Media and Identity

HEAD COVER FROM THE POINT OF LIBERALIZATION AND /OR SUBDUING VIEWS PRESENTATION OF ISLAMIC FEMINIST APPROACH IN MEDIA

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Abstract

Head cover is women's covering style according to Islamic faith. However, this cover, which has been politicized today, includes different symbols also. Actually, it is a fact based on gender and directly business of women. The study considers examining presentation of head cover from the point of view of women's liberalization in media with feminist approach. Today, we see an idea combining Islamic idea and women's problems under the name of Islamic feminism as another approach of feminism.Islamic feminist movement is a movement, which have developer effects and foresees a new identity for women and makes them participate social life beside absolute obeisance. The Islamic feminist approach, which has appeared in the east, has caused a discussion medium for experiencing their rights and faiths of the women whose Islamic identity stands in the forefront. In this manner, its features are different from the western feminist approaches. Although head cover has been discussed on secular/anti-secular platforms in the country's public opinion, it is essentially a part of social change. The study in which a feminist reading is done is meaningful from the point of view of media-head cover-feminism relationship. This study in which fractioning in Islamic feminism are determined focuses on the ideas on feminine identity of head cover. News and columns, which were published between 6 February 2008 on which negotiations were started about deregulation of head cover wearing in Great National Assembly (TBMM) and 23 February 2008 on which it was approved by the president, were examined in the study. Vakit Newspaper which its occidental approaches and Islamic identity stand in the foreground and liberal Islamic Zaman newspaper were selected as sample. Columns were evaluated by critical discourse analysis in the sample period in which discussions about head cover were experienced intensively. Columns were taken into consideration under two subjects: linguistic organization and causality. As a result of the study, these are liberal Islamic feminist approach, which puts the Islamic identity of women first and think that, the head cover wearing is the essential for women's participation in social life freely, and conservative Islamic approach, which considers head cover wearing is a way for hiding women, put Islamic lifestyle first and occidental values are dismissed. Vakit newspaper considers head cover as a symbol for women and criticized secularity whenever it had an opportunity. It glorified women wearing head cover and religion found place more than women's freedom. Zaman newspaper took the head cover into consideration under the context of freedom and head cover wearing was glorified with

non-religious definitions. Combination of woman-head cover and freedom was established by trying head cover free from other concepts.

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'Not written rules, imposed roles, enrobed clothes are determining the color of our lives, climate and voices. Rebelling, adopting or going away are just responses in the geography of a personal living, but, to what extent can they be transforming?" (Inci Aral, "Golgede Kirk Derece, 2000)

1- What is Islamic Feminism?

Feminist act is an act which cannot be explained with its own reality. There are several feminist approaches and generally feminism is tried to be explained depending on the economical and political systems. Such as liberal feminism, radical feminism, socalist feminism etc. Islamic feminism or the Islamist feminism is another example of this type of crossbred thoughts. First as an organization, I. International Islamic Feminism Congress is held at Barcelona at Catalan Islam Committee at 2005. Abdennur Prado from the coordination committee asserts that the Islamic feminism provides an alternative to the Muslim woman for westernization and from the other side it calls for thinking about the patriarchal interpretations of Islam. Contrary to the arguments that Islam suppresses woman, she comments that it is a women act which she thinks she can find the liberty in the structure of Islam (Spain Today, 2005).

Conclusion declaration of the II. Islamic Feminism Congress, held in Barcelona at 2006, said that 'Islamic feminism has a supplementary role for the global feminist acts'. In the same congress, in the study with the heading 'Islamic feminism: its discounts and its prospects', Valentine M. Moghadam questions the relationship between Islamic thought and feminism. In the declaration which he assesses the Iranian philosophers, it tries to answer the questions 'How can Islam agree with the feminism' and 'Can the women who advances the acts of gender equity and the act of women's improvement with their veil as a Islamic or Islamist feminists be included in the Islamic structure'. Islamic feminism, against the statement of the male female discrimination and men's superiority in Islam world which do not agree with today, have pushed the women to collate the Islamic thought with a thought systems which defends equality of women.

