

REPRESENTATION OF THE NEW TURKISH WOMEN IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA: THE MAGAZINE ANA (1938-1942)¹

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Abstract

One of the main components of the Turkish Republic and the modernization project is “women”. In the establishment process of the nation-state, the identity of women as one of the two subjects of the nation was also reconstructed in the nation-state ideology. The aim of this study is to analyze the representation of women in the magazine Ana (1938-1942) which was a publication of a state institution, the Society for the Protection of Children. In this context, the study tries to understand the ways in which women are represented in Ana in a social context in which ideology of westernization gained a new impetus by the realization of many reforms, which aimed to regulate public and private lives of Turkish people. The study traces the image of women in their traditional roles as mother, wife and housewife, and their social and cultural roles. It is argued that the “new woman” constructed by the magazine is a set of images. The study reveals that the woman and life style fictionalized by the magazine are Western in terms of women’s traditional roles, appearance and values. Qualitative content analysis, which is one of the qualitative analysis approaches, was used in the research. For this purpose, a total of 50 issues of the magazine Ana were studied in their entirety.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ana Magazine, Woman Image, Early Republican Era, Modernization Project

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ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE YENİ KADIN TEMSİLİ: ANA DERGİSİ (1938-1942)

Dilara Nergishan Koçer*

Özet

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ve modernleşme projesinin ana bileşenlerinden biri "kadın"dır. Ulus-devletin kuruluş sürecinde, ulusun iki öznesinden biri olan kadının kimliği de ulus-devlet ideolojisi içinde yeniden inşa edilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, bir devlet kurumu olan Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu'nun yayın organı niteliğindeki Ana (1938-1942) dergisindeki kadın temsiline incelemektir. Devletin resmi söylemini de yansıtan Ana'da oluşturulan yeni cumhuriyetçi modern kadın imajını incelemek çalışmanın temel amacını oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda çalışma, Batılılaşma ideolojisinin Türk insanının kamusal ve özel hayatını düzenlemeyi amaçlayan birçok reformun gerçekleştirilmesiyle yeni bir ivme kazandığı bir toplumsal bağlamda Ana'da kadınların temsil edilme biçimlerini anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Çalışma, kadınların geleneksel anne, eş ve ev kadını rolleri ile sosyal ve kültürel rollerindeki imajının izini sürmektedir. Derginin kurguladığı "yeni kadın"ın bir imgeler bütünü olduğu ileri sürülmektedir. Çalışma, dergide kurgulanan yeni kadın ve yaşam tarzının, kadının geleneksel roller, dış görünüşü ve değerler açısından Batılı olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Araştırmada nitel analiz yaklaşımlarından biri olan niteliksel içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Bu amaçla Ana dergisinin toplam 50 sayısı incelenmiştir.

Keywords: Globalization, Standardization, Localization, Glocalization, Advertisement

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INTRODUCTION

The position of women in Turkish society has occupied a central place in the political and ideological agenda since its first time appearance as an item during the Tanzimat period of the Ottoman era (Sirman, 1989, p. 3). The modernist project of the Republican order aimed to renovate the form of the gender relations, symbolizing a most radical breaking point with the previous social order. In that respect, a new woman image and representation of woman in public realm occurred to be the most distinguishing aspect of such break from the past. In this context, the media as the voice of the revolution had a great deal of importance. Among them, many women's magazines were published (Davaz-Mardin, 1998).

The most significant of these periodicals, published by the "Society for the Protection of Children" (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu), is the magazine Ana. The Society for the Protection of Children is one of the earliest social institution of the Republic. Mustafa Kemal and his nine associates started it as "Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti" in Ankara in June 1921. Because it helped the children who had lost their parents, the Society was crucial in the War of Independence. The GNE provided support for the Society, and the privileges granted by the GNA helped the Society provide social services over the entire nation. The society published books, alphabets, and brochures about child-care. One of those publication Ana was circulated about 6000 in 1939. Because women's rights and issues, like children's rights and issues, were part of Kemalist ideology's civilization project.

Women's magazines are both inseparable parts and essential sources of women's history. They reinforce the traditional roles or construct new images and assume new life styles for women. There are few studies conducted on women's magazines in the early Republican era. Baydar's (1981) study provides information about women's periodicals of the 1929-1938 period. In his study, Baydar examined this period and argued that these magazines attempted to construct a women's culture suiting the Kemalist ideology. İlyasoğlu and İnsel's (1984) study provides a general

review from the Tanzimat period up to the 1980s. The study argued that the women's magazines of the 1930s were less demanding than the early periodicals and the emphasis was on the traditional roles of women as mothers and housewives. Işık (2021) examined how the image of woman was reflected in the *Ev Kadın* magazine published in the early Republican era. Kaya's (2019) study reviewed the women's magazines of the early Republican era and came to the conclusion that all of the periodicals described the ideal woman as an educated mother and wife.

This study aims to analyze the representation of women in the magazine *Ana* (1938-1942) published by the public institution named the "Children's Protection Society". It may be mentioned that *Ana* was one of the most important women's magazines of its age. One of the underlying reasons may be that this magazine had the characteristic of being an official document published by a public institution (the Children's Protection Society). Another reason is that the magazine not only covered subjects related to childcare or fashion but also informed readers about social, cultural and working life developments, history of women, and the legal situation of women within the new Republican order. It may be concluded that *Ana* proved to be a guide of new lifestyle idealized by the Republican state for the women, and for the society of the time. Hence, this study seeks to provide an analysis of the social function and cultural role of the magazine *Ana* from the perspective of the gender and woman question in the Early Republican era. A total of 50 issues of the magazine *Ana* were studied by the qualitative content analysis.

