Values stated and understood:

An interview study of Turkish women regarding fairy tales, feminism and values

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Abstract

The meaning of values is based on both an implicit and explicit understanding within a given culture. Therefore, values may not be understood the same way universally, and should be studied within the cultural context. Is the value of feminism framed and viewed differently around the world? This question is addressed with nine women in Turkey, a traditionally Muslim country, which has recently shifted toward a more secular, Western perspective. Using a semi-structured interview format, these women discussed stories from their childhood; this reflects cultural values and their understanding of women and their role in society. We also discussed explicit values and the participant’s perspective of feminism in Turkey. The women reported less emphasis on explicitly valuing feminism and a greater emphasis on group cohesion and reliance.
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Values are created and reinforced through culture. They are learned through socialization factors such as parents and schools, and they are taught through narratives, both implicitly and explicitly. What we consider Western values may not be communicated, understood, or applied in other parts of the world.

Feminist issues, like other values, are learned and understood based on experiences, worldview, and need. The meaning of feminism may be interpreted based on an individual’s current access to power, his or her ability to obtain power, and his or her desire to restructure power. The patterns, developments, and social activity of feminism vary greatly by region, political climate, and cultural factors (Baumgardner and Richards, 2000; Brasfield, 2004; Lorde, 1984; Mohanty, 1988). Therefore, we cannot assume that feminist values are universal, but that they need to be studied within a cultural context in order to be best understood.

Several academic disciplines have adopted this kind of relativist perspective. While traditional, mainstream psychology has typically studied attitudes and behavior with the assumption that its theories apply universally to all people, recently cultural psychology has emerged with a more relativist perspective, defining itself as “the study of the way cultural traditions and social practices regulate, express, transform, and permeate the human psyche” (Shweder, 1990, p. 1). Cultural psychologists, like anthropologists, assume that human behavior and beliefs cannot be understood independent of culture and try to determine how universal concepts (e.g. child

1 Western refers to mainstream culture of the United States, Canada, and Western Europe.
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development, self-concepts, etc.) are given meaning in different cultural contexts (Heine, 2008; Shweder, 1990; Snibbe, 2008).

From the field of rhetoric, in traditional theory there was also a universal understanding of interpretation. Like psychology, the field is now being reestablished to reflect different people’s interpretations of practices and values. Standpoint theory argues that not all rhetorical patterns are the same and need to be understood relative to the group being studied. In fact, it may not always even be possible to understand these patterns from outside a group. The focus in standpoint theory is differing perspectives of options and opportunities. To further this argument, standpoint theory “emphasizes the importance of the perspectives of oppressed groups” within interpretations of messages (McClish & Bacon, 2002, p. 27). Feminism may be understood from this relativist perspective.

What are modern Turkish women’s views of feminism and the roles of women in their society? In the current study, I interviewed Turkish females, focusing on childhood stories told by the participants in their own words to determine their understanding of feminism and other values using a qualitative analysis. In order to best contextualize the subject, I will first review how feminism is viewed in a Western context, examine how feminism and feminist attitudes have been studied within mainstream psychology, and analyze how the history of Turkey may have shaped values, feminism and traditions, to modern Turkish women.

Historical relevance of feminism

Modern ideas of feminism were originated by French philosophers, Helene Cixous, Julia Kristeva, and Simone de Beauvoir during the eighteenth century (Schneir,
These feminist theorists approached feminism as a dichotomy between the sexes, in which woman was the other man. They explained feminism through understanding men and women separately; they were less concerned about inequalities in the patriarchal system. Much of what we think of today as feminism was based on philosophic ideas about patriarchy, and the differences between male and female space. Current perspectives on feminism have evolved beyond that philosophic ideology to historical periods of movement embedded in different perspectives: as dichotomous, separate, and often attempts at greater equality between the sexes in all social relations (Foss, Foss & Griffin, 1999).