The discussion of Islamic Feminism starts at 1994 with Afsaneh Najmabadi's speech London University School of Oriental and African Studies. In her speech, Najmabadi defines feminism as a reform act which opens a dialogue between the secular feminists and religious functionary. Najmabadi starts to write about Islamic feminism at the woman magazines Zanan and Farzenah which are both at Teheran. The articles of Najmabadi are interpreted as important and are drawing reactions from viewpoint of man and woman act (Moghadam; 2005). Again an Iranian writer Mir-Hosseini attracts attention with his articles about Islamic feminism. The writer criticizes that it is limited with the motherhood role given to the woman, polygamy and the family law in Islam. Failure of protecting the rights of human in Iran Islamic Republic, while discussing the place of woman it directs getting aware which results in a local feminist consciousness. Mir-Hosseini also writes at Zanan like Najambadi.

An Islamic feminist approach which includes a paradigm trying to solve the women's problems in Islamic countries originates from Iran. The chairman of the Katalan Islam Association Prado tries to explain the roots of the Islamic feminist approach with the comments of Mogahdam. 'Islamic feminism is a reform act which presents an alternative approach to the the disproof of western type stereotypes and Islamic conservatism and Quran centered patriarchal interpretations. Islamic feminists criticize the legal statuses and social positions of women, and accept that women are placed to lower positions in the family with laws and traditions, and at economy and political associations. Islamic feminists propose that Islam is interpreted patriarchally, and the position of the women is determined with the distortion of the religion rather than the Islamic laws' (Prado, 2005).

On 27-29 October 2005, the conclusion declaration of the Barcelona First International Islamic Feminism Congress at which around 400 participants came together states these items:

- Islamic feminism has come into view as an alternative to patriarchal interpretation of Islam.
- Islamic feminism is based on the verses of the Quran and Quran's powerful belief that does not see the domination of men as legacy.
- Men should also take place in the fighting for women's getting equal rights.
- Women's attendance to decision making structures has to be supported.
- Islamic tradition in their bases, should defend the women's right to own property, individual freedom and economical independence.
- Muslim women's right of accessibility to mosques should be requested.
- Feminists who are not Muslims should not think that the most sexist and obscurant interpretations are the only Islamic interpretations.

In Bardan's book named 'Feminism Beyond East and West- New Gender Talk and Global Islam', while Bardan (2007) is grounding the arguments of the women tells about interesting examples showing how they use the Islamic proofs. The writer, to find a basis for the women's critics brought to the patriarchal living style, while he denotes the thought which is emphasized on Quran that male or female, everybody is equal, he mentions the new commentary based on the complete works of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings. According to Bardan, Islamic feminists are discussing some of the verses of the Quran and some of the comments of the Prophet Mohammed's sayings again.

Since the status of woman in a Muslim society is a subject of belief, (and also a 'symbol'), it has extensions in the entirety of Islam. For this reason, the political and cultural preferences are tried to be understood by relating them with the position of the women and people whose preference is on the side of 'modernity' perceive women as a thread to 'modernization' and people who perceive that in 'modernization' is a threat possessing a dangerous element for Islam perceive this effort as a threat for the traditional Islamic living. While the Islamic feminists take place in the modernity with their demands, they describe themselves as 'Islamists' in respect of the cultural relation and the references they used and are going in the search of constructing their arguments in a different language than both of the groups.

Von-Doom Harder (2005) proposes that the feminist acts in Islamic societies come into view in two different forms; western origin secular feminism, and the other is Islamic feminism which defends a constructive equality in the accompaniment of Quran and the prophet

Mohammed's sayings. It is argued that this new form of feminism can have an improving effect in the Muslim women (Mogahadam, 1993). In the countries ruled under Islamic Regime, women's expressing themselves is only possible within the frame of Islamic commitments. Islamic feminists are not limited with only fulfilling the religious commitments and reaching the equal rights. A Muslim woman can be interested in human rights, employees' rights and problems of the society just like a secularist person. Fulfilling the Islamic commitments as a woman may be an effective strategy for getting the social rights. These commitments change from country to country. Like woman in Iran wearing the veil can provide with the access to working (Hilsdon, Rozario, 2006).

