# FEMA and Feminism in Gaile's Back Page; A Content Analysis Study

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# LIST OF ACYRONYMS

BEDI: Biz Erkek Değiliz İnsiyatifi/We are not Men Initiative

CEDAW: Convention on the Eliminication of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

FEMA: Feminist Atelier

HAD: Hands across the Divide (SAE: Sınırları Aşan Eller)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultual Organization

UNICEF: United Nations International Childrens Emergency Fund

KIHEP: Kadının Insan Hakları Eğitim Programı/ Women's Human Rigths Education Program

# ABSTRACT

This study analyses the media texts of Feminist Atelier (FEMA), a grassroots women's organization, through the *Gaile* supplement of *Yeniduzen* newspaper from a feminist media studies and third wave feminist point of view. The research explores the potential of the active participation of a women's group in the media can create an awareness concerning feminism in the public consciousness and can serve as a useful tool for social change.

'Feminism' and 'Feminists' have been portrayed and characterized generally in the form of stereotypes. Feminism is seen as a dangerous ideology and movement that disturbs the norms of society and feminists are regularly depicted as ugly, hairy-legged, man-hating, anti-marriage, militant women in the public eye via the masculine dominated media. FEMA has succeeded to generate a new image of feminism and feminists in Northern Cyprus with their activism and media texts.

They open a back page in the media in Northern Cyprus by promoting the third wave of feminist media understanding and introduce new concepts, meanings and feminist values in their various media texts. FEMA participated in the policy-making processes of Northern Cyprus, by including its membersand their notions of equality. FEMA oriented their activism with third wave feminist equality notions that are asking for the basic human rights for women and also for all who are subordinated by patriarchy and other hegemonic power structures.

This study explores feminism's position in the world mainly by focusing on third wave feminism and its vision for Northern Cyprus through the media texts of FEMA. Content analysis and textual analysis have been used in this study including 65 different media texts from FEMA in 2011.

I found that the content and language of FEMA media texts brings a new voice, new concepts and frames in the media. In this study, I argue that an effective feminist narrative in the media carries with it a strong possibility for social change in Northern Cyprus.

**Keywords:** FEMA, Feminism in Northern Cyprus, the Media, Patriarchy, Gender Equality.

# ÖZ

Bu çalışma, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta bir kadın örgütü olan Feminist Atölye'nin (FEMA) Yenidüzen Gazetesi'nin, Gaile ekindeki medya metinlerini feminist medya çalışmaları ve üçüncü dalga feminizmin bakış açısıyla inceler. Araştırma, bir kadın grubunun medyaya aktif katılımıyla feminizm hakkında farkındalık yaratabileceği ve sosyal değişime katkıda bulunma potansiyeli olduğunu iddia eder.

'Feminizim' ve 'Feministler' genellikle kalıpyargılarla temsil ve karakterize edilir. Feminizm erkek egemen medyada toplumun huzurunu bozan tehlikeli bir ideoloji olarak gösterilirken; feministler çirkin, kıllı bacaklı, erkek düşmanı, evlilik karşıtı, militan kadınlar olarak gösterilirler. FEMA Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki aktiviteleri ve ürettiği medya metinleri ile yeni bir feminizm ve feminist imaj yaratmayı başarmıştır.

FEMA gönüllüleri Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta üçüncü dalga feminizm anlayışıyla bir arka sayfa açmışlar ve yeni kavramlar, anlamlar ve feminist değerleri değişik medya metinlerinde tanıtmışlardır. FEMA Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta gönüllerini ve eşitlik nosyonlarını katarak politika yapma sürecine sürecine dahil olmuştur. FEMA kadınların temel insan haklarının yanı sıra hegemonik güç ilişkilerinden ve ataerkillik tarafından ezilen herkesin hakkını talep eden üçüncü dalga feminizmin eşitlik anlayışı ile hareket etmiştir.

Bu çalışmada feminizmin dünyadaki konumuna bakılırken, FEMA'nın Kuzey Kıbrıs için öngördüğü üçüncü dalga feminizm vizyonuna odaklanılmıştır. Bu çalışma

için içerik analizi ve metin analizi yöntemini Gaile'de 2011 yılı boyunca yayınlanan 65 medya metni incelenmiştir.

FEMA metinlerinin içerik ve metin analizleriyle yeni bir dil getirdiklerini ve medyada yeni bir çerçeve kurduklarını gördüm. Bu çalışmada medyada etkin bir feminist anlatının Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta toplumsal değişme için büyük bir potansiyel taşıdığını tartıştım.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** FEMA, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Feminizm, Medya, Ataerkillik, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği

**Ode to My Family**

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# Chapter 1

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background of the Study

This thesis presents the characterizations of a grassroots women's group, FEMA that has operated within a masculine media environment proudly with the label of 'feminism'. It also analyzes the effect and representation of the third wave of feminism in their activism through their media texts at *Gaile*. Their understanding of feminism is colored in their media texts and created a differentiated position for them into the society and in the women's movement of Northern Cyprus.

In order to understand how they positioned their activism within the media in Northern Cyprus, content analysis and text analysis methods are used on their media texts as a guidance to examine their ideologies on feminism and representations in terms of the third wave of feminism.

This thesis includes five chapters. The chapters are in order; theoretical background and literature review, methodology, research findings and analysis, and conclusion. The introductory chapter explains what the thesis is about. The background of the study, research questions and problem of the study, purpose, limitation, relevance and motivation of the thesis are defined in this chapter. The theoretical background and literature review chapter gives theoretical discourse that

is used within the study. In the theoretical background of the study, I prefer to usefeminist media theory as a critique to the misrepresentations of the masculine media. The chapter also includes a review on the existence of women as feminist or not with their characterizations and their positions in the Cyprus. I then move to a discussion of feminism in a critical way, as a social/political movement in the world, from the first and second wave through to the third wave of feminist struggle. I aim to examine the relationship between the media and feminism.

The next chapter on methodology stresses the methodological backgrounds of the study which are content analysis and text analysis. I used content analysis in order to understand the characteristics of the group in the framework of their media contents. Furthermore, textual analysis is used to give a more detailed analysis about their representations of feminism and the ways that they promote it.

A mixed methods approach is used to analyze research texts. These methods are used to collect the necessary information and to analyze particular media texts in this study. The reason for using a mixed method approach is to bring together the strengths of each form of methodological research to corroborate the results in a broader context. Then, the chapter on research findings and analysis gives an explanation about the structure, ideology, those who are engaged in their activism as participants and products of FEMA and stresses the content analysis and textual analysis of FEMA's media texts from *Yenidüzennewspaper's* independent *Gaile* supplement. The chapter provides evaluations and findings on the databy using content analysis and textual analysis to answer the research questions.

The concluding chapter gives a short summary of the research and regard to research questions evaluates the findings. The concluding chapter presents a wide evaluation about the resulta of the study and gives reasons for further studies.

## 1.2 The Problem of the Study and Research Questions

Social/political movements, for the most part, have a problematic relationship with mainstream media because I think they are against the established social order which the media is protecing on behalf of the ruling classes. Feminism is one of the oldest social movements that have its own voice needs to be heard but the media as a dominant discourse led by men. Men constructed as a rulling class over women and uses media to practice their dominance.

The media plays a key role within society where power exists to affect meaning making processes and thus decision making processes socially, politically, culturally. At this point, a need is created for social movements to have a connection with the media for social change. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) argue that social movements are connected to the media for three main services; mobilization, legitimization, and to broaden the scope of controversy. According to Gamson and Wolsfeld, in theory, if the movements mobilize politically, they can become a part of politics, they can touch the power so the possibility for social change can appear by legitimizing their existence in a broader scope of conflict. But I think the connection between mostly mainstream media and social movements is destined to fail because the media is controlled by hegemonic ideologies of the dominant classes and a social movement that is opposed to this order has to destroy this system. If, however, one wants to break this line the media plays zero-sum games with the social movements and in this game social movement's aggressive responses are adding in most case just spices to the media's planned problematic relationship series.

As a social/political movement, feminism is a good and oldest witness to this planned problematic relationships series of the media. That is why I think feminism's relationship with the media presents a unique example to all other right seeking

movements. Feminism is a female-based social movement and this fact makes feminism more disadvantaged than all other movements because socially, historically women are regarded as objects or tools in a society who is conditioned to accept the oppression of the dominant male discourses. Even before the women's movement took its first steps, women's representations were very problematic throughout the media and basically there was no tolerance for a social movement which is labeled with women and which rebels against this patriarchal social order. Not surprisingly, one of the agenda of feminist movement is women and feminist representations in the media.

The reason for this problem comes from the construction of the power relationships of dominant male discourses. Michael Kaufman (1999) says;

> In a world dominated by men, the world of men is, by definition, a world of power. That power is a structured part of our economies and systems of political and social organization; it forms part of the core of religion, family, forms of play, and intellectual life. On an individual level, much of what we associate with masculinity hinges on a man's capacity to exercise power and control (p.59).

This power relationship of male discourses builds a system which is not open to critique. Dominant male discourses see the right to rule society with a system where there is no opportunity to question. Furthermore, feminism demands the right to criticize gender inequality within this system by asking for the political and social inclusion of women in society at large. When women are used to serve dominant ideologies by being obedient and working for their systems, feminism is looked upon as being an unwanted child who is asking for equality. This makes feminism totally unacceptable to men and even some women.

In this way, these dominant male discourses find ways to deny or manipulate the movement by re-constructing or misrepresenting feminism and feminist women through mostly mainstream media where they have dominance to create meanings.

Thus, the rule remains the same, feminist or not, women as a subordinate and weaker part of society deserve media coverage only when they cross the line from patriarchal ordained 'ideal/normal woman' to militant, marginal, scandalous, or extreme and so 'bad woman' like the 'feminist' who needs to be blamed and shamed because of her wrongdoings. Women are allowed a space in the media only when they write or exist inside the concept of the ideal/normal woman; they are otherwise abandoned to the hands of the marginalization process of a largely masculine media.

Fridkin Kahn & Goldenberg (1991) say; "It is quite clear that early media coverage of the women's movement did not help the movement to grow. In fact, the press coverage of the women's movement, when there was any at all, was unflattering, and the movement grew in spite of media" (p.104). Feminism and feminists are underrepresented or misrepresented in the media. The media labeled the movement and its members with negative and extreme characteristics in order to gain more power to ignore the existence of the movement. By doing so, the media aimed to control increased number of feminists and draw a sharp line between 'ideal/normal women' and 'feminist/bad' women'.

In the media, feminists are first judged by certain characteristics that attached to womanhood. The 'ideal/normal women' are constructed as weak, emotional, care-giving and other traits that for most of the time men need to apologize for or regret. In this patriarchal atmosphere, feminism's confident women images and notions of gender equality were received as being an attempt to copy the status of men. Feminist identities questioned with imagined feminine traits and criticized as masculine women who are trying to steal role of the man by taking their naturally accepted, right to power. That's why negative identities created for feminists. The created stereotyping for feminists are; ugly, single, aggressive, lesbian,anti-male,

anti-marriage, anti-motherhood women unlike 'real', 'ideal' 'desirable' women as it imagined in the male constructions.

Ideologically planned masculine media representations of feminism and feminist women create disorientation with traditional gender roles. Because I think, social constructions of gender division of labor insist that men are supposed to rule women that it is in the nature the things that men should rule women; in this sense feminism is perceived as a war between traditionally oriented masculine and feminine powers.

As a matter of fact, out of masculine definitions, feminism is a movement which focuses on to the improvement of women's legal, social, political, economic and also cultural conditions and is inclusive of other people who are oppressed under the similar circumstances around the world. Feminism is one of the most transformative movements for humanity but its public mediation, the ideological conflicts inside the feminism and the misrepresentations at the media have remained very problematic. The label of feminism is perceived negatively and so has become a label that addresses fear and ignorance for the people even when they support the women's movement.

Feminism has enormous potential for social improvement and change as a transnational social movement but it is still outside of democratization process in many societies. The media, as one of the most powerful organs of influence in society stands as a barrier before the advance of the feminist idea to the population at large. Feminism is stayed at the theories and unconnected to the genuine problems of 'real' life.

The movement suffered in significance negative representations by the media. Deborah Orr (2003) points out; "Feminism is blamed, completely erroneously, for everything—spiraling property prices (working couples), unemployment (women

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stealing men's jobs), teenage delinquency (feminists driving men to abandon their sons), reality television (the "feminization" of the culture) and violence against women" (p.15). In order to break the stereotyping and misrepresentations feminist activists carried their struggle to the media. Against to representations of the masculine media about the movement, feminists aimed to reach the public with their own representations and truths trough the media. In, Northern Cyprus case there is an ongoing example within the third wave of feminism. As a feminist/woman rights group, FEMA created an active relationships with the masculine media to break many of the accepted stereotypes or convictions about feminism and feminist women in their society. FEMA asked for equal access to political and social processes of the island through media and so securing a place within the media became a sort of communication, a tool for them. FEMA mobilized their political ideas and they became a political force touching power as a women's rights group and also legitimizing the existence of women in Northern Cyprus beyond the Cyprus issue into a broader scope for engagement. The Turkish Cypriot community is started to pay more attention and to understand the importance of NGO's in peace building within the society.

A feminist mobilization is very important for Northern Cyprus for the ones who still believe in peace and gender equality on the island. FEMA is making feminism easy to understand and accessible for each level of society out of academic arguments with their close relationship with the mainstream media by raising its voice almost all societal isuues.

In this study, I aimed to answer certain questions which guided the research and to frame the extent and boundaries of the work. The research questions are basically;

- What are the characteristics of FEMA and where is FEMA located itself as a third wave feminist movement?

- What are the actual problems of women in Northern Cyprus according to FEMA?

- What are the portrayals of feminist women in the media and Northern Cyprus through *Gaile*, and how they are represented in media texts contents in *Gaile?*

- How the active participation of a feminist group to the media can create awareness and bring about social change in society.

## 1.3 The Purpose of the Study

In this study my main purpose is to present the perpetual cold war of ideologies of feminism and during this conflict re-represented or misrepresented feminisms and feminist identities in the media. Furthermore, I aimed to show to the reader the implausibility of the generally accepted notion in Northern Cyprus that women are not oppressed in the country and so no need for a feminist movement. In very stark contrast to these generally accepted beliefs, I want to present the argument for the beneficial effects that feminism and gender equality brings and will bring to the decision making processes that strive for peace. This thesis is going to introduce to the readers a feminist activist group in the age of third wave feminism; FEMA and their relationship with the mainstream media which they perform as a critical agreement outside of patriarchal borderlines of the society.

## 1.4 The Limitations of the Study

In this thesis, research texts are chosen from media texts of FEMA in Gaile, an independent supplementof a left wing local newspaper *Yenidüzen[1]*.

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[1]Yenidüzen means a new order, a new system and Gaile means an endeavor, an attempt, a struggle.

In this thesis, research texts are chosen from media texts of FEMA in Gaile, an independent supplement*e* of a left wing local newspaper *Yenidüzen²*. FEMA wrote at the full back page of the independent Sunday³ supplement *Gaile*. This research is limited with one year period of FEMA's media texts by starting from January 2011 until December 2011, in other words 65 back page stories of *Gaile* in the year of 2011.

## 1.5 The Relevance and Motivation of the Study

The significance of the study comes from its core concept; Feminism. Feminism is a very significant transnational social movement for betterment of oppressed group's legal, social, political, economic and cultural conditions. The question of why the movement was unsuccessful to raise its voice through the media can be reasoned with subordinated place of women in society. Feminism as a women-guided movement couldn't raise its voice inthe media which is escort to the ruling classes. Dominant male mechanisms didn't let feminism to spread its ideas in a direct way, without manipulation and stereotyping.Furthermore, feminist movements, problematic interaction with the media give freedom to the media to ridicule them by creating or describing them with marginal notions.

In the new age of 'new' feminism FEMA as a woman's human rights organization not only targeted women. FEMA dedicated to act for the civil, political, economic and social rights of the groups who are subordinated bydominant groups.

In this study I will be analyzing *YenidüzenNewspapers* independent supplement; *Gaile's* back page which is written by FEMA because as Helena Cixous writes;

> Woman must write for herself: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies. Woman must put herself into the text, as into the world and into

²Yenidüzen means a new order, a new system and Gaile means an endeavor,  an attempt, a struggle.
³Gaile supplement recently started to distribute on Saturdays.

history, by her own movement. Her writing can only keep going, without ever inscribing or discerning limits. She lets the other language speak, the language of 1,000 tongues which knows neither enclosure nor death" (cited in Jones 1991, p.85).

FEMA put their activism to their media texts as into the world, as into the Cyprus history. They become a voice ofwomen who have a struggle to carry to the agenda of the media.

This case study is especially relevant in the field of feminist media studies in Northern Cyprus because FEMA's interaction with the media differentiated itself from other women organizations in the way they are using the media and the content of their media texts.They include women's voices which oppressed into a dominant discourse; media. They used their feminism as a tool, as a major force, with their activism which is within, outside and beyond the media.

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# Chapter 2

# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK and LITERATURE

# REVIEW

## 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aimed to give a theoretical background to the problematic issues and concepts that will be mentioned in my study. I worked on feminist media theory in order to understand the importance of the media and its progress with the women's movement by relating these issues to FEMA and their activism. I also tried to ground my work with a literature review which presents a general perspective about the women of Cyprus mainly Turkish Cypriot, because of the focus of the research.

First, I aimed to introduce to the reader the Cyprus conflict and the position of women in it using the mythological metaphor of Aphrodite in order to show the socially and culturally constructed images about women on the island. I then analyzed the masculine ideologies that are imposed on Cypriot society like nationalism, militarism, history, patriarchy but challenging notions of gender equality, the existence of women and women groups, their understandings of women's problems, in addition to feminist ideologies on the island. Furthermore, I introduced the worldwide women's social/political movement, feminism's socio-historical processes through different stages or 'waves' and their challenges which

are sourced from the misrepresentations and the lack of feminist representatives, feminist activities in the media with the support of scholars previous works, in a critical way.

## 2.2 Theoretical Background of the Study

In this study, I prefer to use feminist media theory as a theoretical background for my study. I particularly focused on how feminist activists promote feminism while they are negotiating with the masculine strategies of the media beyond the old traditions.

Feminism is composed of many views and incorporates many strands of thought but the common aim of all, the invisible agreement, is to create a social change within the existing systems which are practicing an unequal power on the groups. Liesbet Van Zoonen (1994) argues that while mentioning gender, power is a vital part of the concept. The power relationships determine the hierarchal balance between the groups. But she goes on to say; "Society is not constituted by orderly and dichotomous division of oppressors and oppressed" (p.4). She says that "one can be subordinated in one relation (of woman vs. man) and dominant in another (of white woman vs. black woman)" (p.4). Feminism is not a movement that tries to be in power, but its struggle is for all the ones who are oppressed under the dominance.

It has been debated among feminists how to bring about a social change to the dominant discourses. At this point, the undeniable and powerful role of the mass media has become significant on society about meaning making processes through representations. Krini Kafinis (2005) describes the role of the media within society. She says that the media has power to determine which issues and how they will be defined and discussed in the place which is given to the social, political, cultural matters. Hole and Levine (1971) point out; "According to feminists, the media

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created woman is wife, mother and housekeeper for men a sex object used to sell products to men a person trying to be beautiful for men"(p.249). I think the media costumed women with traditional gender roles and represented them according to those roles in its place. Sexist notions of the media positioned women as weaker and co-modified them as consumers. Women visibility in the media limited and framed women pages which are promoting issues on love, food, decoration, child-care, fashion or horoscopes.

Another way of including women into the media as Franklin and Stacey (1991) argue, "Add women and stir" approach (p.2). Media mentions the existence of women symbolically and representing them mostly in relationship with men. Furthermore, women who relate their lives to other issues are underrepresented or marginalized in the media coverage with stereotypical images. In Stuart Hall's (1997) words "stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes, and fixes difference" (p.258). In regard to this, the media prefer to cover scandalous or victimized situations of women rather than success stories or actual stories of women. Even when women deserve to have coverage through their successes or actual stories, it is presented in relation to men or attached to any possible male discourse like nationalism by giving them labels like 'our women's/girls' or 'Turkish Cypriot Women'. Liesbet Van Zoonen (1994) explains this with the concept of 'distortion'. She argues that there is a lack of representation at the media about women. Many women works at the media institutions but the images of women as Muriel Cantor (1978) says; "that are not representative of women's position in our highly differentiated and complex society" (p.88).