As a spectrum, the goals of American feminism are to increase equality within society to constructing a new, less patriarchal system (Foss, Foss & Griffin, 1999; Hooks, 1989). Feminism, as a movement, implies these ideas are fluid, reacting to the time and political climate to orient change. This perspective has influenced what feminists have accomplished during significant eras of movement. Feminist writers, Baumgardner and Richards (2000) define the term as “the movement for social, political, and economic equality of men and women.” (p. 56). The authors then add their own interpretation to the standard dictionary definition by asserting that feminism is about women are informed enough to make intelligent decisions in about lives. Baumgardner and Richards’ (2000) understanding emphasizes feminism as a movement, which implies that it is a group initiative in the United States—not an individual philosophy—to reform or change a structure of society. Some feminist perspectives go beyond changing structures within society to changing systems that make up the society. According to feminist scholar, Hooks (1989), feminism is “a movement to end sexism and sexist oppression” (p. 605).
From this perspective, this is a conflict within society, and a desire for more pronounced change. Different scholars hold divergent perspectives of what feminism may accomplish, which creates fragmentation in the movement.

There are debates within the current United States feminist movement regarding the type of change it can influence and obstacles it faces to reach its various goals. Because the word itself has adopted a negative connotation entrenched in stereotypes of angry women who hate men, a backlash against feminism followed. While the First-Wave of American feminism was an early twentieth-century movement for suffrage, the Second-Wave feminists fought for greater Constitutional rights, but their efforts have not been as successful (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000).

Following the negative response of the Second-Wave of feminism, issues of women's rights have been segmented into separate spheres of movement. Some feminist individuals do not readily define themselves as such, because they focus on a specific issue, as in a women's right to choose or protection against domestic violence. Baumgardner and Richards (2000) argue that many would-be Third Wave feminists are activists for their individual social causes, which could not be possible without rights gains and renegotiation of roles from the first two movements. For example, individuals in the Third-wave may not claim to be a feminist, but they may say, "I am an activist for domestic abuse prevention." There is less combined energy as the cohesive Second-wave movement, but these individual initiatives reflect new options for women (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000; Brasfield, 2004).

Among feminist scholars, there is current concern over whether feminism is a movement that can be understood and applied beyond the white, middle-class; many
feminists of color argue that past efforts have reinforced racism and bigotry, and many current white feminists believe that all feminists are equal, regardless of race. However, these feminists of color feel issues of race and class have been largely ignored. Feminism has been treated as singular, with homogeneous goals, without acknowledging the complexities of females from different social conditions (Brasfield, 2004; Lorde, 1984; Mohanty, 1988; McClish & Brown, 2002).

Current women activists cannot agree on an encompassing label, like feminist, or how they should respond to race, and the debate for its ideas and ideals are contested throughout many sectors in American society. Mainstream psychologists have attempted to understand how the feminist label influences one’s perception of self and others.

Attitudes about feminism

There is a large body of literature on feminist theory and research from a feminist perspective; within feminist scholarship there are different interpretations of feminism, the meaning of the feminist label, and the directions feminism should take. However, there is less research on attitudes towards feminist philosophies, and much of it shows that individuals tend not to view the label “feminist” positively (Haddock & Zanna, 1994) while simultaneously endorsing feminist ideals (Ali, Mahmood, Moel, Hudson & Leathers, 2008; Breen & Karpinski, 2008). This research supports statements made by Baumgardner and Richards (2000) that many could-be considered third-wave feminists support aspects of the movement without identifying with the label. At least in the United States, the ideas of feminism may be relevant, but the label may be too negative to be associated with personally.
Most of this research has been generated within mainstream psychology, which tends to adopt a universalistic perspective. Most of this work has been conducted using college-aged students in the United States, by asking them to respond to close-ended surveys. The cultural contexts for these attitudes are not generally explored. Thus, questions are raised about whether we can generalize beyond these limited samples and if we would get the same answers by using other methods.