1.1. Islamic Feminist Act In Turkey

The first time the words Islam and feminism take place together at the media, is on 20 December 1987 at a file published named as 'Feminists with turban' at Nokta magazine. Before that, Ali Bulac, degrades feminist act while arguing that there is no need for a Muslim woman to be feminist with his article named as 'Short mind of Feminist Ladies'. In addition to the feminist ladies, it is proposed that an alternative establishment against the unitary public area understanding comes from the Muslim women groups. It is assumed that especially the policy of military managers, some bureaucrats and university managers which envisage the 'single type' women is punctured by the women with turban. The erosion of the single type woman prototype which has not gained a constitutional and legal guarantee, finds a base in societal level (Caha; 1996). After the ends of 1980, turban becomes popular and becomes a cloth imposed on the girls, wives, sisters by the conservative men approving it (Cakir, 2000). In a sense, is a cloth which is approved by the men's dominancy. Oz (2008) appeals women by saying 'Women, do give in. You can not be free by wrapping your heads. 'The freedom to wrap your head' is the big dream of men dominancy - from the old times and we should confess that focusing on political targets - who want to enclose you home' and is worried about that it will bring pressure rather than the freedom. Head cover in this meaning is questioned in the societal platform asking that 'is it freedom?' and 'is it pressure?

Most important problem of the Islamist women is the wrapping. While these women want to appear in the public area with their wrapping clothes, their job choices are limited according to the Islamic rules and patriarchal order. Against the statement of the feminists who do not have wrapping, they reply as ' that whether or not wrap imprisons our fertility and sexuality is our problem'. In addition while they are commenting that wrap banishes women from commoditizing, they ignore that the woman and her wrap is made a tool for popularizing the Islamic regime. Gole (2004) approaches turban and covering of woman from the angle of identity of woman, questioning modernity over the woman and social change. 'Wrapping of woman is the demanding flag of the Islamic organization style which is getting political and is based on gender discrimination and which restrict woman with in-house and at privacy areas' and argues that the woman who appears at public area creates a forcing in the privacy area. Sevda Alanku-Kural (1997) in the analysis study questioning the identity of woman in intellectual area, related with the Mektup magazine, investigates the effect of political Islam on the women acts. Sevda Alanku-Kural determines that the agenda created by the magazine directed toward the women consists of headings such as woman in Islam, wives of the Prophet and his family life, woman in heaven, woman's right to elect and be elected, duties of woman in family and society life, forms and conditions of wrapping. Approaches of Muslim woman towards the feminist trends to acquire their rights bring the words Islam and feminist in later times.

In the thoughts saying that Islamic feminism is in the crawling stage, it is put forward that it can develop fast. In addition to the expectations of the Islamic feminists related with individual rights and sexual life, their requirements related with the Islamic living are attention- grabbing. Islamic rights are ordered to Islamist feminist women in this way: 'Entering the mosque, entering the mosque from the main door even, visual and audio access to musalla, praying at musalla without separation with a barrier from man, calling out to communion, being an imam, and participating in all activities' (Dilek, 2007). Islamic feminists oppose to prostitution, using woman body as a meta, carrying the surnames of the husbands, beating and generalization of bagnios. They state that the problems at the traditional families do not stem from religion. According to Muslim feminists, as a result of national, cultural and local values which are not related with religion mix with religion, woman have been crushed for hundreds of years (Kara, 2006). Most of the wrapped women who can not think Islam and feminism together and who even think that feminism is a black spot do no not want to be defined as feminists (Akgunduz, 2006). The thoughts saying that togetherness of Islam and feminism has a strategic dimension, propose that there are no women who agrees with this hybrid thought. Sisman (2006) who rejects feminism says that Islamic feminism is a result of globalization. In Sisman's book named 'In the claw of Globalization, in the claw of Islam', while opposing to re-questioning of Islam in the viewpoint of woman's rights, is considered as 'this thought is both a result of a insist and the attempt to destroy the religious base which is the basic abuttal of Islam'. Therefore Sisman claims that Islamic feminism will not find a place in Turkey. According to this, Islam does not need a comment again as the Islamic feminists propose.