In the case of Northern Cyprus, the problematic relationship between the media and women is no different. Aliefendioğlu and Arslan (2005) mention that in their

media monitoring study on local newspapers of Northern Cyprus. They say; "Media texts reinforce stereotypes by repeating them on various occasions, rather than creating and disturbing images that might challenge traditional views or that might show the changes that take place in the lives of men and women" (p.28). They also argue that women in the media are represented as dependent on men rather than independent individuals. Women have no identity except at times when they have a use to present the male point of views.

All of those misrepresented and manipulated meanings defines the situation of women and creates meanings through mainstream media. The media produces meanings and audiences accept this ready meaning which is manipulated in certain ways. Feminist media theory aims to change these processes. Liesbet Van Zoonen (1994) says; "The media have always been at the centre of feminist critique" (p.11). She argues that the connection between popular media and feminism become important targets of women's movement.

Instead of being silent and passive audiences of the media, feminists emphasize the importance of being active participants in this dominant discourse in society by criticizing it or directly being a part of it. Feminism without a public mediation can only be a utopian philosophy which has no real use which is why the media can be used as a tool for social change. Media as the powerful means of communication is a very important area for the women's movement. Feminist media theory is improved regarding this. Fourie (2001) says;

> Feminist media theory has developed as a key body of theory in media studies. Apart from emphasizing the important role of women in the media and the role of women in defining reality through media content, a major contribution of feminist media theory has been to make us critically aware of the concept of representation, be it the representatives of different groups (race/gender) in a white male dominated media industry or how media content is a representation and interpretation of reality from a mainly white male dominant perspective (p. xxiv).

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Feminists are seeing the media as an important area for their struggle. The challenge between media and feminism continues with feminist's media activism in a global sense. The critiques applied by feminist media researchers for the misogynic language, pornography, objectification of women, co-modification of women as consumers, body politics and misrepresentations of women which are supported by patriarchy or invisibility of women in the media.

The problem that feminist media theory elaborates is not only about the lack of women in the media. It is also about the lack of knowledge of women on how to represent themselves as agents for social change regarding women's rights. In this sense, I think FEMA's contribution to the theory is coming from the fact that they have their channel in the media to raise consciousness about women's issues on the island. FEMA is working as a link between feminist theories and the actual lives of women. Thus, women who are used to being told what to think and how to be by a masculine media are now being confronted with a new prototype of woman. The image of 'feminist woman' presented from FEMA to make gender inequality visible in the media. FEMA, with their feminist media activism represented themselves beyond the representations of the media.

The women's movement is an ongoing process all around the world. Women's groups like FEMA are successful examples for women and for society. They are showing that the problematic relationship between media and feminism can turn into a solution for gender inequality in Northern Cyprus.

## 2.3 The Cyprus Issue and Position of Women

The island of Cyprus, due to its geopolitical location in the Mediterranean Sea and its natural resources has come under the control of many civilizations throughout the centuries. The island has been marked by the passage of many civilizations such as

the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Ottomans, British and lastly the Greeks and Turks.

Aphrodite is one of the most famous female figures in the history of the island. Penglase(1994) notes that the myth of Aphrodite comes from Greek mythology. The island was associated with Aphrodite by the ancient Greeks from around 1200 BCE to 800 BCE. She has been chosen and used as a representative of the island from male discourses for many years. Cyprus has been named "The island of Aphrodite" in many sources.

The mythological figure of Aphrodite was characterized in the constructions of male discourses as the goddess of beauty and love. But I think, in modern times, the image of Cyprus created through a pseudo-image of beauty has managed to mask unresolved conflicts through the ages. This symbol could only hold true as a description of the history of Cyprus as a forewarning of the oppression of people to come, through the hegemony of nationalism, militarism, patriarchy, sexism and as an undoubted consequence; a constructed male-dominant discourse and society.

In the meantime, the myth of Aphrodite has been perpetuated in an engrossing way and used as an objectified female symbol for Cyprus from male discourses as a way to introduce the island. As a matter of fact, Aphrodite is a woman who is subordinated under the systems of the male discourses. In history, Aphrodite's story was adopted as a femme fatalewho is punished by Zeus as a result of her ignorance, to be one of his lovers and to marry Hephaestus, the ugliest of the gods. She had many lovers in her endless pursuit of sinful love and desire; at the end, she was the conflict herself. But in her story, she was a woman who rebel to the dominance over her however when she struggle against dominance, she is accused of being insatiable and represented as a deviant, wayward woman in history by male. Also these bad

characterizations for Aphrodite didn't affect or stop the symbolic uses for the island as much as she was used by nations to support their case as an obedient example. I think, the imagined characterization of Aphrodite shows how men positioned women in the very early stages of history and also in their minds at meaning making processes, which created the dominant ideologies of the patriarchal societies.

Aphrodite was constructed as a wanton woman, obliged to accept whatever is decided and handed down by the male power figures. When she resisted this power, she deserved to be punished, forced to accept what is decided on behalf of her but theunfortunate story of Aphrodite became legendary in the collective minds of the two communities, which is constructed around the ideology of patriarchy and society's socio-historical culture was also affected through the legend.

The 'history' is created to instill in women a lesson not to be like her, a 'bad woman' figure, but to remain instead, a 'good woman' figure. This, so-called, 'good woman' identity was created by men according to their own desires. It needs, as such, for a woman to have no identity except that one given and to be obliged to accept the state of male-dominance. By doing so, men placed Aphrodite in history as an object to use a readymade female symbol to create fear and to use for ideologically based reasons.

Yiannis Papadakis (2006) points out; "The delightful figure of Aphrodite has long been established as the symbol of Cyprus, albeit one put to diverse uses" (p.238). I think, British, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots used Aphrodite symbolically as a tool to impose the issues that they wanted to dominate society with. Each nation revealed an identity for Aphrodite through the first given identity, that of the deviant woman, as they did to women in their stories but the common point is in those stories; they were all created by man as an excuse for war. Man created these stories

as a means to manipulate the ways in which they wanted to go and used Aphrodite in this manner to sing in a delightful female timbre, their ideological songs.

Given (2002) quotes Sir Richard Palmer, the British colonial governor of Cyprus in 1939 who pointed out these lines which gave hints about the creation process of women in male minds through Aphrodite in Cyprus;

> Several thousand years ago a lady called Aphrodite landed in Cyprus, and the island has never quite recovered. The people of Cyprus make a luxury of discontent and always pretend they do not like being ruled, and yet, like the lady I have mentioned as a prototype, they expect to be ruled, and, in fact, prefer it." (p. 423).

This is how the myth was understood from the British Colonialist point of view; the island of Cyprus is thought of as a woman who needs to be ruled and who has no identity except that given by the male. Women were personified as the problem, as the reason that men wage war. The identities of women are hidden and denied from men, then accepted as an object that cannot live outside of war or outside of the ideologies of men.

The similarity in the representation of Aphrodite and the women of Cyprus shows how women's identity was created in the socio-historical and socio-political meaning making processes. Men make themselves the heroes of their own stories as figures that represent power, where women are represented as voiceless and beautiful witnesses. In my opinion, it does not matter which nation interprets the myth or creates the cultural narratives. Greeks, Turks, British have all interpreted the myth within the context of war and nationalism, which is captivated by the male and in every way the women of Cyprus are dependent on men and silenced during the conflict and peace processes in warzones, in such patriarchal societies..The story of the Cyprus conflict was planted during the period of 1878-1960, when its two main communities, Greek and Turkish, were living under British rule. In 1925 Cyprus

became a crown colony of Britain. When the British colonized the island, there was an ongoing power struggle between the two main communities, which was based on ethnic and national identities. This power struggle was supported by nationalism and created the core of Cyprus conflict. Derya (2009) points out;

> As is well known, the Cyprus problem is a problem of two conflicting nationalisms (Turkish and Greek); thus it is a matter of two opposing imaginations that have not only determined the entire political space on the island, but also shaped the two communities' claims to sovereignty and recognition as defined against each other (p.142).

The British supported the two opposing nationalistic imaginations of the Greek and Turkish communities for their own strategic political advantage by providing them an opportunity to create separate systems, as in education systems. However these concessions only helped the communities feed the enmity. Kaufmann (2007) says;

> The British allowed the communities to set up separate school systems, both of which imported teachers from their respective mainland's who taught children to identify themselves as "Greek" or "Turkish", not Cypriot. The history created by each community, from well before the possibility of Cypriot independence until today, represented its own people as consistently heroic and the other as consistently barbaric (p.209).

In my point of view, Cyprus under British rule, kept hot the enmity by emphasizing the ethnic differences in a harmful way and let the communities give value to one nationalistic identity while stigmatizing the created 'other' one. The people of Cyprus were struggling for their own ethnic identities, but neither community was in search of a separate Cypriot identity. I believe, the seeds of hostility had been planted between the two communities with the additional support of external powers of the two mainlands' (Turkey and Greece) andthe tactical connivance of Britain at those times. Cyprus gained independence from Britain in1960 after a long negotiation process. In spite of this independence, a new ethnic identity was created, that of 'Cypriot', which includes all different communities who

are living on the island but the idea of 'Cypriot identity' was a predictable failure because, as Yılmaz (1998) says "there were no festivals, no ringing of church bells, no parades, no dancing people in the streets of Cyprus celebrating independence." (p.55).

Economidou (2002) points out; "The two main communities on the island, Greek and Turkish, lived in harmony until the '50s when inter-communal differences began feeding inter-communal conflict" (p.133). Inter-communal conflicts began even before independence and are perpetuated still today. The reasons of inter-communal differences were coming from the collective memories of two nations, Greeks and Turkish, historical enemies. There were two distinct ethnic-nationalist attempts of manhood which were guiding the conflict: the Greeks' 'Enosis', the dream of becoming a part of Greece and the Turks' 'Taksim', the dream of becoming a part of Turkey.

The independence of the island from British colonial rule wasn't a solution to a conflict that existed long before the independence struggles. The unification of the island with re-identifications wasn't a possible solution for the island. Because I think, a political independence is never enough to unite two competing ethnic identities. In my point of view, the creation of an independent Cyprus, free from British rule with a new ethnic identity called Cypriot couldn't find a solution to the ongoing conflict between the Greeks and Turks because their aims were at odds with each other.

There was no common anti-colonial struggle fought by all Cypriots for independence from British colonial rule. Ethnic nationalism led to competing visions (Enosis or Taksim), which were both sexist and completely restricted to male leadership, operating on a patriarchal island in which women had to follow and

become involved, but only in the roles that men had assigned them which were subordinate and auxiliary (Vassiliadou, 1997, 2002; Hadjipavlou, 2010).

Inter-communal conflict introduced ethnic nationalisms to the societies and the island shaped by nationalism and violence. The communities lost the peace of harmony of living together. As a consequence, the artificially constructed concepts of Aphrodite once again failed to bring about beauty and love and turned, instead, into war on the island.

Nicola Solomonides (2008) claimed that the attempt to an independent Cyprus in 1960 lasted for only three years. Cyprus, with the support of two dominant countries (Turkey and Greece), was divided in 1974, after a military coup in Greece and the subsequent intervention of Turkey. The island was divided along ethnic lines with the northern part of the island controlled by Turkish Cypriots and the southern part by Greek Cypriots and dividing border called the 'green line'. In 1983, the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' was declared with the help of guarantor mainland Turkey. However, with the exception of Turkey, the newly formed republic was not recognized internationally by the rest of the political world. After the long processes between two communities, under the control of the UN, an attempt to bring peace to the island was brought out. 'The Annan Plan' was an agreement presented to the both communities in a referendum in 2004. Greek Cypriots voted against the plan, rejecting with a high percentage; 76%, while Turkish Cypriots voted positively by 63%. This first attempt at a solution to the conflict failed to succeed because of the conflicting aims and beliefs of the societies.

I think the green line has remained as a symbol of the divided island, where the people in the northern side of the island struggle to live unrecognized and under an embargo, while people on the south prosper securely under the title of European

Union membership and international recognition. Thus, the so-called green line has become a starting point for stalled political discussions on the island and a symbol of the timeless conflict between societies' ethnic identities.

The island seems to have been relegated to a place where its own people are prisoners of an ongoing unresolved conflict, which continues to this day. The "Cyprus problem" is comprised of many conflicting ideologies, such as the nationalism, which has only been made more problematic by the conflict. The original idea, the first attempt of all struggles in the island for peace remains the same. The people of Cyprus still fought for the ideal of independence even though it remains beyond their grasp.

In the meantime, the male-dominated nationalistic struggles for independence were blinded to the existence of women in Cyprus because of the masculine nature of nationalism which, as Cynthia Enloe (1989) puts it, "springs from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope" (p.44). In my point of view, nationalism is an ideology constructed in a masculine context. It is created and organized by men with male values and ideas. Masculine nationalism ignored theexistence of women and took its power from this violently created immoderate imagined game. In the name of nations, keeping women oppressed under the male dominance was an easy way to define and show the power relationship between men and men in the melancholy of the nationhood dream.

Hadjipavlou (2009) reasoned that "in conflict societies, the 'national problem' historically dominate, downplays social issues, including women's issues" (p.56). Cyprus as a society, tries to re-create its identity inside the patriarchal borderlines that feed nationalism. National crises take all the front benches and marginalize all other issues that need to be priorities. Gendered situations of political discourses of

national struggle, forced women to be excluded from the political processes, all decisions taken by men on behalf of women. Women couldn't have any decision making positions where they will decide on a common future but they become symbols for the independence struggle; manhood's beautiful and lovely symbols which are worth dying and killing for, i.e. Aphrodite.

## 2.4 Women of Cyprus and Their Hidden Stories in the Dream of Nationhood

In this part of the study, my first aim is try to give a wide perception about the women of Cyprus and their similar positions in both of the communities because of the dominant ideologies of the Cyprus conflict. I will then focus more on women's positions within the Turkish community and their relationships with the conflict because of the subject of the research.

Men and women of Cyprus experienced the conflict and peace processes in the same ideological paradigms. They both underestimated from the dominant ideologies of the conflict but I think women's experience differed from men in many ways. As Marshall (2000) notes;

> War and peace are not male/female issues; rather, it is the underlying social and political rationalizing of violence as an acceptable tool that must be challenged and overcome. We must therefore not assume the victimization of women in general. Individuals to a large extent choose the roles they are willing to play — both men and women are victims in war, but it is the different roles they assume that must be brought into our analyses (p.7).

The primary reason women's experience of the conflict was different was because of the roles given to the women by men in such patriarchal societies. These given roles took away the real identities of women, didn't let them to live with their choices and also victimized them during the conflict. Women did not exist in society except during the times they adopted the male-oriented ideologies and those

ideologies were not concern with even the basic rights of women. Patriarchal systems of the societies gave dominance to men over women to realize their nationhood dream, unfortunately at the expense of women, consigning them to victimhood.

In the complexity of nationhood dream, the questions which need to be asked are; what were the real identities of the silenced women of Cyprus, what were the roles given for women in the male dominated dream of nationhood and where were the real stories of women who are sacrificed to the back pages of history in warzones? It is almost impossible to find accurate answers to these questions because of the lack of information on women's experience in the history of Cyprus. There was no place, no name for women in the pages of history outside of the given characterizations of male history makers.

It is because of this that women are the ones who need to have more voice in the stories of each community since they were the ones who suffer under the circumstances of war and its aftermath more than men. That's why there is need for a story telling from the point of women in both communities histories. There is also a need to mention the different experiences of two main communities of women in Cyprus before and after the division of the island. Collective memories, ethnic identities and cultures were different but women of Cyprus experienced the conflict and war in a very similar way to each other because of the hegemonic ideologies of both communities. Women from each side experienced the conflict and war under the shadows of different historical, political, cultural and economic circumstances but they both struggled under the same ideologies fueled by men such as nationalism, militarism, patriarchy, all of which reduce women to victims on each side.

It is difficult to figure out the real identities and real stories of women in Cyprus because they have two kinds of stories, which are similar for all women who are experiencing life in conflict societies and are represented under the name of nations in a patriarchal-masculine qualified world. These are history, which is men-oriented with male-defined meanings; identities for society written by men and 'her story' which is women-oriented stories of people who are living the reality outside of the given meanings, identities but unwritten.

History is a gendered concept that constructs gender roles by giving power to men to create a power relationship that ignores women's collective past. In history the existence of women in stories presented in relationship to men who had the power to decide how to place woman in the stories. Women never had a place independent from male-defined female characterizations. The given roles to women by men make them invisible into the society. This ignorance created the base for the statement that there is no gender inequality problem in Cyprus and so there is no need for a feminist movement. The so-called 'real' stories remained the ones, which are all about the conflict by negating the existence of women.

Vassiliadou (2002) says; "Indeed, an important aspect of 'The Cyprus problem' is how women, as well as 'other' defined 'subgroups' are oppressed, marginalized, or at best, ignored" (p.463). However the conflict is never taken or criticized from this point of view because of the dominance of male-oriented ideologies. Women become the unrelated 'other' in the conflict. Because of this, there is a need to mention women-oriented as well as human-oriented stories with a feminist understanding of conflict in Cyprus. Feminist critique can be accepted as a movement of criticism that can be at the side of the oppressed and can cover the conflict on the island independently from male-defined roles. Feminism aims to give a voice to oppressed,

silenced majorities by giving power that actually needs to be distributed equally but has so far been cursed by hegemonic patriarchy.

Patriarchy is a global and historical system of power that categorizes societies unequally by giving dominance to men over women. Men use patriarchy not only as a system of power over women but also use it among different groups of men to prove the dominance. The concept of 'patriarchy' is first presented in Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*. Millet (1970) argues that in every aspect of our lives where power exists, patriarchy also exists as a fundamental concept of power. In this manner, the dominant 'male' controls and positions the 'female' according to his needs desires and values.

Women of Cyprus are socially located around the rules of patriarchy. In patriarchal societies, men define women as private objects, who need to accept the responsibilities of the private home. These responsibilities are basically care-giving, cleaning, cooking, giving birth for more labor and most importantly living within the concept of the 'ideal' woman, who is obliged to serve the system by taking care of its workers for free without questioning any of their unequal situations.

Anne Sisson Runyan (1990) states that "The prevailing ideology of patriarchy in the context of state militarism creates a situation in which there are two classes of people, those who protect and those who are protected" (p. 28). Patriarchy positioned women within the context of state militarism as secondary, weak, vulnerable objects that need to be protected from the pressure of the power belonging to men. But in fact, men were also positioned as weak in the same concept and honored with a false power, which is sourced from the military. Cynthia Enloe (1983) writes; "The military plays a special role in the ideological structure of patriarchy because of the notion of 'combat' plays such a central role in the construction of 'manhood' and

justifications of the superiority of maleness in the social order. In reality, of course, to be a soldier of the state means to be subservient, obedient, and almost dependent" (p.9). The military system gives men an unreal authority to prove the dominance of men in the society. The role of protector men take on by being an armed soldier creates sameness between men and women by the fact that they are both sharing the same position of being stones of a game in ideological constructions of patriarchy. In the case of Cyprus, the role given to women was "protected" and they expected to accept the given role as an excuse for the war, by being a reason worth men fighting for.

In the conditions leading to the conflict, women of Cyprus were ostensibly protected by the men from the enemy but this was a false sort of protection, for it did nothing to keep them safe from being beaten, raped, forgotten or killed by their own countryman and then being honored as martyr's mother, wife or daughter. Vassiliadou (1997) says that; "Women have been totally 'hidden' from Cypriot history and it is only through reading between the lines of textbooks by eminent male historians that even superficial information surfaces."(p.97). Men were the ones who are making the history and male history makers were not gender sensitive when they were creating the stories. When men were heroes of the stories, women were invisible. The only possible way to prove the existence of women was by looking at the stories from a feminist perspective. But the ideological constructions of the societies didn't give enough space to a feminist perspective and the history of Cyprus was gendered in the hands of men. The condition of women in Cyprus, who are hidden between the lines of patriarchal nationalistic history also, could not be affected easily by the global women's movement. It is hard to talk about the effect of

feminist ideologies on the society's history or an independent feminist movement, which can be mentioned in the stories.