THE WOMAN QUESTION AND THE WOMEN RIGHTS IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA

The Kemalist revolution that was particularly emphatic on the "women question" occurred to be a great turn within the course of the women issue. In the eyes of the new regime, gender equality was seen as a definite goal and an aspect of the new national identity (Özbay, 1990; Arat, 1998). The Ottoman political and religious

ideologies were blamed for the subordinate position of women. Thus, this was recognized as one of the most important problems of the new nation by the government and also by the intellectuals of the era who wholeheartedly supported this new state. In this regard, the women's question and women's rights became a question for the modernization process.

For the young Republic, education was so vital that its importance was reflected in the fact that the Ministry of Education was founded in May 1920, just about ten days after the creation of the Grand National Assembly. As Arat (1998, p. 159) points out, for the Republic, the educational reforms were listed under the themes of universal access, improved equality and Westernization. Thus, secular education law was passed on March 1924, as the unification of the education sector assured the right to education for both sexes, which is essentially what gave rise to coeducation. Both parents possessed equal rights to divorce, and both parents were given equal rights for the custody of their children as per the 1926 Civil Code. Women were granted the right to vote at local elections in 1930 and at the national level in 1934.

There are two approaches on women in the Early Republican era. The first is the state discourse on Kemalist woman. This approach consists of approving and celebrating studies on the Kemalist reforms regarding the women issue. They are based on the modernizing reforms and rights given to women. The other approach can be characterized as critical or feminist point of views. They evaluate the Republican legitimization unegalitarian and they criticize the insufficient parts of the Civil Code.

The studies that locate women in the context of Kemalist ideology show that Kemalist reforms improved women's position in the society (İnan, 1963; Dođramacı, 1992; Caporal, 1982). Özbay (1990, p. 2) argues that for the Kemalist modernization project, gender equality was seen as a goal and as an aspect of the new national identity. İnan (1963, p. 170) stated out that Kemalist ideology was based on the ancient Turkish tribes. The Islamic order restricted the rights of woman but in the Republican order women received their natural rights back. With the Turkish Civil Code, "The legal

status of family was defined as in civilized as in civilized countries of the world and man and woman were treated as equal.”

On the other hand, critical or the feminist approach evaluates the Republican legitimization unegalitarian and the criticize the inefficient parts of the Civil Code. Thus, they criticized it as only emancipation but not liberation. Feminist perspective interprets the Project of modernity as repression of sexuality. Kandiyoti (1991, p. 42) argues that women appeared first as objects of political discourse and later as political actors or citizens. Also Toprak (1990, p. 43) argues that, emancipation of women was a necessary factor for modernization, but it was not an effort specifically directed towards a radical redefinition of sex roles.

METHOD

The Ana magazine, which is the subject of the study, was one of the publications of the Children's Protection Society, published between the years 1938 and 1942. The goal of the study is to discover the roles and values assigned to women in the context provided by the magazine in question. The method of the study is “text analysis” or “qualitative content analysis” (Reinharz, 1992; Marshall and Rossman, 1995). The National Library’s 50-issue Ana magazine collection was examined as a whole. With the exception of poems, stories and advertisements, a total of 507 items were examined in this regard. In pursuit of thematic unity the items are divided in four main categories. These thematic categories and their frequencies as utilized within the content of the publication were observed as follows: motherhood (174) % 34, housewives (68) % 13, spouse (21) % 4, women in public life (244) % 48. The study traced the image of women in their traditional roles as mothers, wives and housewives, followed by the image stipulated within their social roles.

THE MAGAZINE ANA

The magazine Ana had the feature of being kind of an official document, as it was published by the public institution named the Children's Protection Society. It was a monthly publication that ran from January 1938 to 1942. At the beginning when Ana magazine was first started to be printed, it had 32 pages, sold at its the price of 15 Kuruş. By the Second World War, due to the paper shortage, the number of pages had decreased to 23 and the price had been discounted to 10 Kuruş. In 1940, the magazine was printed bimonthly. The magazine included subjects about women's domestic roles such as motherhood, housewifery, and social, cultural and working life roles, the history of women, and the legal standing of women in the new Republican order.

Although it's not possible to reach exact information about print runs, it seems that the magazine was regularly published to be sold at markets, and was disseminated to many public institutions of the Republic. Regarding its general discourse it may be argued that Ana's target readers are defined as urban-middle class, well-educated women, specifically mothers. The magazine included relevant articles, interviews, and topics such as fashion, body care, health, pedagogy, home decoration, literature and history, which required a certain degree of educational background and life experience from the readers. This selection of subject matters covered in the magazine, as Saktanber (1995) argued for the 1980s liberal women's magazines, marks an affinity with the bourgeoisie life style. The illustrations and pictures included in the magazine were mainly taken from Western publications. Also the magazine stated that it aimed to be "a salon magazine similar to those in Europe and America." ("When Ana Was Born", 1938, n. 1).