The thought of Islamic feminism which develops in countries ruled with Islam and that roots are extending to Iran and Malaysia, is an act which is tried to be developed in Turkey at specific levels. The discussions in the platform of wraps entering the universities revive the liberation of women though they are limited. However, in terms of feminist view, it is a must to look at the wrapping as a whole. Event of wrapping should not only be taken as the liberty of the women wrapping but should be considered in the base of liberty of all the women. From the view point of women, while the wrap determines their societal living, political messages are not avoided as well. It has different thoughts about this overall view; "Turban as a political and Islamic symbol symbolizes the inequality of women and men, and woman is in the service of man as a second class person, being seen as a sexual object, and for this reason the woman should wrap and woman not having sexual freedom. Small girls are being wrapped before they come to teenage period and the wrapping does not stay limited with only turban. Together with the turban, the lines of the body are hidden and a woman without sexuality is created and all the behavior patterns and living conditions of a woman are adopted to this. Rules such as woman with turban should not attract the attention at the places where there are men, for example should not laugh with laughter and should live like a silent shadow and should be in the disposal of men are put forth." The religious women oppose this idea of Arpat and try to impose the idea that woman purify with the wrapping.

In the democratic Turkey, there is a different Islamic feminist act different from the other countries ruled with Islam like Iran or other countries. While in these countries, because of their regimes, the women's rights are possible with accomplishing religious promises; in Turkey, which is not a religious regime, women wish to gain their rights together with religious promises. While Islamic feminists command religions with respect to women's

rights and try to gain rights suitable with women's rights, the woman in Turkey try to gain Islamic rights rather than women's rights. Thus, in our country it is possible to talk about Islamic act instead of Islamic feminism. Therefore, religious women do not claim to Islamic feminism; because, this movement holds a content which negates the regime of Islam.

2. Analysis of Media Presentation of Islamic Feminist Approach

2.1. Problem, Method, Database and Limitations

As another dimension of feminism, Islamic feminism is a social activity talked in the context of purdah. Turban is presented as the excuse of linearization and joining of them into public area. Here, further than liberalizing of women, women identity is in foreground. Because purdah, being the most attractive symbol of Islam, while factionalizing Muslim woman among other women it also points out with its political content. Not only radical beliefs willing not to put Islam and feminism together, but also approaches about globalization belief of West carrying out its projects with orientalist approaches in east through women exist. There are also apprehensions that think it is dangerous to carry out extentification of Islam through women (Akagunduz, 2006). Islamic feminism generally examines the position of woman in Islamic thought and combines women's rights with this. In our country, the identity of woman came into prominence with the problem of purdah; identity and liberty of woman was discussed equally with education and working right, liberty and individual right paradigms.

In media arena which is the area of social problems' discussion, turban has been and is being discussed in different dimensions and precedencies for years. Although the discussion seems to be between seculars and Islamics, in fact it has revealed the cultural dissociation between women. This study carries the aim of analyzing the media presentation purdah in the framework of feminism. In the study, causality of Islamic feminism with turban, linguistic organization of turban and feminism were analyzed in the framework of press. The study, in which a feminist reading was achieved, is meaningful by means of the relation between media, turban and feminism. This study which also detects the dissociation in-between feminism focuses on the thoughts of turban upon feminism. In the study, the columns of the interval 6 February 2008, when the conversations in TBMM about Basic law changes started, and 23 February 2008, when it was accepted by the President of Republic, were analyzed. Vakit newspaper which is in foreground with oxidental approaches and Islam identity, and with its liberal identity Zaman newspaper were chosen as samples. Both these media organs displayed different feminist approaches about turban, dealt with it in the liberty context. It frequently came into fore that turban is reasoned as political sign and that headcover is going to create revolutions. In this study answers to these questions regarding turban in national media in the Islamic feminism direction are to be searched:

- In the medium chosen to be sample, in which framework was the turban discourse positioned?
- In the newspaper columns chosen to be sample, with which strategies turban was reasoned in the framework of Islamic feminism?
- In medium lingually in which level turban is organized with feminism?

In the sampling time when the turban discussions were intense, the columns were evaluated with critical discourse analysis. Discourse resolution aims interpretation or commenting. In

critical discourse analysis, since discourse is a social application standing for the world; gains meaning in time, place, social, cultural and ideologic context, is intentional, produces and applies of power relations, reconstructs by means of discourse moves further from commenting level and the mentioned factors are evaluated and explained (Ulku, 2004; 385). Thus, critical discourse resolution approach is the most suitable method for detecting hegemon power of media and how the elites, holding the power in hands, serve the dominant ideology and what they put forward in forming these news, what they ignore, which prejudices they reproduce in target group, in what topics they tend to mold public opinion.