During the same time that the women of Cyprus were subordinates under the circumstances of the conflict, ironically there was an ongoing global women's rights or independence movement brewing in the 1960s. The movement was rising in Europe, attempting to gain back the basic human rights of women, which were taken by patriarchal structures in private and public areas. Feminist movement started to build its existence against the male-defined meanings to take back women's real identities but the women of Cyprus couldn't become part of this journey while they were damaged by the national struggles. Vassiliadou (2002) argues that due to sociopolitical, geographical and economic conditions of Cyprus as a post colonial and politically dependent conflict-country, people are more passive and used to accepting the decisions of an authority rather than rebelling against the dominant discourses that feminism needed to make. Cypriot women couldn't find a place in western feminist ideologies because their realities inside the conflict and their concerns were different from western women. Hadjipavlou and Mertan (2010) point out;

> The women of Cyprus did not participate in the global women's movements of the 1960s onwards but instead experienced ethnic nationalism, militarism and sexism both prior and after independence. Cypriot women had to deal with the consequences of the armed struggle in the mid 1950s despite the fact that why they were excluded from the centre's where there decisions were taken or when the independence agreement was signed (p.142).

Women of Cyprus 'included' to the conflict and forced to accept the consequences. In all communities on the island, the women of Cyprus were living under different conditions but they faced the same experiences. They were like Aphrodite, forced to abide by the patriarchy, militarism, nationalism and in the chaos of conflict, nor could they raise their voices, instead they took different shapes in

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different minds of manhood. The only path to betraying the ugliest of the concepts was feminism, which can give birth to opportunities for social change.

However, a feminist critique of gender problems was not a consideration of the time; there were other, more important concerns in their lives which were imposed by men to create their nationhood dream. The 'national struggle' which fed the conflict was managed by men and gave women other responsibilities for the nation rather than fighting for their rights, as Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1989) argue that women included in the national struggle as biological reproducers of the ethnic groups, as reproducers of the boundaries of national groups, as participants in the ideological reproduction of the collective, as symbolic signifiers of national differences, as active participants of national struggles and as commodities for transmission of the this culture.

Women's role in Cyprus is dehumanized as commodities inside the concept of the national struggle. Their use in societies were to give birth for the continuity and the victory of ethnic identity with more fighters as "Mothers of the Nation" (Eglitis 2000: 699), to become objectified as symbols during the national struggles as passively active participants, to tell the enmity stories of manhood and as the commodities for transmission of the culture of hatred by raising generations as unpaid workers of private life.

Before the division of the island, women of Cyprus gained some basic human rights through long processes such as primary schooling, voting but under the control of men by depending on their ideal characterizations of women. Hadjipavlou and Mertan (2010) mention that on the island under the British rule special 'girl schools' opened but the concept of 'ideal' women couldn't let women be educated outside of the traditional roles. Cypriot families saw education as expensive and unnecessary

for women who could successfully be 'ideal' women in the society. In both communities the education system was gendered and unequal. Education for women was accepted as unnecessary in the societies. Hadjipavlou and Mertan (2010) give *Victoria Girl's School* example for this process. In the Turkish community, the *Victoria Girl's School, (Professional School for Moslem girls*) is a meaningful example of how a special education was constructed to control women in private and public, with traditionally given roles for the dream of 'ideal' women. *Victoria Girl's School* was the first secondary school, which opened in 1901. The "soft" education of the school included artwork, housework and all other areas, which are stereotyped as women's work.

Hadjipavlou and Mertan (2010) goes on to say that the job opportunities what women of cyprus provided were becoming a teacher in the same schools, tailoring, gardening and field work, millinery, cleaning work or, most honorably, becoming a good wife and mother. Women were excluded from a genderless education system in Cyprus till 1952, when equal education rights were enacted. The social roles that were imagined for women oppressed and imprisoned them in private sphere from men.

I suggest all the tasks assigned to them were for the good of private life, yet another imagined kingdom for males where they used and abused women. Because of the inseparable nature of private and public life as the main ideas of patriarchy, women were forced to serve to the male by costuming themselves with the identity of 'ideal/normal woman' also in the public sphere. The lives of women turned into a private theatre for men in both spheres.

In the same manner, women were also forced to serve in the families' economies in stereotyped roles. Neriman Cahit (2010) mentioned in her book 'Araplara Satılan

Kızlarımız'[4], that until 1946, many Turkish Cypriot women were sold to other colonized Muslim countries in arranged marriages by their families. I think having a daughter turned into money for men with a created marriage market in Cyprus.

Hadjipavlou and Mertan (2010) point out women were given the right to vote in 1960 without any struggle after the independence and creation of the Republic of Cyprus but out of the political consciousness of having right to vote. As Cynthia Enloe (1989) argues "the national political arena is dominated by men but allows women some select access whereby they are expected not to shake masculine presumptions" (p.13). Women were following the ideas of men; they were voting for men and for the aims of men because there was no female parliament to elect or male parliament who could see women as a part of the society. Women were used to increase number of votes at election processes. Very few women had secondary school education and had no say in public affairs or the right to vote. Women were dependent on men (Cockburn, 2004).

## 2.5 From Charity to Women's and Feminist Organizations

The situation of women and their needs were different in the communities as regards the differentiated economic and social conditions. My perception is that Turkish Cypriot women were subordinated more than Greek Cypriot women because of the different outcomes of the conflict and its psychological pressure on them. They had to accept an isolation which created trauma and a connection with mainland Turkey economically and culturally. Hadjipavlou (2006) says;

> The period between 1963 and 1974 was a time of unequal social and economic development, a factor that drew the two communities further apart, and a reality that persists to this day. Greek Cypriots experienced economic prosperity and modernization, whereas Turkish Cypriots entered a period of economic and cultural dependency on Turkey, which they regarded as their "protector" from Greek Cypriot domination" (p.9).

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[4]Our girls who were sold to Arabs.

Even before the international embargo, Turkish Cypriots were dependent on Turkey. This forced dependence oppressed women even more. They had to deal with bad economical conditions when they tried to re-build their families under the conditions of a more dominant culture. Furthermore, the dependent situation of Northern Cyprus is not only limited with economical conditions but alsowith social and cultural issues too. Elsewhere, Greek Cypriots gave more importance to their economies in spite of development and become more independent from external powers economic dominance compared with Turkish Cypriots.Greek Cypriots started to re-build their society and in this attempt, women found a different place rather than being mothers of a nation.

Hadjipavlou and Mertan (2010) mention that the ideas of empowerment or encouraged Greek Cypriot women to take a place and participate to the male dominated society as a part of the working class. They still lagged behind men as a secondary class of the society but the participation of Greek women to the development process gave power to them to rebel against the given orders of male authority. Greek Cypriot women were the ones who organized *'Women Walk Home'* events in the 70's and the 80's. They struggle against military lines, which were dividing the two communities. They tried to pass the green line by inviting Turkish Cypriot women. '*Women Walk Home'* events encouraged women to fight against the male dominant discourses of their societies. According to my point of view, these bi-communal events made invisible the created divisions of language, ethnic, religion, culture, class and enmity between two communities. Women emphasized that of being a woman in a conflict society and as a result of it, sharing the same oppressions. The passive, non-threatening, non-challenging situations of women into the societies turned into an activism for the rights that had been taken from them.

Another important example of women's activism is the *Hands Across the Divide (HAD)* [5] group. It is a noticeable women's group, which is organized voluntarilytogether with Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot women. [6] In their orientationmanual, they state their mission differently from other women's organizations. Theysay;"We aspire to live in a united country and to create a democratic society, wherethere is equality, including equal access to resources and gender equality, and respectfor all, irrespective of differences. Our mission is to contribute towards a culture ofpeace and multiculturalism." They believe in democracy and its notions of equality, which will make their dream of 'Unified Cyprus' real. By moving from these ideologies, they addressed women's issues and organized many activities to create understanding and connections between both communities' women.

There were women's organizations in both communities but under the coverage of male ideologies dominance, which was still trying to fit women into the same frame of traditionally given domestic roles. They were not able to challenge the main reasons and sources of the existing problems for women, they were doing charity work with the support and guidance of men for women who being victimized by the same men. Their only aim was to help the poor and weak victims of the conflict or support the spirit of nationalism by giving care as mothers of the nation, apolitically. For example, during the Republic of Cyprus, in 1962 the Turkish Cypriots' '*Limasol PhilanthropistAssociate*' [7] was established under this framework, until other concerns of war made their activism impossible to continue. There were other women's organizations as well but they were all functioned in the same gender blind manner.

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[5]Sınırları Aşan Eller
[6] Cynthia Cockburn included to this activism process. She gave a place to the group in her book '*The Line*' (2004), also participated and supported the group at their activities.
[7]Limasol Yardımseverler Derneği

There are also international agreements to protect women's rights, which are signed by the Cyprus Republic such as the *Convention on the Elimination of allForms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW)[8]. Derya (2008), mentions that the same agreement, CEDAW, was accepted from the Turkish Cypriot government on 8 March in 1996 with the efforts of the women's organizations like *Patriotic Women's Union, Women Studies Center, Women's movement for Peace and Federal Solution* and *Turkish Cypriot Women's Union.*[9] It is not possible to say, however, that the agreement by the international organizations manifests on women's rights changed the stereotypes or the dominance of given roles to women. It is hard to call the Turkish Cypriot Women's movement as a feminist movement. The reason for the lack of a feminist movement in the Turkish Cypriot community is very complex. Because I think, Turkish Cypriot women were caught between traditions and modernism. Women who called themselves feminists were faced with many struggles due to the stereotyping of feminism and feminist women. They had to accept the discrimination and marginalization. Cynthia Cockburn (2004) in her book '*The Line*' discusses the lack of a feminist movement in the Turkish community with some possible reasons. She argues that the Cyprus problem is accepted as the first issue that needs to be solved and there is no enough place for women's issues in the atmosphere of conflict. Secondly, the left wing has never considered gender roles, issues as an important concept for the solution of the conflict. She also states that Cyprus is cut off from international political movements due to its geographical location.

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[8]Kadınlara Yönelik Her Türlü Ayrımcılığın Ortadan Kaldırılmasına İlişkin Sözleşme
[9]In order, Yurtsever Kadınlar Birliği, Kadın Araştırmaları Merkezi, Barış ve Federal Çözüm için Kadın Hareketi, and Kıbrıs Türk Kadınlar Birliği.

But women resist living in male power structures. They realize the power of knowledge for social change in Cyprus. In the Turkish Cypriot community, the *Women Studies Centre* was established in 1998 at *Eastern Mediterranean University*. The centre aimed to create awareness to women's issues by organizing international seminars, workshops, panels taking place in the media and also by publishing an academic journal, *Kadın\Woman 2000*. Furthermore a master program opened in 2006 on women's studies at *Kyrenia American University*. In the Greek Cypriot community, *The Mediterranean Institute for Gender Studies*, UNESCO [10] *Chair forGender Equality and Women's Empowerment* at the *University of Cyprus* are the noticeable education centres working on women issues.

In my view, the women of Cyprus are still living on a highly militarized, male dominated, nationalistic island and there is still a lack of feminist movement on the island. But women have begun to question the power structures of their societies by rebelling against the created gender roles, inequalities, violence, the lack of women in politics and all other issues where women are oppressed. Women's organizations are increasing in both communities and they have begun to realize the common issues of living in a conflict culture.

There is a long road ahead for women on Cyprus to gain gender equality and to live in a peaceful society. Women are organizing their own struggle for social change on the island for a better future. As Katie Economidou (2003) puts;

> For many nights ahead of us we shall remain sleepless, worrying and thinking. We may not even live to see the results of our efforts. We shall know though deep inside our consciousness that we have fulfilled the promise to ourselves: we have made our contribution for a better future for Cyprus. We owe this to our children and the generations to come (p.136).

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[10]United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

## 2.6 F world

Centuries after the first struggles, the women's movement is still growing and changing. Feminism is a word used to label a multi-faced, dynamic social movement that maintains women's struggle against all kinds of oppression. Bell Hooks (2000) says: "Simply put, feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (p.1). She also adds that this definition is an 'open-ended' definition. She labels sexism as the core of the problem without any exclusion of sexes by including all kinds of sexism.

I believe that any possible definition has to be open-ended because it is impossible to come up with a straight definition for the concept. The notions of feminism still differs in each individual, culture, ethnic, religion and politics. It is still impossible to fit the concept inside definitions. Feminism is a critique of the male-dominated society and its culturally male-oriented institutions. Feminism as a social movement, customized with different perspectives and different goals in the same body, which is beginning point to questioning the gender roles within society with regard to gender inequality. Jane Freedman (2001) says: "Any attempt to provide a baseline definition of a common basis of all feminisms may start with the assertion that feminisms concern themselves with women's inferior position in society and with discrimination encountered by women because of their sex" (p.1).

Feminism works to change established power relations based on the oppression of women. But feminism is identified, represented as a group of extreme women's movement that disturbs the peace of the society by trying to be equal to men. Thus feminism is represented as a dangerous concept and as an ideological threat for the peaceful order of the society but in fact feminism is an ideological threat, a rebellious

call for a hegemonic discourse of society. Due to misrepresentations of the movement and a lack of knowledge, as Sarah Gamble (2001) says;

> Yet for most people, it appears, feminism remains something 'out there' rather than an internalized, actualized belief; a view promoted by a number of recent highly publicized surveys, which appear to show that few women are now willing to explicitly identify themselves as feminists" (p.vii).

She goes on to argue that the fear of the label of feminism becomes very problematic and has even created a debate among true believers of the ideology. Definitions of the concept remained highly problematic and each misidentification prepared a base for another. The concept lost its true meaning in this turbulence. There is a need that borders on an emergency to redefine and re-conceptualize the general understanding of the ideology.

Janelle Reinelt (2003) acknowledged that 'times have changed'. For the ones who are choosing sensational ways of defining the concept such as the media or for those who reject being labeled as feminist, she came up with a different definition than others. She says; "Feminism is a political commitment to three things: to women issues, to a way of life, to an intellectual critique" (p.4). I think feminism is not a utopian philosophy. Feminism is a moral and a political critique of women's issues, as a way of asking questions and developing alternative answers. Those alternative ways have the ability to build peace within the society, as opposed to the ideologies and misrepresentations through the media and in male interpretations. But, as Hooks (2000) mentions;

> Feminist revolution alone will not create such a world; we need to end racism, class elitism, imperialism. But it will make it possible for us to be fully self-actualized females and males able to create beloved community, to live together, realizing our dreams of freedom and justice, living the truth that we are all 'created equal' (p. x).

**2.6.1 First and Second Wave of Feminisms; From Suffragists to Bra-Burners**

The historical oppression of women continued for centuries in both the public sphere and private sphere in a world where men's concerns and ideologies are prioritized. I think this oppression comes from the fear that is based primarily on religious stories like Eve's sin in the Garden of Eden and all other masculine interpretations of women identity that positioned women as inferior to men. The fear of women has been supported by many myths and illustrated with certain historical roles based on oppression. Women are ideated as a human who is obligated to be silent and obedient to the culturally imposed hegemony of the male.

Women's struggle against this unjust oppression began earlier in their thoughts, writings and anywhere they could find a gap to voice their opinions but as an organized activity thereafter called feminism began as Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) mention with the Renaissance and the nature of its humanistic ideologies questioning the dominant systems of the society.[11] One can say that the stories of feminism or feminists are inseparable from stories of the politics and power relationships of the world.

I noticed that the women's movement grew in close relationship to the political and intellectual thinking processes. The ideological criticism processes and revolutionary changes to the construction of societies prepared the ground for feminism to fight against dominance with activism. Peter McPhece (2002) mentions that the first attempt comes together with the ideas of the French Revolution (1789), which creates an awareness of or a new way of evaluating the dominant discourses of

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[11]Women's struggle to the idea of ideal female characterizations started much earlier as an attempt to exist beyond those characterizations.But the first accepted examples of rebel against to the tradition of learned women identifications that creates a ground for feminism shows itself at Christine de Pizan's book; *The Book of the City of Ladies*(1405)in middle ages. Pizan accepted as a first women author in Europe and in her book first time she mentioned the oppression of women within the society.

the society. During the revolution, women and men came together at the protests under the banner of 'equality, liberty, fraternity'. But women realized that the enlightenment was being lead by men to gain basic rights for men and that there was no place for women. The revolution was gendered and there was no fight for gender equality. The activism of women began in spite of this kind of environment.Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) point out Olympe de Gouges, who was later executed at the guillotine, mentioned it in the *Declaration of the Rights of Women and Citizens* in 1791. Olympe de Gouges showed that the rights they were fighting for were limited to the men. The need for a movement guided by women was obvious. De Gouges questioned the unequal situation of society in the declaration by saying women were born free with their basic human rights and the first aim of politics should be protecting men and women and their natural rights, which are freedom, security, property and the right to rebel against any kind of dominance. She created a ground for feminism through her activism. She highlighted issues that feminists will argue and fight to change.

After the enlightenment of Gouges, the following year Marry Wallstonecraft continued the struggle with the first modern feminist text, *Vindication of the Rightsof Women* in 1792. She criticized the 'normal' accepted concepts of gender inequality on sex roles, education, marriage, work and politics as well as at many issues where dominance over women exists.

Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) argues that women's struggle for gender equality continued on a different path and with a different body of disciplines in each country with regard to their culture, politics, economy and their needs basically. For example, in America the movement was on a parallel with the struggle against slavery. In 1848, the first activism occurred in New York at Seneca Falls. Following the

meeting, a document titled *Declaration ofSentiments*, based on the US *Declaration of Independence,* by Elizabeth Candy Stanton and Susan Anthony was presented. They claimed for women their natural right to equality and liberty, as declared in the *Declaration of Independence*. Stanton and Anthony's controversial document was signed by men as well as women at the convention. The declaration addressed the oppression of women throughout history by men and asked specifically for the rights of women to vote, to be educated and to equal wages in the workplaces.

Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) mention during the next terms, the movement focused more on right to vote for women. Women realized that without gaining political and legal rights they could not exist within society. Those women were called 'suffragists'. Elizabeth Candy Stanton, who became an icon of women's suffrage, established the *National Women'sSuffrage Association* (1869). She organized many meetings and tried to spread her ideas. She encouraged women to raise their voices to gain their rights with the support of theorists like Sarah Grimke, author of *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes* (1838) or Margaret Fuller, who wrote *Women in the Nineteenth Century* (1845). Many other names followed her, such as Lucy Stone, who established the *AmericanWomen Suffrage Association*, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, author of *Women andEconomics* (1898). Women's struggle for suffrage in America continued within other ideological processes like Liberalism, Socialism and Marxism. Women finally earned the right to vote after their long struggles in 1920.

The movement followed a more militant and aggressive path in England. In 1867, women began a campaign to collect signatures from people for suffrage under the guidance of Millicent Garret Fawcett's *National Union of Women's Suffrage Society*. But the campaign failed. Women in England couldn't achieve any legal right.

Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) emphasized that another noticeable event for women's suffrage happened in England at London Hyde Park. In 1908, thousands of women attended an important meeting and with their colorful clothes, created a mosaic representing half of the sky upheld by women. The women of England gained the right to vote in 1918, although the under limitations from the government.