In one study, male and female college students completed close-ended surveys about their femininity, support for feminism, and their willingness to consider themselves feminists (Toller, Suter, & Trautman, 2004). Results showed that highly masculine men and highly feminine women would not identify themselves as feminists and were less likely to support the feminist movement. Men and women who did label themselves as feminists were more likely to support the feminist movement than those who did not self-identify as feminists (Toller et al., 2004). Findings from this study show a relationship between gender roles and the feminist label, but through the surveys students were given, factors underlying their attitudes were not explored.

In a follow up study, a subset of the original participant pool was asked to explain the previous findings using qualitative interviews (Suter & Toller, 2006). Unlike close-ended surveys, in which questions about feminism may elicit limited responses, qualitative interviews allow participants to provide more detailed responses and deeper explanations of their attitudes and beliefs. Interview responses showed that men and women who did not fit into typical gender roles had more positive attitudes toward the feminist movement, because they would be able to "perform unconventional gender
roles” (p. 143). Due to the qualitative nature of the study, Suter and Toller (2006) were also able to explore issues of religion, women’s choice and identity (re)creation.

In another qualitative, structured interview study, the relationships between religion, culture, gender roles, and feminism were explored with Christian and Muslim women between the ages of 25 and 43 (Ali et al., 2008). Participants were reluctant to label themselves as feminists, but both Christian and Muslim women found women’s issues important. However, Muslim women said their religion supported feminism and Christian women said their religion negatively influenced their thoughts of the topic.

One explanation for this finding is that the feminist goal for equality has largely become a cultural norm, so the participants did not feel necessary to identify with that group (Ali et al., 2008). The psychological literature on feminist attitudes shows that women believe feminism is about female empowerment, but they are hesitant to label themselves as feminists, because the label frequently has a negative connotation (Ali, et al., 2008).

The previous studies identified feminist attitudes for the participants were aware they possessed, and answers to these surveys were consistent with how they identified themselves. Direct reports of conscious attitudes are called explicit attitudes, but when results are inferred from information not directly shared, implicit attitudes emerge (Breen & Karpinski, 2007; Nosak, 2005). These implicit attitudes may differ from those explicitly expressed.

In a study using implicit attitude measures, Breen and Karpinski (2007) found that feminist males were rated less favorably than non-feminist males, but all participants rated feminist females more favorably than non-feminist females. In general, women had
positive association with the feminist label, but men had neutral or slightly negative associations (Breen & Karpinski, 2007). Women who express non-feminist explicit attitudes may implicitly have positive associations with the label. New insight about the feminist label and feminism may be understood through implicit attitudinal methods of research.

Much of the current mainstream psychology research on feminism relates to the label, and what is associated with the label, but in other countries, individuals continue to change and reshape how feminism could be applied to their lives. Feminism should be studied from multiple global perspectives to understand the different interpretations of feminism.

Non-Western perspectives of feminism

Many Western feminists feel that there is more equality in the United States, and we should concentrate our efforts in international protection and equality (Levit & Verchick, 2006; Mohanty, 1988). Across the globe, the differences in interpreting feminism are more extreme, so it is important to understand meaning from their perspectives. One part of the world that has been studied and debated because of its contrast to Western perspectives is the Arabic region.

In some post-colonial Arab states, the idea of feminism is negatively related to oppression by another. Many of these countries were colonized by European countries, and now that they have gained independence, there remains a mixed feeling about the influence of the imperialist on their country. Though there is no longer Western political

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2 The Arabic region is the land-mass in Southwest Asia and North Africa, which is connected by similar religion, language, and historical events.
colonization of most of these countries, there is colonization through communication, media, and an implication of social structures in business interactions (Mohanty, 1988).

Westerners frame the Arab world as unilaterally oppressive to women without understanding the complexities of feminism in those countries. Western feminists project their ideas and ideals on these former colonies, making several false assumptions: that their perspective is correct, that these places do not have feminism, and that they should have feminism, as interpreted by a Western perspective (Mohanty, 1988). Thus, for many in the Arabic world, feminism is considered a Western ideal imposed upon the people of those countries, contradicting their society’s values and standards of living (Karam, 1998). Some Arabic scholars argue that in the postmodern era we currently live in, there is more freedom for Islamic feminists to express their views, because they are no longer oppressed by Westernization (Karam, 1998; Keddie, 2002; Saliba, 2000).