In the first level, determination of thematic areas becoming prominent in the columns is the key for the further steps. These thematic areas are closely related to lingual and non-linguistic other social factors mentioned in three dimensional context definitions. In describing the thematic structure, an application of relating to upper-context used by Wodak et al. (1999; 31) was benefited. In this level; in the chosen newspapers of 06-23 February 2008 date interval, all the columns and news were scanned and the columns which include words turban or headcover were included in the study. In the further part of the study, with which words, events or structures the word turban was used, in other words causality, was read. This level aims creating a thematic structure regarding "turban" concept. In the study, in the newspapers belonging to chosen time, this classification was obtained in the columns and news containing the word "turban":

- Turban from the framework of politics and laicism,
- Turban from the framework of women's freedom

In the study in which Van Dijk's micro-structure resolution was used, it was lingually investigated that how the concept "turban" was introduced in the texts, which discourse choices became clear in choosing attributions regarding turban, what kind of an equal patterning turban and turban-related presented event and cases were converted. In this framework (Wodak et al. 1999; 9-10);

(1) In the first one of these statements, the co-text arising from the relation of a statement with previous ones is explained. Thus, in the study firstly causality construct was accented. Turban concept became prominent with this causality construct and the statements produced in columns as positive or negative reactions have an ideologic dimension. Therefore, causality of turban was firstly evaluated in analysis part.

(2) Second dimension is a context consisting of whole non-linguistic social variables and associations from which a particular statement gains meaning. Accordingly, the cultural, economical, religious, ethnic, political etc position of the owner of the discourse and the character of the ideology the discourse owns. From this point of view, secondly linguistic organization was investigated.

In this study, in the framework of two chosen sample newspapers, from the point of view that the idea of extensificating a thought in the case of its cultural uses with media; how the Islamic feminism which is not widespread in out country was presented in the turban framework.

3. Findings and Comment

Although Islamic feminism is not widespread in he literature as a mixed belief, it is a discussed conept. Paradigms of this approach can be summarized as intent of woman for existing with her religious identity. Two different thematic structures were defined in the study. The reactions in the columns in mentioning turban, topics formed around turban, affirmation or negation, when the arrangements regarding turban are being commented how political parties positively or negative present their opinions are combined in an upper-context. Narrations regarding turban are focused around two upper contexts. Since the study carries an aim of achieving a feminist reading, the bases of the discourses were approached in two thematic dimensions as ones regarding women's liberty upper context and others. In this framework, theming arose as 1- Turban from the framework of politics, religion and laicism and 2- Turban from the framework of women. In the study, discourse resolution of columnists including theming in the context of woman was achieved and analyses about other themings were not studied.

First of all, all news and articles containing turban or headcover in both chosen newspapers were examined. In Vakit newspaper 56 news, 72 columns, 18 archive page and 8 comments discourses. In Zaman newspaper 93 news, 45 columns and 14 comments were detected to have been constructed related to turban.

3.1. Causality Regarding Turban in Vakit and Zaman Newspaper

Vakit newspaper causality the turban ban with fear. Here, turban is constructed with one lingual strategy "probability designation and rebel strategy". Discourse like the main reason of turban ban is together with the ban the fears constructed. "If it is 1%, why are you afraid? Don't be afraid! There is no use of fear in death." (Karakaya, 09.02.08). The ones supporting the ban are accused with faithlessness. He lingually organizes the ban with cruelty and barbarity. "They are so used to cruelty, they act like bloodless vampires. Even the thought of cruelty to end drives mad…" (Unaldi, 12.02.08). While Karahasanoglu (16.02.08) who reasons the fears of people supporting turban ban with psychological problems suggests people with fears to go to a doctor, Eraslan (16.02.08) claims that turban is like a fear tunnel. Turban is evaluated as subject of the fear. Such discourses like "They are afraid that laicism will go off their hands!... They are afraid that freedom of thought will be abolished… They are afraid of getting away from EU target…" (Karakaya, 10.02.08) are came across.