The first organized rebellion by women, to win their rights ended after the First World War when women gained some legal rights, not only the right to vote but changes in education, in the workplace and many other areas. Camille Paglia (2008) noticed that "Huge sacrifices were made by the first wave feminists, who showed enormous courage and daring in their demand not just for the vote but for reform of laws preventing women from entering contracts or owning property" (p.7). But public images of those women remained negative, as she also noted, "Nineteenthcentury satirical cartoons portrayed suffrage leaders as mutant pseudo-males, flaunting male trousers and cigars and threatening to dethrone men from their positions at home and in the public sphere" (Paglia, 2008, p.7). According to my point of view, the sharp division between women who raised their voices in protests and those women who remained obedient to the system started to show itself in the media with negative illustrations used to create an 'other' that is not acceptable within the society. This division also appeared between suffragists themselves. They came together under different institutions, which are ideologically separated from each other on the right to vote for women. Valerie Senders (2006) argues this in her essay. She says; "While it may seem extraordinary that women would oppose the enfranchisement of their own sex, many argued that women's interest were already being well represented by men, and that the vote would be especially awkward for married women who might vote in opposition to their husbands" (p.23). Cultural

oppression on women roles forced women to base their ideas on concepts like marriage, family where they surrounded with responsibilities that they have to obey.

Virginia Woolf, in her book, *A Room of One's Own* (1929) explores bisexuality and other notions of being a woman living within the parameters of society. Furthermore Simone de Beauvoir's, *The Second Sex* (1949) ignores the acceptance of men as the first sex. These are important names and studies, which belong to the first organized awakenings of women. Beauvoir's arguments, especially, prepared the way for feminism to be re-born afterwards. She noticed that the subordination of women does not come from biological differences. Beauvoir (1953) says; "One is not born, but rather becomes a women" (p.267). The dominance of men over women is socially constructed and learned. This fact gives a path for people to re-construct their lives.

Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) argue that the suffrage struggle lost its impetus with the challenges of the Second World War. Women's ideas were channeled in new directions when the movement slows down. The second stage of the women's struggle is raised with Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, after a long break. She defined the struggle as a dead ideology. She says; "The fact is that to women born after 1920, feminism was dead history. It ended as a vital movement in America with the winning of that final right: the vote" (p.25). Friedan identifies the women's problem with the phrase 'the problem that has no name'. She mentions that the women's problem does not exist in the eye of public. If there is a problem it can only be about the malesecured systems like marriage or the concept of being 'truly feminine' as a production of male fantasy. According to Friedan, a 'truly feminine' woman has all the comforts in her life and has no right to ask for career, higher education or political rights or basic independence. She challenged all those concepts

of the feminine mystique. Friedan also established the *National Organization for Women* in 1966. The main aim of the organization was bringing the 'equal partnership with men' for women.

Among the noticeable major happenings during this time in the movement were the protests of the Miss America Beauty contest in 1968. The protest had a global effect. Historian Flora Davis (1991) points out that 'feminism suddenly burst into the headlines'. When activists were protesting the objectification of womanhood they used theatrical tactics.

Sue Thornham (2006) says; "Among the demonstrators actions was the creation of a 'Freedom Trash Can' into which were thrown 'objects of female torture' such as dishcloths, high heels, bras and girdles- and the media myth of 'bra-burning' was born" (p.26). The image of bra-burning feminists was created by male-dominated media as an attempt to attach a negative identification for the women who existed outside of the male imagination. Marcia Cohen (1988) argues about the protest in her book *TheSisterhood*. She says that the protest created "a moment that changed the worlds view of this rebellion -and therefore perhaps the rebellion itself- forever" (p.135). In one way, feminists gained huge media coverage for their struggle in order to accomplish their main aim of consciousness rising about gender inequalities within the society but in other ways they furnished the tools for the media to ridicule them that put the struggles importance into the public eye. In Sheila Tobias's (1997) words the protest both helped publicize and would later haunt the women's movement. The media myth of 'bra burners' become a symbolic act for feminists. The messages that they tried to spread to the world was manipulated to other ways. When they threw girdles, high heels, cosmetics (products of the game of men which is trying to fit women into the beauty myth where women's identities do not exist) to

the freedom trashcan, by meaning to protest the objectification of women but they gave an opportunity to the media to objectify them. Susan Douglas(1994) says; "Women who threw their bras away may have said they were challenging sexism, but the media, with a wink, hinted that these women's motives were not at all political but rather personal, to be trendy, and to attract men" (p.160).

Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) mention that the second stage of the women's struggle followed radical tactics in England too. British women organized along the tactics of activist Emmeline Pankhurst who established the group, the '*Suffrogettes*'. Their main slogan was 'we are not beautiful, we are not ugly, we are angry'. They organized an aggressive body for their activism to show their demands at the protests. However, violent techniques were used against them by the government in response. Many women were arrested but the system they fought against couldn't stop them. They continued their struggle in jails with different tactics like hunger strikes.

In spite of these radical environments, the suffragettes announced their demands by coming together as women's groups. Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) point out one of the most effective women's groups in United States was *The Redstockings*. They say "The Redstockings was one of the influential but short-lived radical feminist groups of the 1960 to 1970s and produced many of the expressions that have become household words in the United States: 'Sisterhood is powerful', 'Consciousness raising', 'The personal is political', 'the politics of housework', the 'pro-women line' and so on" (p.9). Women planned to raise people's consciousness on gender issues in the public arena by orchestrating their actions with the power of sisterhood. They took the discipline of the personal is political to change certain issues of sexism and oppression.

The radical feminism in the second wave continues in a relationship with other movements such as civil rights, the anti-war movement and the new left. Feminism also displayed some core theoretical ideas. Maynard (1995) refers to liberal, radical and socialist feminism as the big tree. There are other kinds of feminisms that criticize the middle-class, white, heterosexual body of feminism – those like the black, lesbian, and Islamic off shoots, which are specifically struggling for some specific issues such as black, etjic, local,lesbian, muslim etc.

Liberal philosophy is based on the autonomy of the person, individual rights and equal opportunities for everybody. Liberal feminism takes this view as key concepts of its ideology. Liberal feminists' goals are still being debated but basically they claim that the differences between men and women are not biologically based and thus women should have the same rights as men. Women became figures who deserve be equal to men in the public sphere. However they remained challenged by the division between the public and private spheres. The positions and roles of women in the private sphere remained traditionally the same while women were assumed to be equal in the public sphere. Liberal feminists maintained the ideology to gain a legal identity for women but the social orders of the society oppressing women in private remain a barrier.

As a part of the big three schools of feminist thought, Liberalism had a wide effect on both the first and second wave of feminism by providing an incitement for women to re-act and rebel. But, it failed to bring equality for sexes in such societies where subordination of one sex to the other is acceptable.

Radical feminism made achievements in a different way than liberal feminism. The ideology was perpetuated by Kate Millet, Shulamith Firestone, Gayle Rubin, Catherine MacKinnon and among others. They fought against male dominated

society by identifying its complicity in patriarchy. Radical feminists tried to broaden women's struggle with new theories, which aimed to be independent from male dominance. They accept the biological difference between women and men and appreciate it by ignoring 'femininity' which is thought from patriarchy. They argued that the differences between men and women arise from social constructions, which are led by men.

Radical feminists chose not to define their ideology within certain frames of feminism, though other ideologies such as liberal feminists depended on liberalism and Marxist feminists depended on Marxism. Imelda Whelehan (1995) says in *Modern Feminist Thought: From The Second Wave to Post Feminism*, "Radicals appear to pride themselves on being notoriously difficult to define, and thus is in part an effect of their commitment to denying that one voice can speak for many" (p.70). The slogan 'the personal is political' become one of the main principles. This notion of feminist philosophy tries to express the personal experiences of women in their private lives also applies to the political or social. It is a slogan that is explains the real situation of women. Catherine MacKinnon (1982) wrote about it in her article *Feminism, Marxism, and the State: An Agenda for Theory*. She argues that 'The personal is political' is not only a simple myth, it shows the reality of women, which proves that the personal experience of women in their private lives determines the politics of women.

As the last part of the three, socialist/Marxist feminism focused on changes in class relations and capitalism. The noticeable Marxist feminists were Clara Zetkin, August Bebel, Emma Goldman, Alexandra Kollontai and Rosa Luxemburg. Marxist feminists organized campaigns like 'wages for housework' to give an identity and value for the women who labor in their private sphere; the home.

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Socialist feminists applied Marxist critiques to their feminisms. They reasoned the oppression of women was a result of the hierarchical class relations of capitalist societies. Beasley (1999) says; "Socialist feminists attempt to maintain some elements of Marxism regarding the significance of class distinctions and labor while incorporating the radical feminist view that sexual oppression is not historically a consequence of class division" (p.62). When Marx included women in his studies, he didn't focus on the position of women within society. Women were included in the process as a part of the class struggle in order to liberate all workers who are oppressed in the capitalist system. Heidi Hartman (1981), in her article *The UnhappyMarriage of Marxism and Feminism* mentions that the theory of Marxism is gender blind. Shulamith Firestone also argues, in her book *The Dialectics of Sex* (1970), feminists have to question the culture and the systems but the organization itself. This is only possible by situating women differently than men because the historical oppression of women was thought to come from the unbalanced power relations of the sexes that oppressed women while empowering men. The Marxist theory created its own hierarchy by empowering men. Cynthia Cockburn (1981) mentions; "Marxist feminist theory has consequently tended to set on one side the concept of superior physical affectivity of men, to adopt a kind of agnosticism to the idea, on the account of a very reasonable fear that biologism and essentialism which would nullify our struggle" (p.43). Men, because of their sex, socially became the dominant power and found the right to subordinate women who are the biologically weaker sex. The capacity of women was underestimated and women were abandoned to the protection of fathers or husbands who are also taught to protect the rights of women as a working class patriarchy.

Many sea changes happened during the second wave of feminism. Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) say; "Whereas both liberal and socialist/Marxist feminists worked to access and influence the institutions of society, radical feminists were critical of these institutions and skeptical of, if not outright opposed to, the inclusion of more women in what they considered profit-driven, patriarchal institutions" (p.11). However, I think the common purpose of all those different branches of feminisms was trying to find a solution for the oppression of women within society, one way or another. New feminisms brought new excitements to the method of evaluating the 'woman problem'.

The journey of feminism chronologically framed is in three waves. The first awareness of the socio-historical oppression of women starts as mentioned above earlier but the time zone known as the 'first wave' began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Europe and America. Women organized by means of meetings within institutions to gain their basic human rights in the frame of political, economic, social equality of the sexes. The different circumstances of women in different environments created differentiated needs as well. The activism, however, was organized on behalf of all the women through common needs that they believed applied to all. First wavers argued that the gender inequality in the society came from legal rights they should have had but had been taken from them. Thus, the first wave mostly focused on economic rights, the right to vote and property rights for women. First wavers fought hard for the rights that women take for granted today. They broaden the social acceptance of women's participation in the public sphere. The second wave of feminism emerged in the 1960's to the 1970's, after a long break from first wave of feminism. The second wave of feminists believed that having a legal identity wouldn't solve the 'woman problem' within societies. The problem

exists within the creation of the societies and their understanding of sex roles. The second wave of feminism, with its different forms of feminism and different demands gave new directions for the ideology of feminism in spite of other ideological processes. Women's health issues, sexual harassment, domestic violence, prostitution, pornography, rape, women's workplace were issues considered by second wavers. However, these second wavers criticized other forms of feminism because of their white, middle-class, educated, American, heterosexual nature.

## 2.6.2 A Mediated Wave; Third Wave of Feminism

The last wave of feminist history is known as 'Third Wave' or with other specifically labeled terms like popular feminism, post-feminism, lipstick feminism, or girlie feminism. Krolokke and Sorensen (2005) say;

> A common American term for third-wave feminism is 'grrl feminism' and in Europe it is known as 'new feminism'. This new 'new' feminism is characterized by local, national and transnational activism, in areas such as violence against women, trafficking, body surgery, self-mutilation, and the overall 'pornofication' of the media" (p.17).

This new and young generation's feminism is still expanding and improving itself rather than taking a sharp definition. But, third wavers excluded themselves at many points from other waves by framing their activism more specifically on identity politics. They aimed to have their own voice in their society, culture, ethnic or all other concepts that create their differentiated needs through their identities. Shugart, Wggoner and Hallstein (2001) say; "Indeed, third wave feminists define themselves first in terms of what they are not, namely they reject the feminism of the second wave, claiming that it reflects almost exclusively the perspectives and values of white, middle-class, heterosexual women who define themselves primarily as oppressed victims of patriarchy" (p.195).

The third wave of feminism was established late in the 1980's as a bridge aiming to reach and find solutions to the failures or untouched issues, from the first and second waves of feminism for today's redefined feminism. The concept of the third wave of feminism is a generalization for our age's feminists in a global scope of understanding that is beyond the borders, rather than limited understandings of other waves. New feminism applied universal, global angles to its disciplines in the context of multiculturalism. Third wavers express themselves by appreciating their differences. They focus on the individual empowerment of women.

There is an ongoing debate among feminists about when the second wave did indeed finish or whether there is even a need for a third wave but it is unrealistic to deny the existence and difference of the 'new feminism'.

A second wave activist's daughter, Rebecca Walker is accepted as one of the cofounders of third wave of feminism with her text *To Be Real: Telling the Truth andChanging the Face of Feminism (1995).* Furthermore, Barbara Findlen's *Listen Up:Voices from the Next Generation of Feminists (1995)* remains one of the most important texts of the third wave, which explain the needs and differences of the new wave of feminism. They both identified their feminism as a new generation's feminism. Walker (1995) explains her reasons for new identifications of the ideology in her book. She states; "I wanted to explore the ways that choices or actions seemingly at odds with mainstream ideas of feminism push us to new definitions and understandings of female empowerment and social change" (p. xxxvi).

Astrid Henry (2004) argues that the difference between second wave feminists of the 1970s and the young women of the present feminism are like the division between mothers and daughters. Third wavers take for granted the rights that were gained by other wavers but they don't let the ideology die inside the chaos of the

arguments. Third wavers argues that the second wave of feminism is not enough to fix the problems of today's young women. Imelda Whelehan (2005) says: "Second Wave could not solve some of the most intimate problems for women- how to conduct heterosexual relationships, how to negotiate self-identity, and how to deal with 'power' " (p.218). The third wave of the feminist praxis argues that women need to have independence first through their individualistic identities. Women have to free themselves from their own limitations before they can from patriarchy or any other male discourse.

According to Mann and Haufman (2005), in the third wave, as opposed to the second wave of feminism's slogan 'the personal is political', the slogan is 'political is personal'. Astrid Henry (2004) adds; "Challenging the perceived dogmatism of second wave feminism, third-wavers have steered clear of prescribing a particular feminist agenda and instead have chosen to stress individuality and individual definitions of feminism" (p.43). Third wavers believe that their notions of individuality will free them from dominant discourses. They argue that the empowerment of women will be born by respecting their identities. Elaborating on these views, Heckman (2000) argues that the new feminism needs to "move from identity politics to a politics of identification…." (p.304). Politics of identification are questioned by Sonja Curry-Johnson (1995). She says; "As an educated, married, monogamous, feminist, Christian, African-American mother, I suffer from an accurate case of multiplicity. Each identity defines me. But they do not peacefully coexist within me"(pp. 221-223). Findlen (1995) explains the possibility of the coexistence of these different identifications in the third wave in the preface of her study. She says;

> Women in this book call themselves, among other things, articulate, white, middle-class college kid; wild and unruly; single mother; Asian bisexual;

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punk; politically astute, active woman; middle-class black woman; young mother; slacker; member of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation; well-adjusted; student; teacher; writer; an individual; a young lady; a person with a visible disability; androgynous; lapsed Jew; child of professional feminists; lesbian daughter; activist; zine writer; a Libra; and an educated, married, monogamous, feminist, Christian, African American mother (p.xvi).

Sexuality and the need for equality for LGBTQ's[12] are also other issues that are highly debated between second wave feminists and third wave feminists. Third wavers expressed their sexual desires independently from the second wave of feminists' limitations on it. They try to show younger generations that they are not 'other' within the society, they are only aware of the effects of patriarchy and they have the power to fight against it. They choose not to perpetuate the 'us-them' dichotomies. They believe that gender equality can be achieved only in a broader understanding by not 'othering' any group.

Third wavers create a differentiated understanding of their new feminism while remaining concerned, through the changes of time, about the new social orders of the world and reacting to this for their needs. Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake (1997) point out their own definition for the third wave. They say; "We define feminism's third wave as a movement that contains elements of second wave critique of beauty culture, sexual abuse, and power structures while it also acknowledges and makes use of the pleasure, danger, and defining power of those structures" (p.3). The third wave of feminism grew in an effect of second wave of feminism by expanding or illustrating its issues to today's young women's issues while they are feeling the power to redefine the concepts according to their different situations.

Lettie Conrad (2001) also gives a definition of the third wave of feminism and its division from other waves. She says; Third Wave feminism is defined as that feminist thought influenced by postmodern social theory in a way which embraces

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[12]Lesbian Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer

contradictory and multi-perspective feminisms, finds joy and power in hybrid theoretical struggles, and makes use of the existing culture to the greatest benefit. (p.1).

The new feminism has been declared and coined in the media too. Reinelt (2003) says; "Post feminism began to appear as a term in the media by the mid-1980's, but perhaps began to be significantly present as a concept in 1991 when Susan Faludi published Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women" (p.3). Faludi gave momentum to the struggle with her arguments, which do not accept the myth that equality has been achieved. According to Faludi, the media creates its own myth by emphasizing to society that feminist goals are achieved, women now have everything they want but they are now more desperate than before. She criticizes the media for its representations of the unhappy situation of women who gained independence and challenges with the statement that blame feminism for it. She reported the situation from the voice of the media. She says;

> Women are unhappy precisely *because* they are free. Women are enslaved by their own liberation. They have grabbed at the gold ring of independence, only to miss the one ring that really matters. They have gained control of their fertility, only to destroy it. They have pursued their own professional dreams—and lost out on the greatest female adventure. The women's movement, as we are told time and again, has proved women's own worst enemy (2006, p.2).

In this environment of backlashes to the imagined feminine mystique, feminists started to take their place in the media through their own channels; zines[13], websites like *Cybergrrl* or magazines like *Bitch*, *BUST* or radical punk groups like *Riot Grrrl* to break the cults of the media about feminism. Furthermore, many march, 'slut walks' organized with in-your-face tactics. All these media channels of the third wave feminists become a key for them to spread their ideas and get organized for

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[13]Zines are undergraound texts of activist groups or specifically themed publications.

their struggles. They tried to have a media-friendly understanding for their activism for the new generation who are scared to label anything with the f-word and who understand the ideology as men haters, anti-feminine, anti-marriage, ugly or humorless as it is still tiredly promoted in the media. The fearful word 'feminist' and negative identifications of the ideology began to change with the images of third wave feminists within the society. Third waver's ignore the victimization of women and prefer to gain a confident attitude even by naming themselves traditionally badly framed concepts like 'slut' or 'bitch'. But, beyond those activists, the ideology is consumed as pseudo coverage for political tactics. Faludi (1995) in her article of *I'mnot a Feminist but I play one on TV*, criticized women who show up in the media and call themselves feminists of the postmodern age but actually using the ideology for their traditional gender-blind political strategies. She called them 'pseudo-feminists' or 'pod feminists'. The consumption of the ideology and their representations open the way for the media.

The movement is consumed by the media but the third wave feminists find a way to use the popular culture and its main element, the media. They didn't lose confidence in their power because of the traditionally perpetuated hegemonic masculine discourses. But is this media phenomenon a good tool for spreading ideas to the masses or is it dangerous for the movement stayed crucial and be criticized among scholars. Gitlin (1989) mentioned the theory of 'pastiche'which is "cultural recombination". The media uses this technique as a ready format for "anything (to be) juxtaposed to anything else" (p.350). In this matter, popular media is creating ready images, representations of feminism for people through the dominant power of patriarchy. Thus, there is a possibility for the ideology to lose its true meaning inside the turbulence of misrepresentations of the media. Shugart, Waggoner and Hallstein

(2001) argued that the way the third wave of feminism is appearing in the media is very problematic. They say;

> Certain tenets of third-wave feminism are appropriated, commodified, rein scribed, and 'sold back' to audiences….in such a way that those feminist sensibilities are not only defused but ultimately rendered consonant with the dominant paradigm that they appear to resist- thus, the ultimate function of these mass-mediated representations of third wave feminism is hegemonic (p.195).