During the first years of the magazine's publication period, pictures mainly of women with children were used in the coverage. However, although the title of the magazine is Ana, female figures ranged between "mother", "scout girl", "fancy woman", "pilot", "nurse", "worker", "woman in swimsuit" or "woman in combat." On the other hand, between the 17th to 20th issues in 1939, the coverage had published

with a subtitle “Every woman is partly mother.” After this date a new expression replaced this, as “Every woman always and everywhere is a mother.”

The magazine offered no information listing an editorial board but the regular writers of the magazine are observed to be Fakihe Öymen, Huriye Özin, Afife Ecevit, Muazzez Tahsin Berkant, Dr. Muzaffer Sezer, and Professor Ali Şükrü Şavl, Emine Ortaç, Niyazi Acun, Benal Arman, Mükerrerem Kamil Su, Yaşar Nabi, Nezihe Araz and Tezer Taşkıran. These names represent people with careers such as leading writers, politicians or doctors of the period. For example, Fakihe Öymen was one of the first female members of the Grand National Assembly. Muazzez Tahsin Berkant and Nezihe Araz were famous female authors of Turkish literature. Prof. Ali Şükrü Şavlı was one of the famous medical doctors and politicians of the period.

Scientific Motherhood

Childcare and motherhood content occupied the largest place in the magazine. Ana pointed out within the context of childcare and motherhood issues that the young Turkey does and should follow the principles of modern societies such as the United States of America. The magazine offered the belief that women should receive professional training for motherhood. As such, women were seen as dependent on expertise for telling and teaching them how best to raise their children, and more importantly, children of the new nation state. Thus, the magazine stated that a good mother had to learn about mothering from holders of authority.

The magazine dictated that a woman’s most important mission was to be a mother. The greatest pleasure and honor of “womanhood” was thus identified as “motherhood,” which existed as part of the psychological nature of women. Motherhood was the most important element, not only for womanhood but also civilization. Therefore, the magazine kept maintaining and reinforcing women’s traditional role as mothers, through an even stronger discourse during the Republican era. Women were thus burdened by such responsibility as a national duty, and sacrifice

thereof. Ana attempted to direct the women's thinking that being a mother meant being a virtuous and respectable person.

The magazine underlies that, without appropriate instructions, women may not know how to care for their child wisely. As scholars argue, in the modern world, the growing impact of science in women's daily lives has transformed mothering practices. Apples (1997) indicates that, scientific motherhood is the insistence that women require expert scientific and medical advice in order to raise children in a healthy manner. Traditional knowledge and instinct are hence devalued (p. 90-95). Also Evans (1989) points out that motherhood became a job to be scientifically administered by the state. Thus, the knowledge disseminated by the magazine was derived from physicians as per such principles embodied. In the magazine, the category of childcare was dominated by discussions of children's healthcare and practical issues such as "breastfeeding", "diets" or "games"; and of psychological and moral improvement. For instance, the magazine repeatedly emphasized the importance of breastfeeding, as infant mortality proved to be very high during the period and it keeping babies alive was of utmost importance. In the magazine, breastfeeding was also taken up in line with the philosophy of motherhood. The magazine considered breastfeeding as a sign of compassion and love. A physician was referenced in this respect, mentioning, "The spiritual and psychological aspects of the matter are more important. The mother breastfeeding her child is the most blessed being of the world. Because... she works for maintenance of her descendants without thinking of her own peace and comfort, even her own health." (Olçay, "Child Care Breast Milk", 1938, n.1).

A mother was also a teacher, as could be seen in a drawing presented in the first issue, dressed elegantly while teaching her son and daughter the alphabet at home. In the caption it says, "The mother is working on the child like a skillful artist while training him" ("Mother Educating Child", 1938, n. 1). It is argued that women/mothers had greater parts to play than men/fathers in the matter of raising children. Thus, the mothers being educated and intelligent was of vital importance since the first education was to be provided by the mother. Therefore, it may be understood that women are seen

not only responsible for reproduction, and the bearer of the future generation, but also as educators of the nation.

When discussing the children rivalry, the magazine touches on the gender issue. It is said that the girls and boys should be treated equally and familiarized with house chores as otherwise, the issue may lead to “exploiters” and “exploited” (Haurry, “Five Educational Rules For Mothers”, 1938, n. 3) It may be observed, from this translated article, that the magazine suggested changing, or at least softening, the traditional gender roles at home. Also, the magazine used the definition “Republic’s Child”. With this respect, Ana aimed to persuade its readers that a child must be considered as an individual and deserving of respect. Thus, the magazine may be considered to be stating that the child is the property of the country, of the society. While mentioning children as the future of nation, there is a certain nationalist but not necessarily racist discourse observed in the content. The concepts used in the articles were like “trustful”, “well behaved”, “strong-willed”, “patriot”, which may be referred as humanistic and universal. In this respect, the mother had to socialize with her child in line with “the new society of the New World”. To that end, women’s being educated was seen essential for them to realize their mission in the society:

“Today, we are busy with creating “a New World”, building “a new order” in our country. In this New World, the education and moral upbringing of the child has gained great importance. Probably we have to wait for our children to grow up in order to see the complete transformation of the old social order. Without doubt, every woman wants to raise her child with the necessary qualifications to be guided in this New World...For this reason we are absolutely obligated to learn and know everything related to our children.” (Ortaç, “Family and Woman”, 1938, n. 3).