Turban is always reasoned as an discourse dignified as a bid of Islam. In Vakit newspaper, woman identity is considered as "identity presentation strategy" together with turban. While turban is accepted to be a cloak hiding woman, religious rules are more important than woman. It is the topic that woman applies a religious bid rather than freedom or slavery. Not the individual rights but the protection of sexuality is in the foreground. Cloak which is a religious bid is dignified, "We should not see turban as a cloth piece; why not it be like a key that opens our endless life?" (Taşçı, 13.02.08). Vakit newspaper states discourses like "I don't see the headcover issue only as a religious right. It is at the same time an existence call carrying living, thinking, inheritance and discourse with it" together with not reasoning turban with Islamic feminist approaches (Eraslan, 22.02.2008). In another article, Eraslan calls the turbaned girls as "Iron Girl" and advices them to be patient, he comments that every pressure applied will make them stronger. Turbaned women are also presented as strong. The president of ILKDER (Ilke Education Culture and Cooperation Association)

Özden Sönmez says, "we have objection, because the rights given by our religion are stolen. Anymore, we do not want anybody speak for us. Anymore we, the downtroddens of this cruelty, want to speak. We do not accept the conception that cages Muslim women between cold walls and we blame. We are going to continue our fight until we gain our rights in the Quran" and suggests turban is a women's problem. It is in another column that expresses the necessity for turban to be considered as a life style. Kazici (19.02.08) who says, "It is possible to form an adjustment where nobody is downtrodden as a result of their life styles. Let's all try for it." comments abolishment of turban ban as an end to intervening life style.

In Vakit newspaper, ones who make up acts against turban are criticized and they are accused of not being Muslims in some columns. In the discourse, ones against turban are factionalized by "differentiating strategy". With the comments "Either being bothered from rules/bids/bans of a religion, objecting that religion's being lived/seen with all its auguries or claiming being a member of that religion is not understood… You say I am not a Muslim or something…" (Noyan, 14.02.08), being against turban is identified with being godless. The fantasy that advocate turban are religious, ones against are faithless is created. In the column which saysa "What is aimed with headcover cruelty is taking the cloaking arbitrament of Islam out of life, and opening a hole in the Quran. The aim of creating a disconnection between Muslim women, the architects of next generation and the Quran is just benightedness." (Aksay, 15.02.08), equality between the benighted pre-Islam communities and the people banning turban is established. The aim is taking religion off life further than banning turban. Dilipak (17.02.08) who says "This is an infra atheism situation, nearly it is becoming a religion adversariness. If they can they are going to banish religion from community" converts turban discussions into religion discussions.

In the articles of Zaman newspaper, some that reason turban on the women's rights basis are seen. However, as in Vakit newspaper in Zaman newspaper while turban is being explained in between religious rules, it is causality with fear and provocations. Turban is rarely causality as a women's right. Emine Bozkurt, European Parliamentary Women's Rights Reporter, who says "The headcover ban is discrimination; I greet the attempt in the congress", comments the abolishment of the ban as an accession to education and working life of women. European Human Rights Sub Commission President Helene Flautre makes a comment regarding women's right while saying "Women who believe on the basis of religion liberties should be able to want and wear turban"; "If because of neighborhood pressure, the turban freedom shifts to open headed women then women's rights have moved backwards" (Zaman, 07.02.08). Ipekci, in her article with the title "From the fear captivity, are free thoughts born?" considers turban from woman point of view. While asking the question "Cannot the ones burning chador see that they are not burning the cloth piece, instead they are burning the one using it?" she accents looking from the point of view of adehumanized woman absolving turban from all symbols and making it monotype.

The turban ban is reasoned with belief adversaries in Zaman newspaper like in Vakit. "Never in Turkish Republic history there has been a time, faith adversariness was done such explicitly and carelessly, and religion was never talked about such unconsciously." comments are done (Hazar, 09.02.2008). In Zaman newspaper, regarding turban discourse around "probability designation and rebel" strategies are formed. Articles about provocations regarding freedom of turban are causality. In the article titled "I am extremely worried about the provocations among headcover" (Gulen, 07.02.08) adversariness of religion is equalized with being against turban. "In some parts there is religion adversariness