In this modern age, the third wave feminism is a new struggle and proof that feminism is still alive and growing in its new colors. In Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards's (2000) words; "The social-justice movement, formerly known as feminism, is now just life" (p.321). Woman who considered themselves under the title of first, second or third waves of feminism is not the matter. The important point is outside the misconceptions, working together by having feminist lenses for the issues, as Coleman (2009) says; "The real challenge of practicing feminism in a post feminist age is how committed feminists, of whatever generation, work, together in feminist ways in the pursuit of the feminist goals of gender, equity and social justice"

# Chapter 3

# METHODOLOGY

This chapter aims to explain my research methods and the way I analyzed my data. With respect to my research questions my aim is to understand in which contents FEMA represents their feminism in Northern Cyprus and to understand their characterizations, placements, concerns, activisms in relationship with third wave feminism and the media by using content analysis as research method. Also I aim to gather more detailed information with a textual analysis in order to understand how they produce meanings in their media texts. Zoonen (1994) notes; "Aside from numbers and roles, different media texts are also often better characterized by their specific narrative and visual conventions which structure the meaning of characters, their mutual relationships and their positions in the 'story'"(p.67). Regard to this argument I applied textual analysis to the results of content analysis while concerning visuals of the texts.

I prefer to establish my research on the media content of the FEMA for the reason as Shoemaker and Reese (1996) note; "Media content is the basis of media impact: it is, for the most part, open and accessible for study the most obvious part of the mass communication process- unlike the behind the scenes decisions made by producers,

writers, and editors and behaviors of media consumers" (p.24). I constructed my research 65 media texts of FEMA in total. When I am applying content analysis, I developed a coding protocol after an observation process. I analyzed all of their media texts in the selected time period of the study to categorize their issues that they consider to write about according to their ideology of feminism and their position in Northern Cyprus. I collected my data from January 2011 until December 2011 from *Yenidüzen* newspapers and the independent Sunday supplement, *Gaile's* back page.

## 3.1 Content Analysis and Textual Analysis

As Harwood and Garry (2003) note, content analysis is a research method first used in the 19th century in order to analyze advertisements, political speeches, magazines, and newspapers. Today, content analysis is a commonly used research method in many areas, including researches on the media. Macnamara (2005) says; "Content analysis is used to study a broad range of 'texts' from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines" (p.1).

The definition of the content analysis and the approaches that are used while applying the method to qualitative or quantitative data are highly debated among scholars. Laswell (1948) came up with a general statement for the communication process. Content analysis is a method that works through the communication model. He says the communication process is about "who says what through which channel to whom with what effect" (p.12). The aim of the content analysis as a media research method is to answer one or more questions, which are inside the communication model. Neuman (1997) defines the method by simplifying it to the core concepts and tools of the method. Neuman notes that content analysis is "a

technique for gathering and analyzing the content of the text. The 'content' refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The 'text' is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication" (pp. 272-273). In my research I analyzed the media texts of FEMA also I took into account their visuals such as photos and caricatures which were used together with written texts.

Content analysis is a method which is applicable to visual and written, qualitative or quantitative data. In both ways, the main aim is to prepare a systematic set of categorizations or conceptualizations. Kyngos and Vanhanem (1999) state that the researcher has free will to make a choice to use categorization or conceptualization. According to Cavanagh (1997), the purpose of creating categories is to provide a tool for describing the phenomenon, to increase understanding and to generate knowledge. In my study, I categorized FEMA's media texts to understand in which categories they match their writings with the third wave feminism.

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) present content analyses according to two traditions behaviorist and humanist. In the behaviorist tradition, the researcher collects and evaluates its data with quantitative techniques to identify what are the future effects of the material while in humanist tradition; the researcher collects and evaluates data with qualitative techniques to identify what the material says about the society and the culture producing it. They also say; "Behavioral content analysis is not always or necessarily conducted using quantitative or numerical techniques, but the two tend to go together. Similarly, humanistic content study naturally gravitates towards qualitative analysis" (p.32). Through the concepts of Shoemaker and Reese (1996), I applied humanist tradition to my study. In other words I included numerical data and their interpretations. As I mentioned in the 'problem of the study and research

questions' section, I aimed to find out, what the actual problems of Turkish Cypriot women are according to FEMA; through the representation of FEMA, what the portrayals of feminist women in Northern Cyprus are and where FEMA located itself at the third wave of feminism with the humanist tradition of the content analysis. Furthermore, I used the approach to analyze how an active participation of a feminist group in the media can create a social change, as one of the other research question of the study.

Another approach of content analysis that I used in my research is ethnographic content analysis. Altheide (1987) says; "Ethnographic content analysis is used to document and understand the communication of meaning, as well as to verify theoretical relationships. Its distinctive characteristic is the reflexive and highly interactive nature of the investigator, concepts, data collection and analysis" (p.68). I applied the ethnographic content analysis approach as a guide to understand the meaning that FEMA created with their media texts in a relationship with certain theories. Altheide (1987) mentions that in ethnographic content analysis, data collection, data coding, data analysis, sampling, concept development processes are flexible. The difference of ethnographic content analysis from traditional content analysis method is coming from its aim. The aim is to be systematic and analytic but to avoid dogmatic procedures (Smith, Sells& Clevenger, 1994, p.270). I think ethnographic content analysis approach gives space to researcher to interpret results better.

Content analysis has advantages for the researcher. Except for the approaches related to the method, there is no rule for analyzing the data. The method allows the researcher to categorize high amounts of data under simple(in my case 65 articles), basic titles, which makes the study easy to understand both for the researcher and the

reader. Furthermore, the method is very flexible. It makes the method easy to apply to many kinds of data, qualitative or quantitative, by relying on the research questions. At the same time, however, it makes the method hard for researchers to deal with. Weber (1990) notes that one challenge of content analysis is the fact that it is very flexible and there is no simple, 'right' way of doing it. Researchers must judge what variations are most appropriate for their particular problems. I was also faced with the same problems when I analyzed my data. To come up with a solution, I preferred to organize my analysis around the approaches that concerned the research questions that I aimed to answer and which helped me to organize my literature review and theoretical background of my study in the same manner. I collected and observedmy research texts; I determined categories in order to examine them better under the categorizations. The categories are feminist news making, articulating feminism with hard news, and feminist awareness for others in the society, feminist politics, feminist humor, violence against women. I examined other issues mentioned in the texts by relating them to the categories as subcategories. After categorization and observation processes I used text analysis method as a way to understand their media texts meanings. As media theorist McKee (2003:1) puts it;

> Textual analysis is a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world. It is a methodology—a data-gathering process—for those researchers who want to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live (p.1).

I tried to interpret the media texts of FEMA while using certain methods of textual analysis in collaboration with the theories, statements of scholars which are mentioned at theoretical framework and literature review chapter. The first point that I paid attention while using text analysis was understand what the author is saying in which concept and meaning. Then I interpret the texts of FEMA according to

theories and approaches that I have introduced at the previous chapters.  Regard to my research questions I focused on how FEMA questioned the patriarchal system that is oppressing some groups in society. I also explained how feminist women negotiate with this oppressive system and find ways to represent their ideas in the media. I applied textual analysis to one news story of FEMA for each category according to their highest percentages within the categories or the importance of them regards to understand their ideologies. I quoted some parts of the texts in order to give a better understanding.

# Chapter 4

# FINDINGS and ANALYSIS

## 4.1 Feminist News Making; Articulating Feminism with Hard News

In this category, I limited the media texts of FEMA that are covering issues with a feminist understanding and articulating feminism with hard news. By the term "hard news", I mean the issues that FEMA valued as important, attached a news value. FEMA determined their agenda and oriented its news coverage with feminist understanding. I analyzed a total of 9 media texts of FEMA in this category.Furthermore I used textual analysis to one news story from 'Feminism for Everybody; Trainings of FEMA' subcategory because of the highest number of the news inthe category.

I determined subcategories in order to give more detailed analyses for the contents of the texts. The first subcategory is 'Feminism for Everybody; Trainings of FEMA'. The subcategory presents the analyses of FEMA's women's human rights trainings news. The second subcategory is 'Feminist Media Criticism as Active Participants'. Their media texts that I analyzed in this category represent their feminist media practice. They used media to publicise their feminist aim for the community while taking advantage of being distributed to a large number of people. FEMA apply the academic and activist feminist theories to their praxis and organized their activism

with it and promote many issues in their pages. Their feminist media agenda aims at becoming a transformative force for politics. I also present 'Beyond the Borders of Cyprus; Participation to Conferences' subcategory. Under this category I analyzed the texts covering their participation in the international conferences and the issues that were discussed there.

**4.1.1 Feminism for Everybody; Trainings of FEMA**

The article that I chose for text analysis is published in January 12, 2011. The title of the article is 'First FEMA-KİHEP Group's Completed!'. The title of the article represents a collaboration which is done by FEMA and KİHEP groups finished. FEMA states; "For the first time in the history of the Northern Cyprus a woman rights education program open to the public was organized by FEMA". They take the attention to the success of their group in order to be first in training in Northern Cyprus. [14] FEMA, by working together with Social Service and Protection of Children Institution (of Turkey)[15] brought the training to Northern Cyprus. They named and presented themselves as 'feminist representatives of the island' in their article. They limited feminist activism in the island with their feminist notions and their group's activism. They challenged with the possibility that there are other people who are feminist but not related with their group.

FEMA says; "With the training they aimed to empower women and build confidence in their individual lives by teaching them what their human rights are.

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[14] The training is completed in 16 weeks and existed from two sessions. In the first session participant's learned about certain related issues of gender and about human rights of women. In the second session women learned tactics on how to get organized. The program was organized collaboration with an institution; the Social Service and Protection Institution (of Turkey) since 1988's. The training reached 52 cities and more than 8,000 women in Turkey. Women used the knowledge that they gained in the training for their activism. Many women organized in their own cities. The training in Turkey was organized after research conducted on women's situations and needs. The need for such training arose from the lack of knowledge women had about their human rights and the lack of women's organizations to help them in becoming a voice in their own environments against to the conditions which are oppressing them.

[15] Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu

Participants, interested organizations and individuals were educated to raise a feminist consciousness on domestic violence and human rights". I think FEMA attempted to bring a synergy for women to get organized in order to learn, defend and protect their human rights. FEMA says in their call for participants; "They will give priority to the small women's groups who are trying to organize activities for women in the villages of Northern Cyprus." This priority preference shows that FEMA's attempt to reach all women in the island for gender equality. They are approaching the second wave feminists, 'sisterhood is powerful', in an individualistic scope of the third wave of feminism. Third wave feminists argue that the individual empowerment of women is necessary.

FEMA covered the training for four consecutive weeks as a full page and for one week with follow-up news. Parallel with third wave feminist notions I noticed FEMA promoted that women first need to move out from the framing of patriarchy in their minds and lives. Thus with an individualistic empowerment, a struggle is possible in a solidarity for gender inequalities. Feminist media theory also advises the active participation of women in the media with knowledge of feminist understandings. I think FEMA aimed to make women's rights and their feminism open to everybody to promote and spread gender equality in society. They used the media as a channel to get organized and to reach more people. As Krini Kafinis (2005) argues, media is a very important tool, which has the power to determine the agenda. FEMA used this opportunity for its publicity.

They used photos and full names of the participants. In the photographs women smile and look directly into the eyes of the reader. I think the way FEMA prefer to promote the news about the training with full names of the participants and photographic images are an attempt to give a positive impression on the reader by

juxtaposing the traditional positioning of women in the media with the new woman image who is representing herself beyond the male constructions with a self-confidence and individuality. FEMA breaks a tradition of masculine media. Photos of women used this time not to represent male point of views but women's achievements of the training with their own statements.

The way they follow up is to report their activism, give a place to the readers as well, to get their own critique of the training with different individual's various experiences. Furthermore, FEMA gave space to women to participate in the masculine media. I think when they are mentioning the news about the training, FEMA didn't try to fit the training inside their frames as the traditional techniques of the media did; they informed reader about the training with the narratives of the participants who used to be hidden behind the scene. Participants shared their personal experiences and outcomes of the program in their lives. Feminism moves from theories to women's actual lives with a praxis and changes the way they think and act. One participant of the training, Beran Erkman noticed that every issue they discussed among the participants, who came from different locations, classes or with different characteristics, created a common feeling with their shared experiences. I think FEMA through those trainings created a common sense among women. Women raised awareness for the patriarchal system that is creating oppression on women from different classes, characteristics or locations. Another participant of the training Leyla Ulubatlı mentioned her own growth through the program. She said that traditions of her society, stereotyping and her environment's support of those had stopped her from asking for her rights but she found her confidence in her and power to change the things that bother her. She used a cultural reference to explain the oppression on women and her gaining's from the training.

I think through the statements they made, women who participated to the training are not perpetuating the fearful public image of feminism. Ayça Soygür Çıralı goes on to say she learned the legal rights of women, feminist history and more importantly what was behind the fearful feminism and now she calls herself a feminist. FEMA encourages women to fight for their rights with feminist politics by not forcing them to think with any other ideology except the basic notions of feminism, which are based on gender equality to breakdown the prejudice against feminism.

I think FEMA shared their knowledge with women who were willing to be part of their activism. They aimed to create social change with the power of knowledge by beginning with women and their individual empowerment. They helped women to build confidence with their knowledge to struggle against the domination. Making women aware of their own issues and rights can create a domino effect in society and can make change possible. FEMA is not the first organization that created or announced those trainings. But the way FEMA used the media differentiated their activism from others. FEMA presented that in many of their notions they are against the dominance of Turkey over Northern Cyprus politically and culturally apart from such trainings that are fighting against dominant discourses.

**4.1.1.1 Beyond the Borders of Cyprus; Participation to Conferences and Announcements**

Activists of FEMA organized their activism outside of Cyprus, beyond their issues and political borders which limit them in an unrecognized land by participating in the conferences, sharing their experiences or informing their readers about the international group's achievements. I think their participation in other organizations' activities increase their knowledge about feminism as well as other

women's individual situations and help them to look at the women's issue in a global sense of third wave feminism. Beyond their borders, FEMA followed the agenda of feminism around the world and through their participation, they informed their community.

FEMA became a force in gender politics about women's issues on island with their news about other countries' activities and/or international agreements. In one of their news, they announced an activity of the members of the *International Labor Organization*. The organization accepted an international agreement about 'home-based workers' rights. As they mention the agreement is the first international attempt in the history for home workers' rights. They said that domestic workers are labeled ironically as: 'shadow workers'. FEMA says that domestic workers have a very important place in countries' economies but their rights are not well protected legally and Northern Cyprus is one of those countries. They used the metaphor of 'shadow workers' for the situation of domestic workers of Northern Cyprus. They say that the agreement about domestic workers rights should take a place in Northern Cyprus's political agenda too in order to bring the social justice for women on their rights.[16] FEMA tried to take the attention of politicians and to create an agenda for the issues related with women. International agreements can legally guarantee the rights of women who are working in private spheres but the male constructions about the roles of women are the base for this problem. An attempt to find solution to the issue of 'shadow workers' I think should start by questioning the male constructions of women's roles.

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[16] FEMA mentions the countries who accepted to sign the agreement like Russia, Germany, and Philippines. Also they gave the names of the political leaders who gave speeches during the discussions like Vladimir Putin, Angela Merkel.

Another issue that becomes a news item of FEMA's is the call for an international gender strike. The call for an international strike was organized by women's group in Madrid. FEMA announced it and made their call for the strike in Northern Cyprus. FEMA says that gender identities (women and men) are used by capitalism's power systems as a tool for oppression. For the separation of the gender, the identities given by the system according to biological differences as women or as men and imposed a limitation of heterosexuality. Other identities, such as transsexuals are dehumanized and their identification with their chosen gender was labeled as an illness. The violence of the system oppresses not only people who identify their gender out of the norm, it is also affects the entire society; every individual has the right to rebel against this domination. FEMA presented a Marxist point of view about gender by mentioning the capitalist system and its dominance over people for its benefits. FEMA asked for participation in this international gender strike. Furthermore, they gave tactics that present what people need to do create and participate in the strike. They advised society to deny the imposed gender identities in certain ways with simple tactics. For instance, using other gender's toilets in public spaces, in shopping centers asking for unisex products or refusing to fill out the parts of legal documents that require people to identify their gender as woman or as man. I think FEMA asked from their society to rebel against normal accepted violence of the capitalist patriarchal systems on people. People are expected by those systems to act within the expectations and rules of the systems that are accepted as normal, but FEMA aimed to create a social change by disturbing the balance of those expectations with a mutual understanding for gender differences. FEMA performed a very critical and important critique against the dominance but they gave a small place to the news at

their page and they didn't follow up their call for gender strike as follow-up news at other weeks.

FEMA continuously carried out the conferences that their members attended on their page. Beran Erkmen Küfi shares her thoughts about the European Union Information Centers' conference on sample works of countries who applied gender issues to their politics. I think her aim is to guide Northern Cyprus by presenting other countries works on gender issues. She used an activist language by mentioning other countries situations on gender equality as prototypes for Northern Cyprus.Another activist of FEMA; Sıla Murat attended the *Socialist Feminist Collective's*[17]international conference in Istanbul. She presents the issues discussed among participants in her article. She gives the details about Heidi Hartman, Jean Gardiner, and Helena Hirita's sessions. She says that family is the most important institute of patriarchal capitalist systems and woman is the vital part of the family. Women's effort is in this institute is invisible and not appreciated in the both private and public spheres. She is using a generalization about women's subordinated situation in family/private and work places/public. She named family as an institute of patriarchal capitalist systems and criticized it in other generalizations. She is not referring any specific example from Turkish Cypriot women's situation in public or private but she mentions immigrant women in Northern Cyprus who are working illegally without any social security and justice. She criticizes this situation with the notions of socialist/Marxist feminist's ideas on women labor.

FEMA introduces conscientious objection with an article of Sıla Murat. She reports that the conference organized in Turkey with the participation of conscientious objectors like Mehmet Tarhan, Merve Arkın, and Ayşe Gül Altınay.

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[17]Sosyalist Feminist Kollektif

She says that militarism, nationalism and the place of women in conscientious objection were the issues that are discussed. The question of why women become conscientious objectors was raised and explained with female conscientious objectors' words in the article. Sıla Murat mentions the fact that women are also the ones who are victimized by militarist power and this leads women to become conscientious objectors.

Anne Sisson Runyan (1990) also mentions the same fact that Sıla Murat explained. Runyan argued that in the context of state militarism, women are protected. Militarism expects women to accept this given role as the ones who are emblems of what the men fighting for. But women always become the ones who are oppressed under so called protection. Thus women have more reasons than men to become conscientious objectors. In this framework FEMA promptly brought a new issue into agenda; feminist criticism to militarism. I believe this is one of the issues that brought to the public different than 'assumed' feminist concerns, issues.

FEMA introduces the concept of conscientious objection by following up the political agenda of Turkey with their experiences through a conference on a highly militarized island, where women are abandoned as the victims of it. They present solutions for the dominance of militarism with a feminist consciousness such as alternatives to compulsory military service.

I think FEMA takes the responsibility to inform the public about the issues, concepts that are not carried in the agenda of the country because of the ideological power structures' dominance of the media. They are determining their own agendas with feminist lenses.

**4.1.2 Feminist Media Criticism as Active Participants**

Television and radio stations in Northern Cyprus are inspected by an autonomous broadcasting institute but there is no control mechanism for journalism. I think some journalists and columnists take advantage of this lack of legal and ethical protection in their language and the way they report news. FEMA gives an example of these chaotic conditions by presenting *Kıbrıs Newspapers* news coverage of a crime. They criticized the newspaper's popularized coverage, which highlights violence, victimizing and blaming women. FEMA says that validation and re-production of the violence while blaming and victimizing women in *Kıbrıs Newspaper* denies the existence of human rights. They invite the newspaper to be more sensitive in their news coverage and society to be aware of violent news coverage of the newspapers through this example. Except the news stories which are specifically written from members of FEMA like Sıla Murat, Beran Erkman Küfi or cartoon characters, FEMA signs this type of media texts as whole group. FEMA taking attention to the way the newspaper violated the story. They positioned society as active consumers of the media and promoted that society can create a positive change with awareness and activism.