As required by this new order, the new family concept was constructed by the magazine. Like seen in the illustration, the family was constructed as nuclear family. The family of four is going for a picnic, which is a Western leisure activity, in modern Western style dresses: the man in a white shirt with a tie, no beard or moustache, and the woman in a short sleeves dress and with a hat, all smiling. In this new world, the

concept of fatherhood was also constructed accordingly. Fatherhood was the greatest source of gratification for a man, too. The male writer stated in this respect, “My greatest ideal is to raise my young who is my lineage, as a good element for humanity and my motherland.” (İskit, “Do Not Delay Youth”, 1938, n. 1).

The ideology of motherhood embraced in Ana essentially supported the traditional sex roles. However, the magazine offered, at least to a degree, a domestication of men, too. This can be claimed as the newest aspect of the magazine. The magazine aimed to make not only women but also men more home-centered, similar to the process observed from the USA (Caffrey, 1991, p. 245).

Professional Housewife and Art of Housewifery

Ana offers a modern housewife image as well. Thus, like motherhood, housewifery was defined in a Western form. In the Western world of the 20th century, women’s domestic roles appeared to be one of the most important issues taken up by publications specialized on women, such as women’s magazines wherein the women’s domestic roles were constantly attempted to be redefined. Frieden (1963) argued that the housewife-mother had been the model for all women in the first half of the 20th century. The German phrase “Kinder, Kirche, Küche” (Child-Church-Kitchen) also defined the discourse in America (p. 37). Women’s magazines supported the domestic role of women during the 1930s in the West, as well as the professionalization and scientification of housework (Frieden, 1963; Beddoe, 1983; Evans, 1989). Thus, women were called “professional housewives,” who were expected to be highly specialized also in beauty, fashion and appropriate class manners.

Professionalizing housework meant making it scientific, efficient, and rational. The Ana magazine included items and patterns on recipes, sewing, knitting, embroidery, decorating, kitchen tips, producing ornaments, and articles about gardening, all of which were seen as inseparable parts of housewifery. Among the housework tasks, kitchen chores took up the largest coverage in the magazine. Such content offered tips and

advice specific to the modern middle-class lifestyle, along with traditional recipes such as canned food or jam. For example, “Hungarian Soup”, or “Lobster Sauce” (“Housewife’s Meal”, 1941, n.36) were quite alien to ordinary Turkish cuisine. Likewise, the liquor making recipes or the introduction of liquor such as whiskey or wine (“Can You Set A Nice Table?”, 1939, n. 17) appealed to the modern upper-class lifestyle. As Rowbotham (1997) quoted, in 1930s’ England, even upper class girls were educated in order to be good housewives. Throughout those years, informal courses and college home economic departments emphasized the values of efficiency, productivity and scientific accuracy as they stressed the importance of nutrition, sanitation and careful consumerism (Evans, 1989, p. 162-163). The Girls’ Institutes of the new regime also served the same purpose.

In the magazine, the Girls’ Institutes were introduced as educational institutions that functioned to teach girls how to make savings by producing some commodities at home or managing their family’s income. Women are told to sew and cook special food instead of buying those from outside so that family budget will benefit. Housewives were given a specific role to balance and manage home economics as well as contribute to the economic development of the country. The magazine advised women to be more efficient, and ensuring savings to the home economy in their consumption. All of these indicated the responsibility that was given to women to be home economists. This is a part of modern scientific housewifery discourse. In the same respect, Ana provided calorie tables, telling women that they need to calculate calories towards managing family nutrition. Ana also provided certain practical information and instructions on family healthcare, as in medicine, dental care, and hygiene. Thus, mothers as natural nurses were informed about modern practical skills for nursery in an attempt to modernize all kinds of ordinary traditional duties of mothers/housewives. Women were provided with drawing-supported advices for more aesthetic and functional home decoration options (“Home Decoration”, 1941, n. 41). Some illustrations of children’s room decoration were provided as examples, which were told to be “very popular in Europe and America” (“Decoration of the Nursery”, 1941, n 37). Although there is no

statistical information on how many families had children's rooms at that time, it is certain that having separate rooms for children was a luxury. But, it may be argued that the magazine advocated for privacy for the child, and this sort of privacy supports individualism, which was completely different from the old, traditional Turkish home order.

In conclusion, it may be argued that women were expected by Ana to become for once and all a home economist, nutritionist, nurse, chef, tailor and psychologist at the same time. These tasks all required certain educational background, and hence some sort of “scientific knowledge”.

Equal Spouse of the Republic

In the Kemalist ideology, the family was considered as one of the core institutions of the social and cultural life, and was thus attributed with great importance for the development of the society. In issues pertaining to the family, Ana focused on “nuclear family” as it was the common structure of family embodied in Western culture of the era. Within the contemporary family ideal, “wifehood” moved toward equality (Rowbotham, 1997).

Ana argued that women and men were equal in marriage. Ana claimed that “The man's career outside home, and financially supporting his family does not give him the right have supremacy.” (Duru, “Mother's Place in the Family” 1938, n. 4), and that modern family life opposes men's oppression in the household. Yet the magazine confirmed that as the man supports his family financially, in return the woman should support him emotionally.