and they benefit from every opportunity. Alleging headcover, the relative constancy is disturbed and the base for fight is formed." discourse is causality with an discourse regarding the possibility in the upcoming parts of the article. Gulerce (14.02.08) who says "The people abetting divisiveness being the same with the ones who come up later and increase the public's pressure by saying "we are splitting" in her "The biggest shiftiness of history" titled article comments the provocations against turban. In the article which causality why turbaneds' are shown potential danger and guilt, Bulaç (11.02.08) criticizes "Headcovered people are not domestic people, they cannot behave fair." approach. "Everyone should avoid behaviors which will playoff open headed against closed one. Either headcover is the reality of this country, or the one with open head…" With this comment (Unal, 15.02.08) criticizes the people objecting congress' decision and blames them for creating tension. Dumanlı (11.02.08) asking the question "Is headcover dangerous, or the gangs?" claims that the reaction given against turban has not been displayed against gangs.

Zaman newspaper reasons abolishment of turban ban in the human rights framework rather than religious obligations or woman's education and choice right. In his article starting with "Headcover bans problem is at the same time a woman problem" Karaca (20.02.08) continues this problem by explaining the arrangements the party in power has done regarding women. Cloak-woman dilemma is reasoned with political durations. In the discourse turban of the woman is generalized by "making an analogy and generalizing" strategy. In the article titled "Headcover ban human rights problem" it says, "In universities if the headcover ban concerns only 1%, even if 80% thinks the ban should continue the ban should be abolished because it is violating the main right, the education right. This ban should end because it is against human rights." (Alpay, 16.02.08). It is expressed that turban should be considered from the human rights and one of its indispensable values, religion freedom (16.02.08). While it is suggested that turban should be saved from political and emotional comments and should be normalized, some comments like the issue should be considered with a liberal belief are also seen (Bostancı, 06.02.08).

3.2. Linguistic Organization Regarding Turban in Vakit and Zaman Newspapers

As a linguistic organization, Vakit and Zaman Newspapers use headcover instead of turban. Turban is different from Muslim woman's traditional cloak. While headcover is restricted by traditions, handed down and adopted by women passively; turban is the active ownage achieved by women including the gradation from traditional areas of life to a political attitude. Turban explains the owning of Islamic religiousness and life style in the political arena rather than making them insignificant in traditions (Gole, 2004, 16). Uzulmez (22.02.2008) says "we do not have a headcover called turban". "Everyone knows that 90% of our Anatolian women (our mothers, sisters, grandmothers) are with headcovers. They also know that they are being wrapped because it is a certain bid of Allah. When they say 'headcover' they are going to gain hate of wrapped women. They use the word turban instead of headcover. Bostancı (2008) explains that spiritualism is accredited to headcover and that the secular part seems religiously approving headcover. Bostancı (2008) who sees turban as a result of modernization claims that the main objection is to the wrapped class that modernized by changing class and laicism worries are an ideological cover for that objection. Again Sami Guclu (2004) in Hurriyet newspaper, comments that turban is a result of modernization; "Turban is seen ideological but in fact this is modernization. Our women coming from rural area to the city, since they do not want to quit their values while integrating community life, they express themselves this way." According to Gole (2001), by

accepting this modernization duration "beyond representing the traditional life, the women give themselves either an educated or a citizen face; and create a new direction for the Muslim woman image. Islamic act appears especially in university campuses in the castles of modernity which are city areas". Headcover and turban words both mean wrapping herself, however the term headcover explains a passive structure but turban with an active, conscious and political meaning creates an efficient woman image. Turban is a flag of a modern woman rejecting traditional belief applications and living Islam actively. In both newspapers that we chose as sampling area, in news and columns cloth is used as headcover and the word turban is neglected.

In Vakit newspaper turban and Muslim women create others. Women using headcover, women willing to continue their education with headcover are "Muslims"; ones not using are others. In his comment "The cruelty you deem proper to ones with headcover, they do not do to you!. Because they are "human"!...Because they are "benign… Because they are Muslim" Karakaya (09.02.08), formed a lingual organization which mentions both sides. Karakoc comments the woman against headcover, who are shown as others, like this: "They do not give birth to children, if they do accidentally they do not breast feed. Most of them pay billions for stretching their skins but still they do not be attractive. Wherever they see a meeting, they run there." (10.02.08). However, in Zaman newspaper ones who are against headcover ban are defined as depopulator jackobins, dyed aunts. "Nowadays depopulator jackobins, dyed aunts who take a glossary in their hands have become religion enlightened." (Hazar, 09.02.08). Lingually, turbaned women and non-wrapped women are subjected to each other. While the question "Who makes the wrapped girls a danger for the regime, cages the covering reality into a political identity and affecting their headcover like unique and whole, inducing their characters, world views, faith and desires to only one symbol, objectifying them, making them the same and dehumanizing them" is being asked, as an answer "Aren't they the members of laic part approving only themselves to modernity degree?" is given (Ipekci 12.02.08). In the study interval, in Zaman newspaper any lingual organization that would cause women-turban dichotomy was not observed.