FEMA defends the female columnist, Fatma Azgın and her column about the politician Leyla Zana. A male columnist, Alihan Pehlivan's, disrespectful response catches the attention of the group and from their own page they support and defend Fatma Azgın. They called Alihan Pehlivan's coverage of the issue sexist and chauvinistic and they invited him to apologize.

FEMA is struggling against the perpetuated traditional gender roles in patriarchal societies. I think women in patriarchal societies are constrained by traditional gender roles. If a woman talks about politics and presents her point of view, she is highly

criticized and attacked in the masculine media. The masculine media prefers to attack women by judging them as not being "normal/ideal" women who serve the system as obedient beings and by blaming or marginalizing them; it devalues their opinions as disturbing the society. A few women columnists prefer not to usually write about politics because of the created disorientation between traditional gender roles and women who are acting outside those roles. Fatma Azgın, because of her column on a political issue, was highly criticized and blamed by the masculine media in an inappropriate language. FEMA, as active participants of this masculine discourse, defended her and called to task the male columnists' behavior in order to encourage society to be active and sensitive.

FEMA is evaluating the media as an area to continue their feminist struggle as feminist media theory argues. They criticized the sexist and misogynic language of the male columnists, while trying to encourage their community to be aware and rebel against it. Feminist media theory emphasizes that rather than being passive receivers, consumers of media's misogynic language, objectification and the violence of trying to fit women to traditional gender roles; the society needs to be active participants to critiques.

Furthermore, FEMA notes one event that occupied the front pages of the country's newspapers for a long time. Police took two people into custody because of their same-sex relationship in July 2011. FEMA says that the local newspapers in Northern Cyprus illegally gave the full names of the individuals and presented the event in a humorous way. While FEMA reporting the story they don't do the same mistake and they don't mention the names. They show to the public that the media the news coverages can be more respectful to people's privacy and sexual preferences.

During the selected time period, with one specific story and in one of the article, FEMA brought attention to the case of the masculine media and its violence towards women and other groups. But I think they don't give enough space to the media criticism as active participants of the media.

## 4.2 Feminist Politics

In this category, I collected and analyzed FEMA's media texts, which present their feminist politics on the island. I analyzed 16 media texts. Furthermore, I used text analysis on their one news story about the tension between 'Baby-land vs. Mother-land, Northern Cyprus-Turkey'. The reason why I chosed this article is because of the importance of the text in order to understand FEMA's ideological and political standpoints. They apply a feminist political philosophy, which gives them a feminist understanding to look at the politics by giving a place to women and by presenting acritique of the male-oriented politics. I think they aimed to create new orientations forpolitics in which women's concerns and ideologies are visible. In this manner, FEMA make their own politics visible on their page. They illustrated Reinelt's (2003) definition of feminism by their activism. I think they used feminism to find solutions for the problems which they define with a feministsensitive perspective as a political commitment. They turn their feminism to an intellectual critique of their society when they are positioning themselves feminists who are drawing their life on the line of gender equality.

FEMA published their fact sheets which includes their identity politics. They rearticulated the stereotyped identifications of feminists with their truths. They defined their struggle as a political commitment in order to change the social order that doesn't give any place for women and their feminist politics. They targeted the neo-liberal politics of the government and articulated with feminist point of view.

They presented the myths and truths about neo-liberal politics and addressed the situation of Cyprus in those dilemmas.

FEMA announced their press releases and feminist manifests in *Gaile*. They sought truth and justice, while criticizing politics on the island with a feminist understanding. They also introduced their feminist solidarity for Pınar Selek, who is a political prisoner of conscience and accused of being a traitor in Turkey.

FEMA also addressed the Cyprus Issue. They argued about the socio-historically roles given to women in the Cyprus conflict with the support of nationalism and militarism. For the lack of women in the peace processes, they said that 'peace is too precious to be left men alone'. They also presented their political standpoint on the tension between Turkey and Northern Cyprus.

### 4.2.1 Myths and Truth

Feminist manifests of FEMA rearticulate the dominant issues in the island whileshedding the light on the misrepresentations and myths. FEMA carried threeimportant issues; myths about feminism, feminist men and lies of the neo-liberals.

The article about feminism is seeking truth to break the perpetuated myths about feminism with truths. In the article they present the patriarchal notions about feminism and feminist women with the title of 'myth', and feminist response as 'fact'. The ideologically structured narratives of patriarchy are responded and argued against with the facts of feminism according to FEMA.

FEMA revealed prejudices about feminist politics with the myths. FEMA says that feminists are commonly framed as masculine, aggressive, anti-male, anti-marriage women who are imposing an old school, unnecessary ideology to their

lives. FEMA first gave the myths about feminists by using male constructions given roles to feminist women, and then they respond with their facts about feminists.

FEMA says in their facts, feminism is not aiming to create a war between biological genders it is just asking for gender equality. Feminism is not a movement exists to fight against men; it's against hegemonic power relationships. In their words, feminism is not an aggressive and angry movement; on the contrary, it's a very humanistic movement, which does not just concern women. The ideology is to struggle for the ones who are subordinated. FEMA used a metaphor to explain the situation. They said that the challenge between feminism and male constructions of gender promoted as a war. But they argue that feminism is not a war vice versa a movement that is fighting to bring peace. They said that as Zoonen (1994) argues there are not only two classes: oppressors and oppressed. There are different dynamics in the concept of oppression. Feminism is struggle for all the oppressed groups.

I think with their texts about myths and truts about feminism, FEMA is using the media to present an ideologically constructed game of the media on identifications of feminism and feminists to its readers with this article. As Gitlin (1989) explains with the theory of pastiche, the media using ready roles for women to fit them in and when they act against it they are labeled negatively. Feminists who are against existing social orders are accepted as 'others'. FEMA is introducing their truths as feminists in order to break this tradition. But FEMA also presents a ready image for feminist women with their truths about the identification of feminists. They go against the third wave notions of individuality. They create their own pastiche for feminist women and feminism.

I think for FEMA feminism as a form of politics and as a world view relational to gender as well as many other issues like race, class, religion, culture. They deny the myths and say everybody who realizes the struggle of gender equality can become a feminist. Men who are calling themselves feminists are named as pro-feminists or feMENnists. FEMA says that if there is no need be black to be anti-racist, there is no need to be a woman to be feminist. As de Beauvoir (1953) argued, women are not born with the specialties of traditional feminine roles but they become one in patriarchy. I think the idea of Beauvoir is also can apply to men. Because as women are learning how to be feminine, men are also learning how to be masculine. Patriarchy dresses both with traditional gender roles. Thus, if a woman can rebel against to this system, men also can.

After the publication of the article about 'myths and truths of feminism', at the request of their followers they gave space to feminist men during three weeks. This shows that FEMA considers the comments and requests of their readers in their feminist media production. Their understanding of democracy as the concept of feminism proved itself in their activism. They gave a high value to their readers' points of view about the issues they present and argue.

Following up the pro-feminist issue, FEMA introduced some pro-feminist groups from Turkey. *Meninist Declaration*[18] and '*We are not men' Initiative (BEDI)*[19] had a place on FEMA's page with their principles, manifests and activisms. Another issue that FEMA presents is lies and facts about neo-liberal politics. They say that neo-liberal politics are used by the Turkish government in order to assimilate Northern Cyprus with the privatization of self-sufficiency in governmental sectors and to make Turkish status quo more powerful in the island. Specifically, they show that where

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[18]Meninist Deklerasyonu
[19]Biz Erkek Değiliz İnsiyatifi/ We are not men initiative

they stand politically about politics of Turkey on the island. They positioned Turkey as a power figure that has dominance over Northern Cyprus and they rebel against the subordination that they call as assimilation.

In their words, neo-liberal politics brings poverty, unemployment, hunger and consequently increase crime rates. They mean that the system is rather an overall growth of a country economy, a reason for economic imbalance and inequality. As the photographic image of the article, FEMA used the prime minister of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and prime minister of Northern Cyprus, İrsen Küçük's images next to eachother with a title of 'stop!' on the images. They represent that prime ministers of both countries are the responsibles of the negative consequences of the neoliberal politics.

### 4.2.2 Feminist Manifests

FEMA uses their page at *Gaile*, as their channel to announce their press releases and manifests. I think feminist politics, which have no place within the mainstream media, finds a place at their page. Their concerns are not only limited with the issues of gende inequality on the island. They also promote their ideologies on other issues.They announced *Cypriot Feminist Initiative's*[20] press release as a member of the group. They say that as feminist women who recognize the island as a homeland, we ask for a unified country where people can live without discriminations based on language, religion, physical differences, gender, race or nationality. They are seeking justice and criticizing the politics of the island with feminist lenses. They are demanding changes to the government's violent acts on protestors, neo-liberal politics, body politics, environmental issues, human trafficking and economical condition on the island.

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[20]Kıbrıs Feminist İnsiyatifi

Before the 8 March International Women's Day (on 27th of February) FEMA announced their activity calendar and their demands on their page in the 101st year of the International Women's Day. FEMA held almost one month's worth of activities between the 4th of March and the 22nd of March. Different activities like conferences, workshops, movie screenings, and exhibitions were organized with other women's organizations. FEMA also announced the *International Women's Day Committee's[21]* manifest together with their notions of feminist politics.

**4.2.3 Feminist Solidarity**

Feminist solidarity of FEMA was grounded in their political standpoints. They held a political point of view that is fighting for the oppressed because of ideological, ethnic or political discrimination by the government. They highly criticized the politics of Turkish government on the case of Pınar Selek. Pınar Selek is a symbolic woman who is subordinated because of her ideological differences from the politics of the government. [22] FEMA followed the court process of Pınar Selek and represented the campaign in to Northern Cyprus. They titled their texts about the case as; 'we are in solidarity with Pınar Selek'. Here they mean with 'we' the people who believe to the innocence of her. They shared the news about the case with their readers through their page in their style by giving space to the society's point of

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[21] 8 Mart Dünya Organizasyon Komitesi

[22] Pınar Selek is a feminist sociologist-writer who builds her profession on researches about marginal groups like transsexuals, sex workers and street childrens. These research preferences take the attention of the government in those times chaotic terror events and Selek judged by Turkish government by being a member of a terrorist group (PKK) and organizing a terrorist attack to spice bazaar (Mısır Çarşısı) in Istanbul. The case of Pınar Selek has continued for 14 years and still continues. Her case was carried to the supreme court again and again with other people's testimonies. Pınar Selek has been stereotyped as a fearful example for the ones who are rebelling against the system. The case caught the attention of activists in Turkey and many other countries and become an international struggle of seeking for social justice exists. She was tortured and jailed two and half years till her innocence proved. She has found not guilty and acquitted three times. Pıner Selek is important for FEMA. She was one of the mentors of the group when they were trying to get organized. Selek shared her experiences with them and encourage them to start their activism in Northern Cyprus.

views. This shows their sensitivity about the participation of the society to the policy making and decision making processes through media.

I think FEMA, as a social/political feminist project, takes the responsibility to support Pınar Selek in Northern Cyprus. Their demand for social justice turns into a feminist solidarity for a woman who is subordinated in the systems of hegemonic power structures. FEMA supported and tried to raise consciousness on the case of Pınar Selek, a woman with the soul of activist.

**4.2.4 Feminist Perspectives on the Cyprus Issue**

The subcategory includes the media texts of FEMA, which shows their struggle to be a part of politics while targeting politics on the issues like Cyprus conflict, militarism, nationalism, and Turkey's politics on the island. The subcategory also introduces the political standpoint of FEMA as a feminist group on the island. In this subcategory I tried to give a more detailed analysis because of the importance of their work.

Feminist media theory argues that having more women in the media doesn't create any change in the patriarchal social order. But the more women, who actively participate on issues that are mostly developed by men, can create changes on the gendered paradigms, which are accepted by society. I think FEMA evaluates and covers the issues that masculine media prefer to manipulate with dominant ideologies, while emphasizing the existence of women. FEMA carries the issues that are discussed among media members who almost always males. FEMA is filling the gap of women journalists who are not talking and targeting politics. FEMA also encourage other female journalists to deal with the 'hard' issues.

I think the reason why women are excluded from 'hard' accepted issues of politics comes from the conflict-oriented structure of the society. The 'Cyprus

problem' which is oriented with nationalistic ideologies as Hadjipavlou (2009) mentions, historically builds dominance over women and excludes their issues and their existences. Women are excluded from the political decision making processes and from the struggle for peace as the vital part of the society who needs to have the right to participate to these processes.

The socio-historically gender roles given to women force them to be passive and obedient when dominance clothes them with its notions. But the fact, as Hadjipavlou and Mertan (2010) mention, is that women are the ones who are oppressed in Cyprus because of these roles of dominance with ethnic nationalism, militarism and sexism. From this point, I think FEMA acknowledges this fact and raising their voices while giving space to their ideologies on these issues by emphasizing 'peace' and what they understand from it as women. They came together with one Greek Cypriot women's group, *Hands Across theDivide*[23] and one other Turkish Cypriot women's group, the *Patriotic Women'sUnion* [24] with the spirit of woman solidarity and published a manifest. The solidarity of FEMA with other women's groups shows that they applied the multicultural disciplines of third wavefeminism. But they challenged with their notions about militarism and nationalism by coming together with *Patriotic Women's Union.*

They say that in their article 'Peace is too precious not to be left to men!'.They used personification on the concept of peace. They mean that for them peace is a concept, a value, an attitude, a policy, a process and strategy that exists to end all forms of violence, fear and oppression. Then, they make a wide definition for their understanding of peace. They say that for them peace means alleviate men's oppression from hegemonic masculinity and victimhood due to patriarchal military

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[23]Sınırları Aşan Eller
[24]Yrtsever Kadınlar Birliği

system, security without armies, valuing each other's difference and dignity, solidarity with all oppressed groups. They end their manifest with an invitation to federation and feminism.

I think the manifest defines the political ideology of FEMA about the Cyprus Conflict. Their notions show that they believe that peace is possible with the participation of women in the decision making processes and with a unification of the island together as Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

**4.2.4.1 Antimilitarism; Feminist Coverage of the Military Powers**

The highly militarized status of Northern Cyprus roused FEMA with their feminist coverage of militarism. The anti-militarist ideologies of FEMA were explained along with their reasons in their texts.

Compulsory military service is one of the issues that is argued long time in the country. They followed the agenda of the country and carried the issue to their page. Compulsory military service is in their words imposed by the hierarchical productions like capitalism, nationalism, militarism. They mention capitalism, militarism and nationalism to refer the systems that are oppressing people. They go on to say militarism which is the most aggressive form of male domination gives a base for us-them dichotomies. These created dichotomies become reasons for war. I think FEMA means here militarism violates the possible peace in the society with its anarchy not only in the army also in the civil lives of people.

Anne Sisson Runyan (1990) argues that patriarchy is the necessary part of militarism and it positions women as a weak class who need to be protected from their protectors and this job belongs to men. Under this fake protection, man practices his dominance over women. FEMA says that during the period of military training and war, the female body is seen as a piece of land to conquer. They used a

metaphor for the situation. Through their metaphor I think they mean male constructions about female provide a base for violence in the culture of the society. Violence against women is relational to militarist elements. As Cynthia Enloe (1983) points out, the military plays a vital role in the construction of patriarchy because the stronger position of man in the army and thought ideologies, allows men to create superiority over women. I think the issue of compulsory military service is one of the subjects which are not easily creating an agenda within the country because of the dominance of masculine, hegemonic discourses on the media. FEMA shows courage to present and elaborate this issue.

### 4.2.4.2 Baby Land vs. Mother Land; North Cyprus-Turkey Tension

20th of July is celebrated in Northern Cyprus as peace and freedom day. In the celebrations of 2011 a protest was organized by the Turkish Cypriot community against politics of guarantor country Turkey. The protest occupied a long time on both countries agendas. The protest is manipulated regards to strategically planned tactics of Turkey on the island. Turkey's president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan criticized the Turkish Cypriot society who attended to the protest.

FEMA published a letter titled 'An Open Letter from FEMA to Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan' to the president of Turkey on July 24, 2011. The title represents an activist; critical text targeted directly Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. They say; "Like all other politicians who are coming to visit Northern Cyprus, Erdoğan also tried to spread nationalistic ideas in the island without knowing or caring what the Cypriots want". FEMA's political standpoint about the 'Cyprus conflict' is showing itself in the text. They used 'Cypriots' to refer to the people living in the island without any ethn'c bancgrounds. This shows that they position themselves for a unified Cyprus to live in peace; Greek Cypriots and all

other people who are living in Cyprus. They used 'Erdoğan' inside their text many times as a smile to represent the politics of Turkey socio-historically on the island. Contrary to the statements of Erdoğan, they mention the situation of Northern Cyprus. Another specific point from the texts is where they critique Erdoğan's underestimation of Turkish Cypriot women. They say; "Erdoğan advises in his speech, women of Northern Cyprus need to have four children at least in order to increase the national population. He says that if they are not giving birth enough, he will send more population from Turkey". As response to Erdoğan's threats FEMA says in a militant tone; "woman's bodies are not devices for producing soldiers for a possible war with the enemy, which he called 'Greek'". I believe that they want to note that Erdoğan planted the seeds of hostility between the communities by referring the enemy and labeling it as 'Greek'. I think they mean that the population that Erdoğan simplified with numbers underestimated and created an excuse for assimilation. Population is not number but represents the real people who are struggling and surviving on the island with guarantees upon arrival but left unrecognized and abandoned.

I think Erdoğan's patriarchal politics are not different from British colonial governors. Given (2002) quoted one British colonial governor's statement about Cyprus. He sees the land as a woman with no identity and who is indeed to be ruled and kept obedient. Erdoğan also perpetuated this mentality for Turkish Cypriot women by objectifying them as mothers and potential mothers who can give birth for the sake of country. Not as independent individuals who can have an identity outside of their given roles. FEMA is criticizing this positioning of Erdoğan for Turkish Cypriot women.

FEMA signed the letter as 'marginal's' and as 'Feminist Atelier'. In a sarcastic way they accept the label that they will be judged after as a group of women who act as abnormally as those other women's groups Erdoğan faulted. They used a very activist language when they are not demanding anything this time, but presenting their ideas and arguing with dominance.

## 4.3 Feminist awareness for others of the society

I think feminism as movement concerned the rights of other groups of people. Feminism, contrary to the general prejudices about it, is not a women-only movement. Feminism includes an understanding of equality also for other invisible or censored groups like animals, children and LGBTQ's. FEMA presents animals, children's, disabled people's and LGBTQ's situations by drawing attention to the lack of legal protections or failures of the government. I think FEMA tried to make visible others of society, especially LGBTQ's. They ask people to challenge the 'normal' accepted positions within the society while explaining the unknown but 'abnormal' accepted positions that are censored in the mainstream media.In this category I fully analyzed 5 media texts of FEMA. I categorized media texts under two subcategories which are 'Defensive Routines for 'the invisible'' and 'The Case of Rainbow; An Uncensored Feminist Understanding for LGBTQ'. Furthermore, I applied textual analysis to one news story which had place in 'The Case of Rainbow; An Uncensored Feminist Understanding for LGBTQ' subcategory.

### 4.3.1 Defensive Routines for 'the invisible'

FEMA acts in a broader scope as a human rights organization and defends societies' invisible members like animals, children or disabled people. I think the hierarchical orders of the patriarchy naturalize the dominance over the groups who have special needs and make them invisible.

With regard to this, traditionally oriented patriarchal culture accepts children as obedient and dependent. FEMA sees this situation as a problem and carries it on their page. They mention the activism of international groups around the world. Especially the *United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund* (UNICEF)[25].

FEMA says that in feminist perspective children's are individual beings who need special care. Here they mean with 'special care' necessary protection of the government legally and parents care in respect to childrens right to express their ideas and make their preferences. FEMA defends the rights of children while criticizing the politics of the government. According to them, the legal legislations and international agreements don't mean anything, if there is no mechanism to apply them in reality. They present the analysis of *Cypriot Human Rights Federation*[26], which notes that there is no children court or there is no youth detention center or educated specialists in Northern Cyprus. The problem exists not only for Turkish Cypriot children also for immigrant and Turkish mainlanders' children who continue their lives without any protection or legislation of the government on health or education.[27] FEMA informs society while challenging the government, which is responsible for bringing peace and equality for everybody living on the island.