Ana maintained a rigid, disapproving opinion about divorce as a concept. Divorce was a “blemish” as “the old fashioned mentality” was still dominant in the society. Although in the Republic the rights of women were guaranteed by the law, divorced people could not avoid being the target of rumors, and “A ‘divorced’ woman is in a position of a guilty person. It is also the same for a man (“Divorce is a Stigma”,

1938, n. 8). Yet it may be argued that the magazine theoretically was not against divorce. If there was a “compelling” reason, divorce was necessary. It may be said that Ana did not display a sexist reaction in the matter of divorce. It is noteworthy that not even once, an expression such as “woman’s virtue” takes place in the context of divorce. Both men and women are considered equals in this matter. Divorce was discouraged in the magazine as the magazine prioritized the welfare of the country. This was a kind of “modern” conservatism because the goal is “nation-building”, not the preserve the present gender relations.

On the other hand, the magazine offered some tips for men and also critiqued their behaviors as husbands. Men were told to help in housework, at least, “should make tea”, “should not be interested only in sports”, “should have common interests” (“Read This Page with Your Gentleman”, 1939, n. 19). Although the magazine did not require men to handle housekeeping, it occasionally offered a very contemporary perspective on fatherhood. For instance, the “new father” type was depicted as bathing his three children in a 1940s cartoon with his apron in front of him and a pipe in his mouth (“New Father”, 1940, n. 34). Also, the magazine suggested to readers that one of the most significant characteristics to attach to home was a person’s love of plants, pets, and gardens, whether they are men or women (Nabi, “The Soundness of the Family Home”, 1939, n. 18). It appeared that men were encouraged to be home-centered, and not only for women but also men, the home had to become the most essential source of pleasure.

It may be concluded that the magazine burdened a certain function on marriage and family in favor of the nation. Thus, having a good marriage and family life was considered as a nationalist duty and responsibility both for women and men.

Citizen Women and Public Life

The visibility of women in public sphere as the most differing feature of the Republican era was given major coverage in the magazine. There were numerous

articles regarding education, working life, legal rights, social and cultural life, and fashion and beauty. All these aspects were considered to be liberating issues for women.

In an effort towards educating and informing women about the new system, Ana also covered articles about the Civil Code. In this sense, the articles included such topics like equality of women and men in family, equality in the issue of guardianship, the issue of care, equal rights on raising children, and the rules of engagement. In an article it was stated that the woman has gained a position in the family, based in law. On account of the rights the Republic has granted to women, oppression and despotism in family have been demolished (Alpar, “Duties of the Mother Towards the Child in Turkish Civil Law”, 1938, n. 3). The magazine also touched up on a “problem”; traditional marriage procedure “İmam nikahı” (Religious Wedding) (Şakir, 1941, n. 37). It was pointed out that it was the women who were the most negatively affected from such practices. The author advocated that, because of their ignorance, especially rural women were not knowledgeable about their rights. On the other hand, men kept on following previous practices to exploit women. Furthermore, the practice of “bridewealth” (başlık parası) was clearly criticized. Thus, the article expressed that the change in people’s consciousness depended on rural women’s enlightenment, and village schools would be provide such enlightenment while intellectual women also had the responsibility of “waking up” other women.

Ana repeatedly and proudly stated that women were granted all the rights to be equals to men in the public realm in the Republican era and celebrated the opportunities provided to women for getting higher education in all fields and professions. However, as the magazine mainly targeted the mothers, the most interesting issue in the context of education was seen as Girls’ Institutes, and hence the magazine published a series of articles, almost only engaged with these schools. Since Ana followed the Kemalist ideology, surely it would not discuss or criticize the mixed schools. However, in a single article, a male writer dared to suggest more gendered curriculum for both primary and secondary education in order to provide girls necessary knowledge to perform their traditional, domestic duties properly (Aytuna, “Raising Mothers and Fathers”, 1939, n.

13). It was concluded that from this suggestion that the educational system was highly secular.

The Girls' Institutions were described as schools that taught "motherhood" and "womanhood". "The Republican government has established these schools to produce the ideal mother for family hearth (aile ocağı) which will keep the Republic alive." (Necip, "One Hour at Kadıköy Girls Institute", 1939, n. 14). Thus, getting training in such schools was also a "nationalist" and "patriotic" duty. However, it cannot be said that these schools limited young women only to the domestic sphere. The article titled "İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute" provided the number of former students who became housewives and who entered the working life after graduating from the school, , and the numbers appear to be similar (R.G. A., "One Hour at İsmet Paşa Girls Institute Among Tomorrow's Mothers", 1938, n. 2). Other articles also display the tendencies exhibited by the students of the Girls' Institutions. Even though all of them advocate the importance of being a perfect housewife they also want to be businesswomen, or professionals such as doctors, mathematicians or linguists (Gökalp, "One Hour at İzmir Cumhuriyet Girls Institute", 1938, n. 3; Arkın, "One Hour at Selçuk Girls Institute Among Tomorrow's Mothers", 1938, n. 5).

Thus, even though the function of these schools is to produce professional homemakers, the students' sole and primary purpose was not to be housewives. These indications demonstrate that the Girls' Institutes have not restricted women's employment options, and the magazine supports this perspective. Furthermore, another article introduced State Theater and Opera School presenting their female students and stating "we can be proud of this institution" (Altan, "One Hour at the State Drama School" 1939, n. 13). The magazine acknowledged that women are typically viewed as educators rather than "mothers", as the Republican philosophy assigned women the duty of informing and educating the country.

