First, there is the advertisement for *Traveller* magazine published by the same company (Condé Nast) (pg. 74). The advertisement is simple and summery, with several sets of yellow and red pool-side lounge chairs set up on a green area next to a pool. This advertisement features no people, but brings up feelings of peace and relaxation. The second resource is inside the back page of the magazine, and is an advertisement for a TV channel called 'World Travel Channel'. It appears to be geared specifically toward travel, as indicated by its name and the pictures in the background featuring sites such as the Roman Colosseum, the Eiffel Tower, a beach, a London bus, etc. (pg. 195). Although the description is in Turkish, the name of the channel is in English, leading one to believe that the channel is sponsored by an English-speaking source and that this push to travel to is in part encouraged by foreign interests seeking to draw in more travelers.



Out & About

Glamour is overwhelming in its amount of imagery. Almost every page is a collection of products and people collaged together. Therefore when discussing the category of out and about, there is of course a lot of material to draw from. Throughout the magazine there are images of women modeling dresses on the red carpet (pg. 14), going out to dinner with a friend (pg. 107), hanging out with other women and men (pg. 68 & 97), and a myriad of other activities. So while the magazine does heavily visualize women's bodies in order to sell styles and products, a lot of the imagery also features women as active, multifaceted people who have lives that involve home, work, and play.

Discussion of Part Two

While Part One of this chapter focused on the patterns of front covers of magazines over time, Part Two was concerned with the internal imagery of different magazines in May 2016, and what messages this imagery sent to women about who they should be. It is clear through the diverse imagery amongst the magazines that each has a different focus and appeals to a distinct audience.

Elele contains a lot of imagery geared towards motherhood and children, travelling, and being social. The magazine appears to recognize that motherhood is an important element of a good deal of their audience's lifestyles, and thus, features advertisements and pictures related to children and parenting. *Elele* also encourages readers to focus on themselves, to take pride in how they dress and present themselves, and to be sure to have an active social life.

Aysha showed strong trends in home and style, travel and vacation, and fashion for Muslim women. The great focus on the particular communities people live in and home-oriented goods reflects and spurs a prioritization of the home space. And the intense focus on travel, vacation, and relaxation signifies not only an interest in leisure activities, but time and money on the part of the audience to enjoy these luxuries, meaning that they are most likely in a position of wealth. Despite the plethora of advertisements for vacationing and home goods, these settings, which could easily incorporate people, only occasionally include images of women (or any people, for that matter). Considering these categories and patterns of presentation, it is evident that *Aysha* is attempting to appeal to a specific intersectional identity — a fashionable, Turkish, Muslim woman who is part of a higher economic class.

Of the three magazines in this analysis, *Glamour's* visual content has the strongest focus on women's bodies and placement, as there is a person pictured on almost every page. Although published for a Turkish audience, the magazine features men and women celebrities and models from many places throughout the world, as one of the goals of *Glamour* is to bring international fashion and trends to the local country level.

As all three magazines are sold within Turkey and meant to appeal to Turkish women, one of the categories I focus on is 'Distinctly Turkish'. *Aysha* and *Elele* are both produced in Turkey, for Turkish women, and feature similar products, advertisements, and patterns, etc. *Glamour*, as an imported magazine, does not share these commonalities. Instead, *Glamour* features a conglomerate of international products because beauty — from any and all sources — is the focus of *Glamour's* brand. *Elele* and *Aysha* also feature foreign products, people, and places, but not to the same degree.

In looking at the internal images of these magazines, it is clear that women operate in multiple social contexts — contexts in which they are a friend, a mother, an employee, an individual with hobbies and style, etc. These magazines are attempting to serve as a social space in which different aspects of women's lives may be recognized and discussed. To publish content relevant to an audience, whether that

information is in regards to fashion, home style, motherhood, literature, travel, etc. is an important function of magazines.

Going hand in hand with this function, magazines appeal to different groups of people based on the content they choose to highlight. In examining *Elele*, *Aysha*, and *Glamour* together, one of the clearest ideas brought forth is that women experience living as a women, as a Turk, and within Turkey differently. Although they may live through the same broader changes in Turkey, women's experiences and reactions to these changes are different due to their unique positionality. And thus, different demands are generated. The diversification of the women's magazine market is reflective of these new demands; it works to provide a social space, through magazines, that meets women's social needs.