Another group of people worthy of mention are disabled people and their chaotic situations. They say in their article 'disabled people don't need mercy, they need democracy'. I think they mean here the principles of democracy are not applied by society to their actual lives. FEMA is doing self-critiques by using the language of 'us' in their article. They say that Turkish Cypriot society is living their learned 'normal' lives. Their care for disabled people is limited, with a fake mercy - not real

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[25]Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuklara Yardım Fonu
[26]Kıbrıs Türk İnsan Hakları Vakfı
[27]Turkish migrants who has no residence or working permit can not send their children to school or can not get help of the goverment for health services.

applications that will make their lives easy. As the part of Turkish Cypriot society they avoid of using us-them dichotomies by using the language of 'us' here again. They are inviting society to question themselves without any discrimination.

They connect the problem to the Cyprus issue. According to them, the Cyprus conflict is the only issue that politician's worth to argue and tried to find solutions. As Vassiliadou (2002) points out, the problem of Cyprus become a priority everywhere and limits all other problems. But actually the problem is about how women and all other invisible groups are defined. I think FEMA defines the problem with oppressed, ignored group's lack of visibility and lack of their human rights. Furthermore, FEMA mentions the rights of animals. They criticize the hunting seasons in Northern Cyprus that becomes a tradition in time. They say that hunting is not a sport; it's a form of violence that people practice on animals.

**4.3.2 The Case of Rainbow's; Feminist Understanding for LGBTQ**

FEMA gives a wide space to the issues, challenges and rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals and queers (LGBTQ) who are living on the island. During the selected time period they prominently carried the issues of LGBTQ's on their agenda.

The article that I applied textual analysis published in may 22, 2011. The title of the article is 'Stop Discrimination'. The title represents clearly demand. They say; "In Northern Cyprus Constitution's chapter 154 penal code, which defines same-sex relationships as a crime, is one of the most important problem in the island." The statement shows FEMA sees the law as an insult on the integrity of individuals and demand an urgent change that respects individual preferences on their sexuality. They continuously ask for necessary legal arrangements from the government in their articles. They say; "Parliments who are chosen from society to represent their needs

are not doing their jobs in order to do regulatory changes for societal peace and the regulations stays as a shame for Northern Cyprus internationally." The proactive text of FEMA is asking for mental and regulatory change immediately. In the article they are using an informative and activist language by presenting international frames while mixing it with local agenda.

According to my point of view, the existence of LGBTQ's on the island is censored but they're manipulated and have invented scandalous situations that occupied the country's agenda. 'Saris case'[28] is taken by FEMA as an example for it. During the case the information's which are promoted by the media institutions consciously manipulated. As Stuart Hall (1973) argues, media produces meanings in 'the lack of power equivalence' and presents them ready to the audiences who are not questioning those meanings. FEMA says that society has a right to get true information in such symbolic cases without any manipulation. The media institutions need to be objective and are supposed to report the processes of the case accurately. But because of the dominance and ideologically planned strategies of the government, the transparent information flow is not visible in the media. While they are criticizing the media, they are also avoiding detailed information's about the case. They positioned themselves as media critique but they failed by perpetuating the same mistakes that media did.

But FEMA draws attention to the communication process between the media and society also by looking to the event from another angle while mentioning the lack of legal protection of the government for children. They ask for a challenge to the ready presented meanings for society from the media because as it happens in saris case,

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[28]Republic of Cyprus's former economy minister Michalis Saris arrested because of his same sex relationship with a person who is under the age of eighteen. The case's justification is defined as same sex relationship. Saris judged according to the article 171 of the Penal Code which accepts with its terms 'unnatural intercourse' as crime.

LGBTQ's are stereotyped as criminals or child abusers in the media and these labels are applied to all of them. As Stuart Hall (1997) points out, stereotypes naturalize and create one prototype, mostly with negative illustrations. The scandalous media images of one person, who is judged by same sex relationship, affects all LGBTQ's and subordinates their existences. They become dangerous or ill individuals in the eye of public. Their activism for LGBTQ's represents the third wave of feminism's disciplines. The media prefer to use censor for the existence and the problems of LGBTQ's. FEMA gave an uncensored feminist understanding and solidarity for the rights of LGBTQ's. I think they believed that gender equality is possible by not othering any group.

## 4.4 Violence Against Women

FEMA worked on the issue of violence against women, I think the majority of Turkish Cypriot society denies the existence of it in their communities.The masculine voices of the society paint a picture different than the reality of Turkish Cypriot women. This dominance of masculine voices creates a culture of silence and denial, which violates the human rights of women. In this vein, FEMA has become a voice for women, a force for government by carrying out violence against women on their pages to create awareness and to work on it in Northern Cyprus.In this category I analyzed 5 media texts of FEMA and I applied textual analysis to one of their article in this category.

The article is published in September 9, 2011. The title of the article is '2500 Signature until 25th November'. The title of the news story presents a call for an activism. The article is written by FEMA. There is no specific name of any of the member of the group. This fact shows that the article represents an ideological agreement of members of the group on the issue. FEMA says; "In Cyprus the

violence against women is not considered as a problem but it is increasing day by day. The members of parliament, ministers or government officials are not doing anything to stop it". FEMA didn't limit the problem with Northern Cyprus. They used 'Cyprus' to limit the problem. This shows that FEMA accepted violence against women as a common problem of the island. They are warning and informing the public that violence against women is not an individual problem but it's a societal issue. Furthermore, it shows that they are against the division of the island as Northern and Southern Cyprus. They pointed 'government' because of their irresponsible attitude about the problem. I think FEMA aimed to take attention on the existence of all kinds of violence while they are mentioning 'violence against women'. These are domestic violence, rape and sexual violence, sexual harassment, crimes in the name of honor, trafficking, and media's violence on women also they remind the fact that the real challenge in terms of violence is enforcing the law with the support of government. They continue to critique government. They say; "It's been 15 years that *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* signed. But there is no implementation of the Convention like rehabilitation centers, shelters or any betterment on the failures of the police and social services about the problem". They used numerical proofs to make strong their argument. While using a militant tone they describe the multidimensionality of both problem and solution. They say in order to stop the violence against women and to take attention of the government to the issue they started a petition. They also mention that their aim is to collect 2500 signatures from the Turkish Cypriot community to force the government to accept in the parliament *The Convention of Council of Europe's on the Elimination of Violence against Women and Domestic*

*Violence*[29]. They end their article by asking a support for the petition. I think FEMA organized the campaign to break the chain of violence until the day of violence against women day 25th of November.

During one month they collected 4000 signatures from the Turkish Cypriot community and brought them to the government. They visited all the political parties to ask for solidarity at their campaign. They demanded rehabilitation centers, shelters and betterment on the failures of the police and social services. They make their call for the activism through their page for three weeks they informed the public about the campaign with follow up news, details of *The Convention of Council of Europe's on the Elimination of Violence against Women and Domestic Violence.*On December 5, the convention was accepted in the parliament. FEMA announced from their page at *Gaile* they will pursue the implementation of the convention. Their struggle for violence against women is not ended; they will be fighting for to stop the gender inequality on the island.

This successful result of the activism of FEMA shows that a feminist group can function as a force for decision making mechanisms through their policy making with the support of the society by using the media as a medium for communication. A legal change can become a force for society to have a social change. FEMA create its attempt and succeed a legal change. FEMA showed that an active participation of a woman group to the media with their activism can benefit them in such results.

## 4.5 Feminist Humor

In this category I analyzed 30 media texts of FEMA. The category presents cartoon characters of FEMA who are feminist columnists of their page at *Gaile*. Eachcharacter of FEMA is having different specialties with their different

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[29]Avrupa Konseyi Kadına Yönelik Şiddet ve Ev İçi Şiddetin Önlenmesine Dair Sözleşme

feministnotions. I applied textual analysis to anti-militarist Laila's one of the article because of the importance of the article in order to understand the ideology of the group.

FEMA, with a sense of humor, have their columnists cartoon characters against tostereotypes that are judging feminists with lack a sense of humor. Also they aimed tobreak the myth of 'feminist humor' where feminist women are underestimated withanti-feminist jokes. FEMA is creating their own criticism for the systems while theyare using their self humor. Their humoristic language, the theatral acts and narratives build an alternative feminist mechanism that is working as a criticism to the codes ofpatriarchy in the Northern Cyprus media. Barreca (1991) argues that feminist humor is achallenge to "the bizarre value systems that have been regarded as 'normal' for solong that it is difficult to see how ridiculous they really are" (p.185). FEMA istargeting gendered power systems of their society with the characters articles. Eachcharacter is criticizing the male hegemonic culture's oppressions on women indifferent ways. Furthermore, each character is targeting different groups of society.

The humor that they make is also can be named as black humor, like anti-militaristLaila, Solina Osman did. The reasonswhy they used nicknames and caricatures for their columnists has two reasons according to their explanations. The firstreason is the ideologically closed and patriarchal structure of the Turkish Cypriot society where everybody knows each other. This situation creates a danger forcolumnists because of the rebellious contents of their texts. The nick names create aprotection for their private lives.

The authors of FEMA are writing in the *Gaile* with their signatures. But as members of the group they use pseudo names or cartoon characters to present more

radical issues. Another reason is being anonymous characters could be to get courage to present their ideologies better and gain sympathy from readers through their caricatures. I believe that FEMA uses cartoon characters and nick names for their authors as a tactic in order to be familiar to promote feminist ideas. The reason why they are using this tactic is I think they believe that social changes for gender equality will start by raising awareness within the society. Furthermore, I argue that FEMA's media production of feminism with characters allows reader to re-evaluate the value systems and the culture that they are living in with the members of the same society with a familiar but a progressive voice. FEMA's cartoon authors are promoting gender equality in diversity. Each character has chance to represent different angle of feminism as third wave of feminists argue that feminism is not a limited ideology.

FEMA has 8 different characters. These are Solina Osman, Anti-militarist Laila, Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbleği, Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu, OrganikoFeminiko, Flamenko Desideria, Tenkide Mormirat, and Kıvırcık Keziban.[30]They all represent the diverse forms of feminism's by playing a function to takeattention and raise consciousness for different kind of oppressions. OrganikoFeminiko is struggling for the nature that is consumed and destroyed by thecapitalist, patriarchal systems. She illustrates nature with the situation of women. Sheis representing the Marxist feminism's and eco-feminism's face of FEMA.Tenkide Mormirat is functioning as media critics. She is rebelling against to themedia's propaganda of traditional gender roles, misogynic language, and objectification of woman with beauty myths. Kıvırcık

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[30]Except Solina Osman all of the characters are female. Anti-militarist Laila, Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbleği (Sister Müntüfiye and Her Drum), Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu, (Alien Zekiye and Her Telescope) Organiko Feminiko, Flamenko Desideria, Tenkide Mormirat, and Kıvırcık Keziban (Curly Keziban).Organiko Feminiko, Flamenko Desideria, Tenkide Mormirat, Kıvırcık Keziban are the ones whodidn't had place more than 2 articles during the selected time period that's why I didn't analyze them under subcategories. But each one represents a different tradition, color of feminism and determined the body of FEMA's feminist understanding.

Keziban is an intellectualfeminist who introduces books that she read and creates a connection with her life.She shares her life experiences and problems that she faced. She mentions 'powerfeminism' with an intellectual background. Flamenko Desidera is spiritual, invisiblefeminist who is dancing and witnessing the desperate situations of women. She is also introducing the struggles of well known feminist activist like Frances Wright'slife.

### 4.5.1 Antimilitarist Laila

Anti-militarist Laila is a character that is struggling against militarism and itseffects on women and society on the island. The article that I applied textual analysis is published in January 23, 2011. The article has no title but the sign of anti-militarist Laila. She says; "Militarist culture is a base where man gets power to dominate and rule woman. Military's first role is to protect the land that is imagined as a woman who is always under risk of being conquered". In an informative and activist tone she is targeting to critique militarism. In my thought, she aimed to promote that the borderlines imagined as a protection around the countries in order to fuil us and hem dichotomies inside by depending on majorities also outside of it by "othering" groups as enemies. Military lines draw a map that man scheduled their power relationships. Thus, inside those borderlines men honored with unlimited ruling advantages for the sake of protection. These notions of military culture are commonly accepted issues in Northern Cyprus. Anti-militarist Laila is questioning the subordinated situation of women. She says;" The violence against women is the product of this military culture". She goes on to say the military culture is teaching men to characterize themselves with the specialties of 'manhood' also how to practice this power on women. Women on the other hand are learning to deal with the hegemony of 'manhood' while they expected to stay silent. I think she means

violent acts of man normalized within the society and the excuses created for male violence such as the responsibility of protection. If a woman gets raped, it becomes the guilt of her irresponsible behavior like wearing sexy clothes or by inviting and provoking a man.

Anti-militarist Laila gives examples from other women's struggles around the world on this issues. For example, she presents activism of a Libyan woman, İman el Obeidi, who was raped by 15 soldiers of Kaddafi's army. She tells the story of Obeidi in her article.[31] According to my argument the character of anti-militarist Laila aims to prove that the military culture does harm women in many parts of the world.

In order to change these norms, anti-militarist Laila advised to re-write the history without references to nationalism and militarism. She argues that the domination of nationalism and militarism limits women with male-defined roles and makes women invisible in society. Education has a very important role in teaching traditional gender roles in the patriarchal education system of Northern Cyprus. As Enloe (1989) puts the 'masculine hope' of militarism that is ignoring the existence of woman has to bemoved from the history. Women-oriented also human-oriented stories are hidden but the violent war legends, us-them dichotomies, enmity always had a place.Vassiliadou (1997) also mentions the fact that women are always hidden from 'eminent male historians'. In this vein, the historical concepts need to change with a gender sensitive technique with the support of feminism.

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[31]Obeidi is doing a strike in front of a hotel where an international journalism conference is held. She is attacked by police and forcefully taken from the place and in the explanation of the government; she is blamed by having psychological problems that are forcing her to behave in that way. Anti-militarist Laila also uses the photographic images of Obeidi to be witnessed to her activism that is ended with the victory of 'manhood' again.

I believe that anti-militarist Laila draws a very important feminist character for Northern Cyprus. People are meeting with the concepts that not mentioned in the masculine media from a woman's the point of view. The black humor that she made gives possibility to a space to re-think if militarism is normal.

**4.5.2 Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu**

Uzaylı Zekiye is an imaginary female alien who is watching the world from herpeaceful planet, 'Feminus' where gender equality exists with her telescope in her air times.

She is mostly writing about body politics by mentioning the existence ofobjectification of women as commodities, virginity, pornography, and vaginismus.According to her in Northern Cyprus women are accepted as an object given to the family and the family has the right to give permission on an issue that women aresupposed to have the right to decide as independent individuals. The objectification of women is also positioning women as a sex object too. In Cyprus, men can choosea woman from catalogs in the sex industry and there is no legislation by the government on pornography. Sex trafficking, prostitution sector and pornographyare made invisible by men on the island. She is also talking about vaginismus andaccepting the problem as a result of male dominant culture's taboos on sex. Furthermore, virginity is another issue that she mentioned in her articles.

Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu criticizes the misogynic language of the world. Shenotes the difference between woman and girl; 'woman' means not virgin and 'girl' refer to a virgin. She also says that in the workplaces woman are labeled by theirgender. Even in sports activities women have to be labeled by their gender. For example 'woman boxing tournament' or 'woman football league' because that area's accepted as belongs to men then women's existence needs to be labeled.

Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu is watching and comparing Northern Cyprus to herplanet Feminus. The humorous language and narratives of her feminism make herfeminist notions easy to understand and easy to read. Theories of feminism become easy and funny without losing their importance in her articles. I believe that she is targetting non academic people and promoting feminism as an activism but not a theory.

### 4.5.3 Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbleği

Müntüfiye Aba is a wise woman who does not know that she is a feminist. She has a respectful reputation within the Turkish Cypriot society. When she witnesses an event at which women are oppressed, she is starting to play her tom-tom and givesadvice in the manner of feminism. The difference of Müntüfüye Aba is that she uses Turkish Cypriot dialect which is a tactic that FEMA uses to be more familiar and more understandable in public.

In her articles, she speaks of her experiences growing up in a culture where silence and denial dominant. She is saying that as long as women stay silent and don't oppose the patriarchy, this culture will continue. Müntüfüye Aba is mostly targeting older generation who growed in this culture but not aware of the existence of feminism. She is talking about marriage traditions, violence against women and masculine perspectives towards women. The importance of her character is that she is a feminist prototype who is afraid of losing her reputation if she defends her rights.

In her narratives she criticizes men in a very radical way. But at the end men accept that she is right. Her struggle with patriarchy, by raising her voice and with the support of her tom-tom shows women that they can also have a voice in their communities and can create social change.

### 4.5.4 Solina Osman

Solina Osman is representative of LGBTQ's rights. He is also the only character who is named with a male name; Osman. His activism works to show society the existence of LGBTQ's and their human rights in Northern Cyprus.He is following up the world agenda on LGBTQ issues.

Compulsory military service and LGBTQ's other problems are some of the main contents of his articles.He follows the agenda of United States of America and its policies on it. PresidentBarack Obama's new regulation makes LGBTQs eligible for military service and hewonders what will happen if Turkey and its unfaithful follower, Northern Cyprus, follow their lead. He is highlighting the case of LGBTQ's compulsory militaryservice.

He says that the Turkish army is unique because they may have the biggest'gay pornography' archive because LGBTQ's have to prove their sexual preferencesby presenting photos of their sexual relationships and afterwards theycan be excluded from the army with an excuse of psychosexual disorder. These kinds of violations of human rights for LGBTQ's and gendered structures of the society arevalued as important issues in his articles.

His characterization is oriented with feminism's demand for equality for everybody. He is evaluating the problems with acritical perspective not with stereotypes or prejudices. I think he is targeting the parts of society who are not aware or denying the existence of LGBTQ's. He aimed to show that feminism is not only fighting for the rigths of women, it also concerns the rigths of other oppressed groups.

## 4.6 FEMA and Their Back Page Story at Gaile

Doğuş Derya[32] (2010) mentions that Feminist Atelier was established in 2008 with 15 women who met in a meeting about violence against women in Cyprus. After the meeting they began to come together every week. The profiles of those women were different from each other regarding age, class, job or experiences but their common aim was raising their voices in a way that can create social change on gender inequalities in their communities. Most of them had never been in a group or activism before. But I think the experiences of being a woman in Northen Cyprus helped them to come together.

She goes on to describe establishment processes of the group. She notices that during one year they continued their meetings, while arguing how to get organized in order to act on a feminist-oriented policy. They were inspired by the conferences they had attended and other women's struggles around the world. They did research on a gender map of political organizations, public and private sectors, unions, non-profit organizations.Through their results; they saw the need to have a feminist group and a feministmovement that couldn't be gotten from other women's organizations. But I think thetraditions of other women's organizations that function as charity organizations or remain as closed groups also affected the establishment arguments of FEMA.

Derya (2010) says that there were two distinct tendencies about the structure of the group. One group wanted to stay as a private closed group, where they could share their gendered experiences in a friendly environment but on the other hand the other group was arguing that they must open their struggle to the public in a sense of

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[32]Doğuş Derya is a feminist Turkish Cypriot academician and columnist. She is one of the founder of FEMA whıch is structured with an anti-hierarchical way.

common good otherwise they would be no different from a women's ghetto. I believe that the members of FEMAwanted to make their feminism not just exclusively for women but aimed to opentheir feminism for everybody who is subordinated.

As Derya (2010) mentioned Pınar Selek, one of their guest speakers of their private meetings, guided thebeginning processes of a third wave feminist organization, *Amargi*, encouraged themto start their activism open to the public. Thus, the first woman group with 'feminist' in its name, opened to the public in Cyprus.