The Republic saw economic growth as being of utmost importance. Consequently, it was essential that women engage in the economic field alongside men. The Labor Code, which was adopted in June 1936, was the most crucial milestone in

this context for women. The laws governing women in the workforce were reinforced and legalized by this code. This paralleled trends in the West, both in real life and in popular culture. Women were also mobilized by the military and various industries during WWII in Europe and the USA (Rowbotham, 1997; Stevenson, 1984). Meanwhile, journals popular by middle-class portrayed women as assertive and as capable as any man. (Evans, 1989; Rowbotham, 1997).

Ana also published some articles on women's involvement and heroism throughout wars. Words like "strong," "determined," "strong-willed," "assertive," and "heroine" were used to characterize a Turkish woman. During the war, there were no "men" or "women", only "citizens. In line with the gender policy adopted by the Republic, the magazine encouraged women to work in all fields. It encouraged women to get an education and to take part in working life. Turkish women worked in different fields, an article in the first issue claimed. She is a judge, a pilot, and a judge. She is a chemist, a doctor, an orator, a sportswoman, and a teacher. Finally, she is a mother, worthy of respect." (Özin, "The Woman of Yesterday and Today", 1938, n. 2). The first article on this subject was about a female pilot. The 15th anniversary edition of Cumhuriyet included an interview conducted by a female journalist with three female pilots. The questions were actually formal questions regarding women's ambitions and vocations, such as "what inspired you to become an aviator?", "how do you feel when flying?," "what does your ideal work environment look like?" There were a few further pieces about professions, and these interviews also took a professional tone. Questions like "what are your dreams?" "how do you protect your voice?" were asked to an opera singer (Su, "An Artist Turkish Girl Saadet İkesus", 1939, n. 20), and "which writers and poems do you prefer?" to a writer (Bektan, "One Hour with Cahit Uçuk Among Female Writers", 1939, n. 20).

Additionally, a few pieces concentrated on the issues facing working-class women. There were others who contend that biases against working women still exist. The idea that society looked down on those women prevented women from having happy marriages. The magazine explored pay and income disparity in the workplace

and how women were being paid less for doing the same job as men and that women were being oppressed (Şakir, “Working Woman and Motherhood”, 1941, n. 38). The Society for the Protection of Children, Ana's publisher, opened daycare centers for working mothers' kids. Naturally, the magazine shared this information with its readers.

The magazine portrayed the roles of women in the workplace in a manner that was comparable to that of the West. The magazine concluded that the gender roles were impacted by the necessity for women to be mobilized during the war. It called all people “citizens,” regardless of their gender. It could not be denied that the war paradoxically allowed for and encouraged women's engagement in public life by supporting women's employment outside the house. It altered the circumstances of women's life and opened up new career opportunities in the public sector.

Women in Social Role and Cultural Life

In the magazine Ana, there were also some articles on social life and the new social roles attributed to women. The entirety of the magazine was filled with suggestions and implications on new societal norms and elegance. Informing readers about social life and its customs was this publication's primary goal in a society that was undergoing such change. Because everything, with the exception of social life, was governed by written regulations, including civil law and education. The fact that Turkish people had been raised in a segregated culture was much more troubling. In this sense, the magazine could be considered a leading and guiding source of the new lifestyle.

The magazine highlighted citizens role and duty in the new society. It emphasized that one of a citizen's responsibilities was to join and contribute to a social organization. Women were encouraged to join social foundations like the Society for the Protection of Children or the Charitable Foundation to be accepted as a part of Western civilization and as a form of leisure activities. (Umay, “The roles of women in the social field in America”, 1938, n. 2; Berkand, “Mother Woman”, 1938, n. 1).

Although the magazine portrayed philanthropy as a characteristic of Anatolians, these attempts were sporadic and disorganized, and "softa's" (religious fanatics) took advantage of them (Oruz, "Turks are Benevolent", 1941, n. 38).

In addition to these activities, the magazine focused on the social and cultural aspects of women's daily lives. Pictures showed women attending garden parties, boat trips, tea parties or horse race watching. It is claimed that theater, concerts, or movies were a part of daily life. Teachers might have been seen in a photo participating in camp activities like dancing or playing backgammon (Arkin, "Heybeliada Teachers' Camp", 1939, n. 21). As a result, Ana popularized new social norms, behaviors, rituals, and holidays adapted from Western society. There was no denying that women's pioneering contributions to society's advancement helped open the doors to the public sphere and social life for women. There were various articles regarding global culture, like about an American black family or the 1939 International New York Exhibition featuring Chinese ladies. As a result, by featuring several pieces on the outside world, the magazine offered insight into the agendas of Turkey and the rest of the globe.

Fashion and Beauty

Many modernity theorists place weight on the widespread institutionalization of fashion. Although fashion is often used to refer to the changing styles of clothing, it has a more general relevance in relation to the social identifications of lifestyles (Chaney, 1996). Style of clothing has a crucial importance for the Turkish modernization process. It is safe to say that the Kemalist reforms' most obvious innovation was the encouragement of European attire. The dress code was supposed to be the integral part of Atatürk's policy of "westernization" and "civilization" of the country. The ladies of the bourgeoisie, who had always been in the forefront of social mobility, did not hesitate to embrace the most recent western trend.