This expansion of the magazine market is indicative of broader changes in Turkey. Women have been fighting for equal treatment since before the feminist movements mentioned earlier in this research; however, with the rise of feminism and a doorway opening with a transition of government in the 1980s, women were even more so able to push for political and social recognition of their experiences and identities. The relationship between politics and economics has altered women's lives and aided in the expansion of the women's magazine market. The rise of more conservative and religiously oriented political leaders alongside the birth and growth of an Islamic bourgeoisie have had noticeable impacts in that magazines such as *Aysha* and *Âlâ* have been able to garner the resources to be published and the audience to demand its continued production. The presence of a woman in a head scarf in a women's magazine was a rarity before these changes.

Although the front covers of magazines may not do as well a job of indicating how they differ from one another in the lifestyles they cater towards, the visual content inside the magazines certainly does indicate this diversity. The existence of these different magazines and the material they produce creates a social space where people who experience these broader changes similarly and have common interests, may interact. Even more so, these magazines are only able to share the identities and positions that are popular at the moment; meaning, there are identities that are not represented in these magazines, and by

extension, not represented in more physical, literal social spaces such as government, politics, businesses, schools, etc.

Even though looking to differences is important in pinpointing distinct social spaces, the similarities between magazines is also important. For example, *Elele* and *Aysa* are appealing to a similar economic and social middle class, in which the women are able to engage in conspicuous consume to a similar degree. They feature Turkish women who have similar desires — to be fashionable, to be caught up on current trends, to be social. Therefore, even though one could look to the differences, there is also a great deal to be learned from the similarities in magazines.

In short, magazines are important because they are a tool for creating spaces in which women may unite based on similar experiences and interests; thus, the consumption and creation of magazines is significant because the ones that are successful reflect popular trends and standpoints. Magazine images are carefully selected to portray certain ideals and values; therefore, when a woman gravitates towards a particular magazine, when the front cover draws her in and the inside content keeps her attention, this means that the magazine is relevant to a community of women. Broader changes in society cause growth in the magazine market because there are demands for new social spaces that rise to meet these desires. Through analyzing imagery of women's magazines, we find that not all women live in the same Turkey even though they may physically live in the same Turkey, and that magazines do not just sell products, they reflect, perpetuate, and create styles and identities that are popularized by different social, economic, religious, and political forces.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

During my Junior year, I took a class about gender in the Middle East — a class which inspired this thesis. Throughout the course, we analyzed visuals of women in paintings, advertisements, and videos, alongside readings to emphasize the topics we were discussing. These images were from different time periods and countries, and their meanings were layered. A student sitting next to me voiced the opinion that she didn't appreciate the exercise of image analysis, wondering why it mattered how a woman was positioned on a couch, what she was wearing, or why the meanings associated with the image mattered. Why not just read texts? How could the meanings within imagery possibly carry the same weight?

My thesis [hopefully] provides an answer to that question. On an individual, picture-by-picture basis, analyzing images may seem redundant and mundane, *but* pictures are not created in a vacuum — they are a product of a myriad of forces. Analyzing images is important because, together, they tell a story about the condition of a society and a group of its people, as well as provide hints as to the political, social, economic, and religious factors, along with a host of other influences, that give rise to such an image. Together, images reflect desires, realities, and social spaces that operate outside of their own existence. This thesis utilized imagery in Turkish women's magazines as the medium through which to explore how broad changes in Turkey generate new cultural demands and identities, which, in turn, leads people to claim distinct social spaces.

I chose magazines to explore this idea of social space and identity for two reasons. First, Turkey has a strong history of using the image of the Turkish woman as a symbol of the nation, modernity, and progress. Second, magazines are often overlooked as sources of valuable cultural information. Magazines, though full of images of women, are not just valuable for their pretty faces and products — even if that is ostensibly how some viewers may use them; they are social spaces that seek to appeal to a certain audience and perpetuate particular ideals and ways of life. Therefore, it follows that the imagery consumed when flipping through a magazine has gone through a careful selection process meant to strengthen their message.

Magazines are considered social spaces because they are material extensions of physical realities that portray ideas about lifestyle, motherhood, fashion, hobbies, and travel, among other cultural aspects, gathered for consumption by a group of like-minded people. The materiality and very existence of a magazine reflects a social space beyond the magazine itself; meaning, the imagery serves as a conversation between the audience and producers about what is important to their respective sides of the magazine experience. As social spaces, magazines also act as a mediator between what people want and what larger forces that influence production might be demanding.