The first activity of FEMA was organized in March at 2009. Afterwards they attended the 1 May Labor Day strikes for the first time with their members by introducing themselves as the feminists of Feminist Atelier. During 2010 and 2011 FEMA become a very active women's group, visible everywhere in Cyprus and also internationally, with the conferences that they attended or collaborated on. I think beyond the streets and in public, FEMA realized the importance of the media in their struggle. They opened their web site and started their page at *Yenidüzen Newspaper's*independent supplement, *Gaile*.

Derya (2010) noticed that *Gaile* first began publication as a magazine, *Kırlangıç Culture Association*[33] in 2008. Later, it joined to *Yenidüzen Newspaper* and started to be published every Sunday with the newspaper. She explains the reason why they joined the group of *Yenidüzen Newspaper*. She says that it is because of the terms of readership and high circulation of the newspaper. Similarly, theauthors of *Gaile* are as they mentioned strictly against being called part of the newspaper because of their collaboration with it. *Gaile's* writer profile exists of scholars, academicians,

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[33]Kırlangıç Kültür Derneği

researchers and intellectuals. Its authors explain their reasons why *Gaile* should be published. Derya (2009) says that *Gaile* wanted to create a new language, a new intellectual platform for the left wing ideologies in the island with a feminist slant. One of the columnists of *Gaile*, Niyazi Kızılyürek (2009) also says that the intellectual platform in Northern Cyprus was losing its spirit with empty concepts that no one can actually explain or fill any gap with. There was a need to promote reasonable concepts while maintaining a distance to the traditions of the leftist parties. I think their policy is to remain an autonomous magazine that is not connected or related to any political party or any other ideology. FEMA also explains their relationship with *Yenidüzen* Newspaperin the same manner. They say in their media texts at *Gaile*, they are a leftist feminist group but they do have any organıc connection with the newspaper. Their understanding of left ideologies is different from each other. FEMA deny being associated with any left wing political party or any other ideology.

I argue that the relationship between FEMA and *Yenidüzen* Newspaper is constructed on a mutual interest. Yenidüzen Newspaper is welcoming FEMA because of the political reasons. The newspaper wants to give the image of gender sensitivity in order to win recognition from society by giving space to a feminist group in their newspaper. Furthermore, FEMA as a leftist feminist group uses the newspaper's high circulation and popularity even if they are not completely agreed on their left wing ideologies. FEMA is perpetuating prejudices of feminism as a leftist movement. The critical agreement that FEMA made with the newspaper helps them to promote feminism but they are failing to achieve their most important catch phrase of rebelling against dominance.

FEMA's continuously planned relationship with the popular media started with a back page story, ironically where women of Cyprus are hidden in the history but thistime FEMA changed the stories of women in Cyprus. FEMA's activists started towrite *Yenidüzen newspapers* independent Sunday supplement, *Gaile's* back page andalso inside of it. Members of FEMA were already writing inside *Gaile* but theyaimed to have a separated page belonging only to FEMA.

FEMA uses the back page of *Gaile* with the issues which are usually hidden behind the fake agendas of the media. FEMA is using the power of a leftistlocal newspaper *Yenidüzen* and this fact significantly differentiates FEMA fromother women's groups. FEMA has differentiated itself from other feminist groups also because they labelthemselves with feminism and using the mainstream media against its ideologically planned game of denying the existence or the importance of feminism. I believe that it is an old tradition to have women's pages in the press filled withhome, wedding, fashion, beauty, and health news to perpetuate the imaginedwomen's identity. FEMA is breaking down the notion of traditional women'spages.[34]I believe that they are survivors of the masculine newsroom culture with their media texts in Northern Cyprus. They are presenting issues which other journalists were either afraid to talk about or felt were worthless to talk about. FEMA is writing a feminist history inNorthern Cyprus by using the media to criticize the media for all feminists around the world because, as Hester Eisenstein says, the feminist experience in one country canprovide 'lessons' for feminists elsewhere (1991, p.30).

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[34]Havadis Newspaper was also having women pages out of the newsroom cultures but they were not having a feminist label or feminist notions like FEMA at Yenidüzen Newspaper.

I think FEMA's feminism is chronically located at third wave feminism but theirfeminism does not observe one single kind of feminism. They created characters withsarcastic nicknames for their activists who have different concerns of feminist project butfighting for one main aim; gender equality, and they all have the right to representtheir ideologies with their media texts to the society. They adopt feminism in Northern Cyprus with Anti-militarist Laila, Flamenko Desideria, Müntüfiye Aba, Solina Osman, Uzaylı Zekiye, Kıvırcık Keziban, Tenkide Mormirat, Organiko Feminiko and allother FEMA activists. I noticed that FEMA maintains the women's issue is just as important to Cyprus as the Cyprus conflict and it's a vital part of the problem and they believe that everything is political so women need to be a part of politics by accomplishing the second wave of feminisms' one of the main slogans will be 'personal is political'. They are making their feminism available and understandable for everybody in ahighly stylized way with their modern and young coverage. They are providing a space for audiences to re-imagine'feminism'. They are not hiding their feminist identities and they don't care abouthow other people labele them with negative or marginal characteristics. I believe that they toleratebeing called bitches, witches, militants, aliens and so on, as long as they achieve their aims; gender equality. They are using the negative framing of the media versus the media by making this attention popular as a part of popular media. While the lights of the popular mediaare aimed at FEMA, they are focusing on the real issues, problems of womenand Cyprus.

Media is an area for FEMA to continue their struggle and have a voice where almost all discourses are defined and all interrupted, then represented. FEMA aimedto present a great possibility of having a different media with a feminist understanding.

# Chapter 5

# CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this study, I aimed to introduce a feminist group, FEMA and their relationship with the media in the age of the third wave of feminism. I wanted to introduce feminisims problematic relationship as a social/political movement with the media through a case study that presents a unique example. Furthermore, I claimed to understand FEMA's feminism in relationship with other waves especially with third wave of feminism, their problematics of women's issues, and their placement among other women's groups, participants, strategies and products but also representations of feminist women in Northern Cyprus through their media contents at *Gaile*.

With regard to these notions, I gave a theoretical background based on feminist media theory. Feminist media theory and other concepts helped me to analyze the relationship between media and feminism. The literature review is based on the Cyprus issue and the position of women in it, the stories of women of Cyprus, which are hidden behind themale ideologies hegemony, women groups' existence and their characterizationswithin the lack of a feminist movement in Northern Cyprus. Then I gave a review onfeminism's historical process to understand the ideology better and to present why andhow the struggle was born and what are the differences between

the waves. Lastlywhat's the role and representations of the media during the historical improvement offeminism.

The methodology chapter introduced my methods that I used to analyze my research texts. I gave detailed information about the way I used the methods and approaches. I used content analysis and textual analysis methods in order to answer my research questions.I applied content analysis to my research texts to understand FEMA's media contents and representation of third wave feminism in their texts. Furthermore, I analysed with textual analysis method one news story of FEMA for each category. I aimed to get more detailed information about FEMA's ideological and political standpoints with textual analysis.

Content analyses results in five categories, which are feminist news making, articulating feminism with hard news, feminist politics, feminist awareness for others of thesociety, violence against women and feminist humor. Feminist politics and feminist humor categories were the ones which have highest percentages during the selectedtime period of the study. Both categories with high percentages showed that FEMA's understanding of feminism illustrated with an ideology that accepts feminism as apolitical commitment and the way they promote feminism with cartoon charactersmatches with the third wave feminist's friendly media tactics to break thestereotypes about feminism and feminist women with a familiar and humoristic way while using the media as a channel. The number of articles and the balance between FEMA's feminist characters, Anti-militarist Laila,Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu,Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbleği, Solina Osman, during the selected time period provedthe groups understanding of democracy to represent different feminisms and also present the preferences of the group with the issues that gave more value to carrytheir page. My textual analysis showed that FEMA structured with anti-

militarist perspective and characterized with left wing ideologies. Group members, with different profiles, shared one common aim; gender equality in an anti-militarist feminisim. To achieve this aim they used media tactics. Furthermore, they make their group visible everywhere not only at the protests also with the participations in international conferences and other collaborations.

I structured my research around four basic research questions. The first researchquestion was; what are the characterization and the difference of FEMA and what arethe reflections of third wave of feminism in Northern Cyprus. My research results showed that FEMA is not only a woman oriented group. Their understanding of feminism includes everybody who is subordinated under the dominance of thesystems. They apply feminism to their activism as a political commitment andthey mention the need for the visibility of the groups that are marginalized within the society like women, LGBTQ, children and disabled people. Their characterization is colored with feminist notions that are not connected with any other dominantideology or political party even if they write under the name of a leftist political party's newspaper and this specialty creates the difference of FEMA between other women's groups that are doing charity work or functioning under the dominance of political parties.

FEMA is a group that can be located at the third wave of feminism both chronologically and ideologically. Their manifests concerning the importance of individual empowerment of women, their confidence to talk about sexuality, their solidarity with LGBTQs, their media criticism and activism, their challenge with specific power structures that belong to their culture, such as nationalism, militarism and the way they turn feminism into a life style reflect the third wave feminist manifests. Also the issues that they feel are worth mentioning like pornography,

misogynistic language, violence against women, beauty cultureand body politics are the issues evaluated by other third wave feminists around theworld. FEMA represents the third wave of feminism in Northern Cyprus.

The second question was; what are the actual problems of women according to FEMA in Northern Cyprus. The question was important to answer through a feministgroup because the general public's image of women is highly manipulated on the island by male interpretations with the notions, such as there are no women'sproblems in Northern Cyprus and therefore there is no need for a feminist movement.FEMA presented in their media texts at *Gaile* showing that there certainly arewomen's problems in Northern Cyprus. Violence against women is one of the issuesthey drew attention to on their page and established an action on it. The existence of many kinds of violence, such as psychological violence, domestic violence, sexual abuse, rape and the lack of legal protection by the government were evaluated by FEMA. According to their ideas, nationalism and militarism gave acceptance to the dominance that is oppressing women within the society. The lack of women at peace conferences, decision-making and policy-making processes drew criticism from FEMA as part ofwomen's problem. The history that is abandoned to the male historians who are gender blind and the masculine attitudes of the media are presented to the readers. The need for a feminist movement is promoted from their page to the public.

The third question was: what are the portrayals of feminist women in the media of Northern Cyprus through the representations of FEMA. Contrary to the negative representations of feminist women in the public eye, FEMA makes feminism easy to understand and easy to accept for society in the chaos of male representations. The feminist characteristics of FEMA and the familiar language that they use as a tactic

created a different portrayal for fearful feminist women. They showed to the public that feminism is not a dangerous women-only concept but it's for everybody as Bell Hooks (2000) mentioned. They also informed society with their truths about the perpetuated myths aboutfeminists that they are anti-male, anti-marriage, ugly, aggressive women.

The last research question that can be answered in a more detailed way with an audience analyses in a future study is; can active participation of a feminist group tothe media create social change within the society? As I mentioned in the introduction chapter Gamson and Wolsfeld (1993) argue that social movements connected to the media for social change at there basic points. These are mobilization, legitimization and to broaden the scope of controversy. At these points FEMA is a good example to the relationship with the media. They used the masculine media as a tool to promote feminist ideas aiming to create a social change. FEMA, with their petition about violence against women, collected more than 4000 signatures by promoting their campaign through the media. They succeeded in becoming a social force behind politics and politicians to change legislation about violence against women in the country.

The change in law may mean nothing without realapplications but their campaigns proves that a feminist group can determine anagenda that is not mentioned within the society and with the power of the media thecampaign can reach a high number of people and the society can become a force inthe policy-making processes. There are also many other issues like their antimilitarist, anti-nationalist, anti-neo-liberal notions that they gave space to ontheir page to raise awareness. They also create a difference beyond the traditional techniques of the media by having their own page and representing their ideologies by themselves.

FEMA, as a group who aren't afraid to be labeled feminists is writing a different story on the island on behalf of women struggling under the dominance of the systems. Feminist or not, they open feminism to everybody while they are being survivors of the masculine media. They didn't let the women's struggle die itself, the ongoing struggle of FEMA shows that the theoretical approaches of feminism can also used in the actual lives with an effective activism and can create a social change.

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# APPENDICES

# Appendix: A. Headlines and Dates of the Media Texts of

# FEMA(January 2011- December 2011)

January 2, Solina Osman
January 9, FEMA'dan bir ilk daha! Kadının İnsan Hakları Eğitim Programı şimdi de Kıbrıs'ta!
January 16, Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbeleği
January 20, Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu
January 23, Anti-militarist Laila
January 23, Anti-militarist Laila
January 23, Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu
January 30, Adalet için 9 Şubatı Bekliyoruz Pınar Selek'e Tanığız
February 6, Adalet için 9 Şubatı Bekliyoruz Pınar Selek'e Tanığız
February 13, Flamenko Desidera
February 13, Solina Osman
February 13, Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbeleği
February 13, Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu
February 20, Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbeleği- ' E Hade Büyü Da Biceğiz Gocacık Bulasın'
February 27, 8 Mart'ın 101. Yılında FEMA'nın Talepleri
March 13, 8 Mart Dünya Organizasyon Komitesi Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü Bildirisi
March 20, Solina Osman
March 27, Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu- İlahiyat Profesöründen İnciler
March 27, Solina Osman- Obama Geldi, "Değişimi" de Getirdi(mi?)
April 3, Anti,militarist Laila- İman el Obeidi'nin İsyanına Bakarken
April 10, Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbeleği- Ben Sormayayım, Gomşu Görmesin, Send a Hus Ol!
April 17, Avcılık Spor Değil Doğaya Yönelik Şiddettir!
April 24, Flamenko Desidera- Franches Wrigth
May 8, Ataerki, Milliyetçilik ve Militarism Pençelerini Sana Doğru Uzattığında Durma Haykır- " Anneciğim!"
May 15, Engellilerin Merhamete Değil, Demokrasiye İhtiyacı Var!
May 22, Kıbrıs'ta LGBTQ Bireyler Vardır! Ayrımcılığı Sonlandır!
May 29, Çocukların Yaşının Küçük Olmasından Kaynaklanan Gözetilme ve Kollanma İhtiyacı, Onların Otonom Bireyler Olduğu Gerçeğini Ortadan Kaldırmaz!
June 5, Anti-militarist Laila- Milliyetçilik ve Militarizimden Arınmış Tarih Eğitimi Mümkün
June 12, Birinci FEMA-KİHEP grup çalışmalarını tamamlıyor
June 19, Feminism Hakkında Efsaneler ve Gerçekler
June 26, Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbeleği- Sessiz Galdıkça ve "Onnarın" Sorunu Dedikçe Siz Da Şiddet Uygulayan Tarafdasınız!
July 3, Neoliberal Yalanlar ve Gerçekler 1
July 10, Neoliberal Yalanlar ve Gerçekler 2
July 13, ILO'dan Ev İşçilerine Tarihi Sözleşme

July 17, Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu
July 17, Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu
July 24, FEMA'dan TC Başbakanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'a Açık Mektup
July 30, Kıbrıs Feminist İnsiyatifi Basın Bildirisi
August 7, Solina Osman- Sesimi Duyan Var Mı? Merhabe, Orada Kimse Var Mı?
August 14, Feminist Erkekler ya da Pro-Feminist Erkek Hareketleri
August 21, Meninist Deklerasyonu "Herkes için Eşitlik"
August 21, BEDİ- Biz Erkek Değiliz İnsiyatifi
August 21, 13 Ağustos 2011 Van Yürüyüşü: Kadınları Öldürmek Erkeklikse Biz Erkek Değiliz
September 4, Barış Sadece Erkeklere Bırakılamayacak Kadar Kıymetlidir!
September 11, Anti-militarist Laila
September 11, Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu- Vajinismus
September 18, FEMA Kadının İnsan Hakları Eğitim Programı 2. Grup çalışması 23 Ağustos 2011 tarihinde tamamlandı!
September 25, 25 Kasım'a Kadar 2500 İmza!
September 25, FEMA Kadının İnsan Hakları Eğitim Programı 3. Grup çalışması Kasımda BAŞLIYOR!
October 2, Kıvırcık Keziban- Hayatımda Kitap…
October 9, Tenkide Mormirat- Medya ve Kadın
October 9, Kadınlara Yönelik Şiddetin Önlenmesi ve Bunlarla Mücadeleye Dair Avrupa Konseyi Sözleşmesi
October 16, 2011 Madrid İspanyol Devrimi'nin Transfagdyke Kongresi, Ekim ayında Global "Trans Patalojisini Durdur" Kampanyaları Çerçevesinde, Küresel Cinsiyet Grevi'ne Çağırıyor!

October 16, Solina Osman-Kızlık Soyadı
October 23, Feminist Atölyeden Kamuoyuna Duyuru: Every Human Has Rigths
October 30, Cinsiyetçi ve Ayrımcı Yayınlara "Dur" de!

November 27, Kadın Emeği Konferansı'ndan Notlar, Cinsiyet Perspektifinin Ana Plan ve Politikalara Aktarımı, AB Ülkelerinden Örnekler Ve Semineri Notları

October 30, Organiko Feminiko- Feminizm ve Ekoloji Sorunu
November 7, Müntüfiye Aba ve Döbeleği
November 13, Flamenko Desidera
November 20, FEMA, Avrupa Konseyi Kadına Yönelik Şiddetin ve Ev İçi Şiddetin Önlenmesine Dair Sözleşme2nin Mecliste Onaylanması İçin Parti Ziyaretleri Başlattı!
November 20, Bohçaları Topladık! 14. Kadın Sığınakları ve Danışma/Dayanışma Merkezleri Kurultayı'na Katılıyoruz!
December 4, Zorunlu Askerlik bir İnsan Hakları İhlalidir!
December 5, Kadına Yönelik Şiddetin Önlenmesi yasası onaylandı
December 13, Utanç Yasasını Değiştirmek için Daha Ne Bekliyorsunuz?
December 18, Kıvırcık Keziban- Önce Kadınlar ve Çocuklar
December 25, "Sosyal Ölüm: Vicdani Red" Panelinden Notlar

# Appendix: B. List of Tables

## Table 1.1 Categories Percentages

**Categories**

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Feminist News | 8 | 12.5 | 12.5 | 12.5 |
| | Feminist Politics | 16 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 37.5 |
| | Feminist Awareness | 5 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 45.3 |
| | Violence Against Women | 5 | 7.8 | 7.8 | 53.1 |
| | Feminist Humor | 30 | 46.9 | 46.9 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 64 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

## Table 1.2 Feminist Humor Categories Percentages

**Feminist Humor**

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Flamenco Desi Deria | 3 | 9.7 | 9.7 | 9.7 |
| | Kivircik Keziban | 3 | 9.7 | 9.7 | 19.4 |
| | Tenkide Mor Mirat | 1 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 22.6 |
| | Organiko Feminiko | 1 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 25.8 |
| | Anti Militarist Leila | 5 | 16.1 | 16.1 | 41.9 |
| | Uzayli Zekiye ve Teleskopu | 6 | 19.4 | 19.4 | 61.3 |
| | Muntifiye Aba | 6 | 19.4 | 19.4 | 80.6 |
| | Solina Osman | 6 | 19.4 | 19.4 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 31 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

# Appendix: C. FEMA's Characters



Figure 1. Flamenko Desideria



Figure 2. Kıvırcık Keziban



Figure 3. Organiko Feminiko



**Figure** 4. Tenkide Mormirat

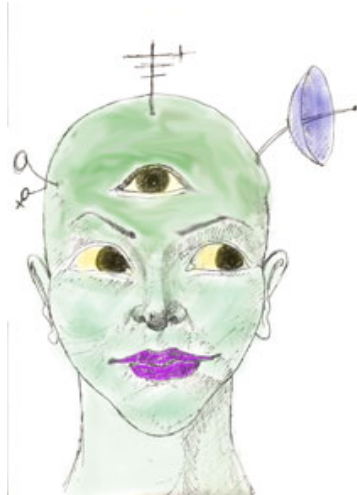**Figure 5.Müntüfiye Aba**



**Figure 6. Anti-militarist Laila**



**Figure 7. Uzaylı Zekiye ve Teleskopu**



**Figure 8. Solina Osman**