The decade of the 1930s saw a shift in Western fashion toward femininity. The intention was romantic and elegant. A more "glamorous" and "groomed" look was to be followed. During the post-World War II era, shorter hair and lighter undergarments

were clearly in style (Branson and Heineman, 1973, p. 257). Starting from the first issue, the magazine Ana which targeted middle-and-upper class women, devoted a large amount of their sections to European/Western fashion designs. Along with the most recent fashion trends, gowns for balls, fancy attire for garden and tea parties, beach or trip dresses, and matching hats, furs, sandals, and other items were displayed. Helena Rubinstein announced the democratization of elegance with her cosmetics. (Rowbotham, 1997, p. 192). To be beautiful, ladies should put out effort, advises the magazine Ana. A writer warned the readers saying "Make up is essential tool to be loved." (Bektan, "To Like and Be Admired", 1939, n. 13). Ana instructed ladies on what makes a person attractive. It was clear that the magazine polishes, highlighted the female sexuality. Thus, the female sexuality could be considered as a step toward the freedom of women, despite academic explanations that female sexuality was seen as "potentiality disruptive to male social order" (Kandiyoti, 1987, p. 317) or "fitna, anarchy" (Moghadam, 1992, p. 37) displaying female sexuality can be seen as liberation of women.

Another hobby that appealed to the modern women was sports since it not only promoted excellent health but also attractiveness, according to Ana (Berkand, "Sport and Woman", 1938, n. 6). The physical health and beauty of a nation depend on women's bodies of the nation (R.İ.E., "Female Proportions Yesterday and Today", 1939, n. 17). Sports should be "a daily matter" for young women who would give birth of "vigorous Turkish lineage" (Ankaralı, "What I Saw This Month", 1939, n. 17). Women's role as the bearers of future generations who will carry on the nation's legacy was a widespread issue around the world. For example, in England "It was the duty of women to produce strong obedient citizens upon whom the future strength and stability of the nation depended." (Humpries and Gordon, 1993, p. 9, 49).

Ana commented that, while fatness was once considered a symbol of beauty, it is no longer viewed so in the "West" and "modern life" (Berkand, "Sport and Woman", 1938, n. 6). Rowing, tennis, swimming, cycling, and walking were urged begin at an early age in order to have a slender and athletic figure by physicians.

CONCLUSION

In the Early Republican era, the position of women occupied a central place in the political and ideological agenda. The Republican regime's modernist agenda sought to modernize the structure of gender relations, signifying a most profound break from the pre-existing social order. In that regard, the most notable component of such a departure with the past turned out to be a new women image and depiction of women in public domain. The press had a significant role in this situation as the revolution's voice. This study aimed to investigate the model of the "new woman" created by the women's magazine Ana, which was a publication of a state institution, the Society for the Protection of Children during the early Republican era. The study indicated that the woman portrayed by Ana, and the lifestyle assumed for women and the society differed from the traditional one and was highly westernized in terms of appearance, gender roles and relations, morals and values.

The new woman, the modern feminine identity constructed by the magazine is westernized, and was considered to be "the perfect woman". The policy pertaining to the mothers of the future was in line with the policy maintained in the West as well. Frieden (1963) argued that the housewife-mother was the model for all women in the first half of the 20th century. In the magazine, motherhood was seen as women's most vital duty. But both motherhood and housewifery took on new characters within Westernization. Thus, this middle class mother-housewife was a pedagogue, nutritionist, nurse, chief, tailor and home economist. A wife was described as being equal to and companion to her husband. Domestication emphasized family stability rather than gender.

Another characteristic of the role model offered by Ana was the "social woman." The most significant obstacle that the Republican period posed to women's positions was their visibility in the public realm. Gender equality was viewed by the new administration as a clear objective and component of the new national character (Özbay, 1990; Arat, 1998). They are equal with men not only at work, but also in entertainment.

The journal characterized these women as social agents tasked with constructing and organizing the new modern society. They were considered the representatives of new ideas and values. Ana, also defines femininity as physical beauty in Western norms. Feminine beauty was portrayed as slenderness, grace, fashion and glamour. Physical beauty of women is seen as a national asset and a sign of being modern and sophisticated. Even if not on intention, the magazine contributed to women's sexual liberation by representing the female body and emphasizing female sexuality. Also, the magazine attempted to educate readers about their rights, as they are unquestionably recognized citizens and persons of this country.

Thus, women question and women rights became a question of modernization or Westernization. The studies that locate women in the context of Kemalist ideology show that Kemalist reforms improved women's position in the society (İnan, 1963; Dođramacı, 1992; Caporal, 1982). As a result, the magazine's definition of feminine identity was a combination of elements that alludes to multiplication. She was a scientific mother, a rational housewife, and an educated, professional, social, glamorous woman. This image and lifestyle were parallel to the images and lifestyle of Western women. If Western European countries and the United States of America were acknowledged as democratic and civilized cultures of their day, Ana's vision of woman should be deemed a democratic, modern, and civilized model.

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ve çağdaşlaşma projesinin ana bileşenlerinden biri “kadın” dır. Ulus-devletin kuruluş sürecinde kadın kimliği de ulus-devlet ideolojisi içinde yeniden yapılandırılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, yeni kadın imajı ve kadının kamusal alanda temsili, geçmişten kopuşun en belirgin yönü olmuştur. Devrimin sesi olarak medyanın da bu süreçte büyük önemi vardır. Bunların arasında kadın dergileri, kadınlar için yeni imajlar yaşam biçimleri oluşturulmasında rol oynamıştır.