Egypt is one country that was influenced by British colonization until the middle of the twentieth century (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). In her book, Women, Islamism, and the State, Karam (1998) attempts to incorporate feminism into a context suitable for her society. She defines feminism in a manner consistent with the values of traditional Egyptian culture. She also develops notions of a possibility of further equality. Her understanding is “an individual and collective awareness that women have been and continue to be oppressed in diverse ways and for diverse reasons, and attempts towards liberation from this oppression involving a more equitable society with improved relations between women and men.” (1998, p. 5). Karam’s definition could be viewed as conservative from an American point of view, because she seeks for greater access to
rights for women, and not complete equality in rights or separate political and spatial institutions.

However, Karam (1998) seeks to maintain the cultural values of her nation without compromising oppressive values on people in her country, which may be one of the most important factors in that society accepting the feminist movement. She recognizes the challenges of presenting these ideas which are considered radical and oppressive, but she argues that there is a need for a female’s voice in her society. Karam’s (1998) perspective is not shared by every woman in her society, as their wants and needs may be in conflict with what she presents.

In many Arabic nations, feminism is simply a term associated with debate between Islamism and nationalism. However, more Arabic women and men are embracing the movement as a means to gain economic and legal rights (Karam, 1998; Saliba, 2000). Female writers from countries with a traditionally Islamic religious and cultural perspective provide a different view of feminism, which should be understood within their cultural context and in relation to their historical/present political contexts.

Similar to the United States, in many Arab Muslim nations, the goals of feminism must maintain the collective needs of the society. Countries like Tunisia have encouraged females to not wear hajibs—head scarves covering all the hair, for the purpose of religious decency—in public. In a society that has historically viewed head-coverings as the only way women could go out in public, there have been many implications for a woman’s place in society because of this. This issue has divided the elderly from the youth and rural from urban populations. In Tunisia, women may have greater equality by law than other nations in North Africa, but their traditions may
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challenge their legal rights. Women are given the choice to wear a head scarf, but that choice is implicated by traditions and implicit social-norms against it. Other countries have re-implemented veiling following decolonization, allowing some traditional women more freedom outside their homes (Keddie, 2002). For women who feel showing her hair is considered indecent in public, wearing a head scarf has allowed them more movement outside the home.

*The political and historical factors influencing modern Turkey*

Turkey is at a crossroads. Geographically, its central location between Europe, the Middle East, and Asia has historically lent itself to be a center for trading and knowledge. This location has also put Turkey in the position of political, economic and cultural conflict among disputing groups in these regions (Weiner & Weiner, 1999). Drawing from the language of communication scholar, Moon (2002), Turkey typifies the “contested zone”. This cultural definition clarifies that within a culture, different groups struggle to produce, maintain, reestablish, and transform its culture through communication.

Unlike the countries discussed in the previous section, Turkey is a European country—not an Arabic country—which has not been colonized since the Roman Empire. These dynamics influence the nation’s overall perspective of modernization and feminism. The most significant step in women’s rights in Turkey began during Ataturk’s time in power. During the Turkish revolution of the 1920’s, Mustafa Kemal, who was referred to as Ataturk meaning “Father Turk”, modernized the country.

Many of Ataturk’s objectives were in direct opposition to the Ottoman Empire. Remnants of past culture were prohibited by the new regime. The state religion, which
was a part of the Ottoman Empire, was eliminated from the constitution, symbolizing the
desire to modernize. The alphabet was changed from Persian/Arabic to roman lettering,
which was more applicable to their pronunciation, but those who could read texts altered,
and more importantly, who had power within their society. Those in urban settings had
better access to reading, so they were given jobs and power (Ahmad, 2003; Ozoglu,
2007). The debate continues to the present day as to the role of religion in the Turkish
state; secularists and Islamists continue to debate religion in political contexts. As a part
of this cultural revolution, there was a need to abolish stories of the past, which were
associated with the Ottoman empire and the Christian Turks before them; and so many
stories were borrowed from the West.