In Vakit newspaper, it is seen that there is no linguistic structure between women's rights or feminism and turban. In articles where turban is used instead of headcover, headcover is dignified as a religious assumption. Laicism against headcover is used together with fear, cruelty and political games. As in the comment, "What is happening with headcover is like a horror film that I don't want to watch. When I look around I see fly headed creatures wandering around." (Noyan, 21.02.08) turban and fear are used in the same lingual coupling.

In Zaman newspaper's articles it is observed that turban is lingually used in the context of democracy, laicism and human rights. "Ones who advocate that the ban should be abolished refer to universal law and fundamental human rights. Headcover ban, like education right, is a ban restricting fundamental rights…" (Turkone, 07.02.08). Liberal enlightened people supported the turban ban without "but"s and unconditionally. Without ordering the freedoms, without abasing, factionalizing, excluding anybody they stood up straight (Dagi, 15 .02.08). In the article titled "Social Democrats should have fought for the headcover freedom in the first raw" lingually the most important causality of the cloth discussions is class conflict. "Statist elites object to strengthening democracy in order not to lose power. In this way, they use headcover" (17.02.08). "They have been living the insanity of losing their status in Turkey. With this fear insanity neither their attitudes, behaviors nor their speeches

follow one another." (Unal, 11.02.08) Again human rights and turban make up an discourse together. "I say, with the application form in Turkey headcover ban is neither gets well with human rights nor laicism" (Alpay, 07.02.08). "It is an arbitral comment that headcover is against laicism" (Bulac, 09.02.08).

4. Conclusion

Turban betrays the mixed and infringer nature of Islamist purdah which is based on the power dynamics of East and West, traditionality and modernity, man and woman. Islamist feminism is woman's movement that arose in the countries administrated with Islamist regime in order for women to gain their rights. In our country, with the turban discussion the Islamic identity of women comes into prominence suggesting Islamist feminism. However this movement, in which women of Islam regime willing to gain their rights try to reinterpret Islam, does not have compulsory basics. After all; while heavily objecting Islamic feminism, the Islamic women of our country do not adopt this movement, thinking they are the policies that globalization carries out on women in order to fret religion.

While giving Islamic living rights to women is the topic in the roots of liberty for turban movement, in turban issue the subject of woman is not even mentioned. The topic is whether the main point is liberalizing woman by means of giving her the education right or is coercing her by giving the Islamic right from which the patriarchal belief is fed. The study is based on this thesis. With this aim; in the newspapers Vakit and Zaman known for their Islamic discourse, the columns regarding turban were interpreted and the findings were commented by critical discourse analysis method. In both newspapers, turban is reasoned from the Islamic bans and bids point of view. In the columns, expressional conformation including woman-turban discord is not constructed. In the expression, turban is normalized by "constructing likeness and generalizing" strategy, it is included in the discourse in the name of human rights and liberties. While citing the probability of provocations against turban in the "possibility designation and rebel" strategy, with the " differentiation" strategy the ones against turban are considered as faithless.

Islamic feminism is not constructed expressionally in our sampling Zaman and Vakit newspapers, which also include an approach negating Islam regarding women's rights. In the research, very rare discourse structures causality turban from women's rights and Islamic feminism point of view were detected. Both newspapers which use the word "headcover", having a lingually more passive meaning, rather than turban dignify cloaked women and translate others. Enabling women to join public area by means of bringing liberty, it is inevitable that it is going to bring a new pressure in patriarchal order and Islam rules. Moreover, another result which is compared in the discussions in media is that the main thing is expanding religious rules rather than women's liberty.

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