Bu çalışmada, Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde, bir devlet kurumu olan Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu'nun yayını olan Ana adlı kadın dergisinde inşa edilen "yeni kadın" modelinin incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Ana, Ocak 1938'den 1942'ye kadar aylık olarak yayınlanan bir dergidir. Dergide kadının annelik, ev kadınlığı gibi ev içi rolleri ile sosyal, kültürel ve çalışma hayatındaki rolleri ve yeni Cumhuriyet düzeninde kadının hukuki konumu gibi konulara yer verilmiştir. Genel söylemine bakıldığında, Ana'nın hedef kitlesinin kentli-orta sınıf, iyi eğitilmiş kadınlar, özellikle de anneler olduğu ifade edilebilir. Çalışmada, Ana dergisinin Milli Kütüphane'de mevcut olan koleksiyonunda mevcut tüm sayıları, 50 sayı inceleme kapsamına dahil edilmiştir. Nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden biri olan metin çözümleme yöntemi çalışmanın yöntemi olarak uygulanmıştır. Araştırma, Ana'nın kurguladığı kadının, kadın ve toplum için benimsediği yaşam tarzının, gelenekselden farklılaştığını ve görünüş, cinsiyet rolleri ve ilişkileri, ahlak ve değerler açısından oldukça batılılaştığını ortaya koymuştur.

Çalışmanın ortaya koyduğu gibi, devlet kurumu yayını olan Ana, kadınların geleneksel rollerini korumaktadır. Ancak Batılılaşma içinde annelik ve ev hanımlığı yeni bir karakter kazanmıştır. Dergi, kadının en önemli misyonunu annelik olarak tanımlar ama modern annelik için profesyonel eğitim alınması gerektiğini öne sürmektedir. Annelik aynı zamanda vatani bir görev olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Ayrıca dergi, Cumhuriyet felsefesinin kadınlara ülkeyi bilgilendirme ve eğitime görevi yüklemesi nedeniyle, kadınların tipik olarak "anne"den çok eğitmeni olduğu görüşünü de yaymaya çalışmaktadır. Kadının geleneksel rollerinden olan ev kadını rolüyle ilgili

olarak da dergi kadınların son derece uzmanlaşmış olmalarını bekler. Bu açıdan kadınlar “profesyonel ev kadını” olarak görülmektedir. Ana onlardan aynı anda ev ekonomisti, beslenme uzmanı, hemşire, şef, terzi ve psikolog olmalarını bekler. Bu görevlerin tümü belirli bir eğitim geçmişi ve dolayısıyla bir tür “bilimsel bilgi” gerektirmektedir. Ana, evlilikte kadın ve erkeğin eşit olduğunu ve çağdaş aile yaşamının evdeki erkeklerin baskısına karşı olduğunu savunur. Karı-koca ilişkisi sevgi ve şefkat üzerine kurulmalıdır ve evlilik hayatı hem kadın hem de erkek için mutluluk kaynağı olarak idealize edilmiştir.

Cumhuriyet döneminin en ayırt edici özelliği olan kadının kamusal alanda görünürlüğü de dergide geniş yer bulmuştur. Bu açıdan, eğitim, çalışma hayatı, yasal haklar, sosyal ve kültürel hayat, moda ve güzelliğe dair çok sayıda yazı dergide yer almıştır. Tüm bu hususlar kadınlar için özgürleştirici konular olarak değerlendirilebilir. Ana, Cumhuriyet döneminde kadınlara kamusal alanda erkeklerle eşit olmaları için bütün hakların verildiğini defalarca ve gururla dile getirmiş ve kadınlara her alan ve meslekte yüksek öğrenim almaları için sağlanan imkânları duyurmuştur. Dergi kapağında ise kadın, pilot, işçi, sporcu ya da güzellik sembolü çeşitli rolleriyle temsil edilmiştir.

Ana'nın sunduğu rol modelinin bir diğer karakteristiği de “sosyal kadın” dır. Bu kadın, sadece işte değil, eğlencede de erkeklerle eşittirler. Kadınlar balolarda, bahçe partilerinde veya spor yaparken tasvir ve temsil edilir. Dergi, bu kadınları yeni çağdaş toplumu inşa etmek ve organize etmekle görevli sosyal aktörler olarak nitelendirmektedir. Kadınlar yeni fikir ve değerlerin temsilcileri olarak kabul edilmektedir.

Ana'nın Cumhuriyet devletinin kadın ve toplum için idealize ettiği yeni yaşam tarzının rehberi olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Ana dergisinin kurguladığı yeni kadın oldukça Batılı, “mükemmel kadın” dır. Dergi tarafından tanımlanan kadın kimliği, yekpare değil, bir imajlar setidir. Bu imaj/kimlik, çoğalmayı ifade eder, imajların birleşimidir. Bilimsel anne, rasyonel ev kadını, eğitilmiş, profesyonel, sosyal ve alımlı kadındır. Bu imaj ve yaşam tarzı, Batılı kadın imajı ve yaşam tarzı ile paralellik

göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, Batı Avrupa ülkeleri ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, zamanın demokratik ve çağdaş toplumları olarak kabul ediliyorsa, Ana'nın sunduğu kadın imajı, demokratik topluma yakışan çağdaş, medeni bir modele örnektir.