Therefore images — and magazines— are vital elements to understanding and tracking changes in society because they simultaneously represent and produce meaning through projecting certain elements as either central or peripheral. In understanding that images project more meanings than the sum of their parts, we may make certain propositions about a society. Therefore, in following this logic, what propositions can be made about Turkey from this study?

First, there is an emerging Muslim bourgeoisie and middle class. Turkey has experienced much change in the relationship between politics and religion from 1980 to today, with the rise of conservative businesses and like-minded politicians allowing for the popularization of Islam in the public sphere. In response to this change, new social spheres have arisen in which Muslim women are asserting themselves as Muslim through their social behavior, which may include wearing the headscarf, participating in volunteer activities, reading literature/magazines with Islamic orientations, and other activities. *Aysha*, as a rare social space for Muslim women in the form of a magazine, is one example of how broad changes are creating new demands.

Second, despite the rise in popularity of Islam in the public sphere in Turkey, there still remains a desire to integrate and be associated with non-Muslim and/or Western countries and cultures. *Elele* represents a steady secular women's magazine, as seen through the continued success of the magazine from the 1980s onward. This idea of *Elele* propagating a secular, fashionable woman as the ideal has not changed; however, with the emergence of magazines such as *Aysha* and *Álá*, it will be interesting to see if

Elele, as a Turkish women's magazine founded and published in Turkey, will respond to these emerging demands of Turkish women. *Glamour* is a new example of how some women in Turkey have a great desire to be connected internationally, as *Glamour* is headquartered in the UK, and was imported only a year ago into Turkey.

The relationship between *Aysha*, *Elele*, and *Glamour*, as distinctly different magazines appealing to groups of women with differing interests, priorities, and tastes, is a testament to how social spheres in Turkey are expanding to include groups of women who desire to embrace their religious identity publicly, women who wish to live out secular lifestyles, and women who have an itch for what is international, etc. In conjunction, these three magazines allow us to understand how magazines, as social spaces, reveal the numerous different intersectional identities lived out by Turkish women and how they change women's interactions and experiences in different Turkeys.

Upon beginning this research, I was curious about the relationship between imagery and identity. Though this thesis does explore that topic, there are several avenues in which my research may be deepened in these regards. First, by considering the position of different forms of print and internet media. During my summer research in Istanbul, I deduced through conversations and observations that the consumption of print media in Turkey is thriving and is far more popular than in America. This culture of print media, in Istanbul specifically, and perhaps in other cities as well, is partially influenced by the geography of the city. Traveling throughout a city where public transport is the dominant form of transportation, it is convenient, quick, and easy to grab a magazine or newspaper on the way to wherever you are going, as stands are nearly everywhere, and reading is an informative, engaging way to pass the time. Therefore, an expansion of this research could incorporate examining the significance of more types of print media such as political cartoons and newspapers, as well as internet media, such as magazine websites, such as blogs, and apps. The formation of social space and identity could also be examined from a geographically different perspective, such as from a rural standpoint, or from the outlook of Turkish diaspora in countries such as Germany and the Netherlands.

Second, this research discussed feminism as an interest under the larger umbrella of Turkish women's magazines; however, future research could examine the different forms of feminism within Turkey, along with the various social spaces they produce and identities they appeal to. Magazines, and other forms of media, would be one category through which to examine the larger umbrella interest of the multiplicity of feminisms in Turkey, how they arise, how they are similar and different, and what their goals might be. Other categories through which to analyze these feminisms would be through women's organizations, the history and current role of women in positions of power such as within the government and within business, and other areas of life in which women organize and act out their particular lifestyles.

At the beginning of my research, I thought a lot about identity in terms of who the 'ideal' Turkish woman may be according to the perspectives of women themselves, as well as what imagery in the magazines might indicate. However, throughout my journey with this project, I have come to realize that there are many influential outlets that impact what behaviors, looks, or lifestyles are ideal. Therefore, an encompassing image of the ideal woman is not tangible. What is tangible, though, are patterns and changes within imagery, which is important because they are indicators as to the forces causing the formation of new identities and social spaces. Specifically for this research, the patterns and changes discussed have led to the conclusion that there are a myriad of intersectional identities, and although Turkish women may live through the same broad changes within Turkey, at the end of the day, their identities, and their Turkeys are different; therefore, through interacting in the social spaces that appeal to her, each woman creates her own ideal.

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