Ataturk fervently incorporated Western thought to his politics and governmental
legislations, which led to greater roles for women in public spheres. Many jobs
dominated by Greeks, who left the country after the revolution, were left open. As a
result, women were encouraged to work, even in professional fields (Ahmad, 2003).
Turkey had established women’s roles as a “state feminism” (Arat, 1998, p. 119), agreed
upon by the entire nation. Ataturk’s position for women’s rights was progressive for its
time, but it was limiting in future circumstances.

In many Western countries, women were granted the right to vote through their
own suffrage movements. Unlike many countries in Europe, the Turkish men in power
granted universal suffrage; allowing women the right to vote, which happened years prior
to female suffrage in countries like France. Some researchers argue that because women
could not fight for their right to vote, this system was patriarchal, not feminist. Also,
women were not granted other rights, like divorce, and were not encouraged to attend
school (Arat, 1989; Ozdemir, 2007). Until the proposal to join the European Union, equal rights for women were predominantly unexamined.

Turkey’s pending admission into the EU brings new emphasis to the debate between traditional and secular Turkey, and its position in the world (Ozdemir, 2007; Ozglu, 2007). Individuals in Turkey hope is that the strong economic system of the EU will stimulate Turkey’s economic development that Turkey’s citizens will benefit from greater stability, and the other European countries will support the country politically, because of their economic ties (Ahmad, 2003).

However, unlike most countries in the European Union, the traditional religion in Turkey is Islam, which is a point of contention between Turkey and many European countries that are largely rooted in a Christian belief system. Countries, specifically Greece, have fought with Turkey for many years over land and religious differences. There is also tension over Turkey’s position in the Muslim, Arabic world, within the country and the region. Other Muslim countries feel that joining the European Union may make Turkey too westernized, and allow it to stray from its Islamic roots, especially its ties to the Middle East. Economic choices made in Turkey in the next few years will have a strong impact on European, the Middle East, and the world.

Since the 1980’s, a female’s position in Turkey has been heavily in question, especially with debate between secularists and Islamists due to an increase in female political activists (Arat, 1998; Durakbasa & Ilyasoglu, 2001). Discerning what Turkish feminism is may be quite difficult, because Turkish people may view feminism differently than the Western point of view. Some scholars describe Turkish feminism as a tension between traditional society and a modern view of themselves (Durakbasa &
Ilyasoglu, 2001). Others understand Turkish feminism based on its attempts to change society. They claim that the movement’s emphasis is less based on a women’s right to choose to have an abortion as it is in the West as it is to protect women against domestic violence. This understanding of feminism relies on a greater collectivist effort to aid women than an individual effort to restructure their society (Arat, 1998). These perspectives relate to the cultural need at the time and Turkish women’s individual attitudes.

Current conditions in Turkey may direct its culture to lean towards a more individualist self-concept. Increased economic development influences cultures to embrace more individualistic values, meaning the interest of the self is greater than the interest of the group (Hofstede, 2005. As a culture tends more towards individualism and away from collectivism individual self-interest, greater individual rights, and greater desire for equality are observed. Considering that most states, including Turkey, are patriarchal, this strengthening of individualist tendencies may lead to increased feminist attitudes, or beliefs that men and women should be considered equal, which is conceptually similar to a Western understanding of feminism (Schemm, 2006; Turkish Daily News, 2005).

Cultural perspectives of narratives

Cultures pass down their understanding of the world through narratives, which function to explain how the world works, and an individual’s place in the world and how she should act (Hall, 1981, as cited in Moon, 2005). In a way, stories told to children are socializing force, describing values, and what is accepted and expected. Adults retelling these tales may bring an updated, present interpretation of those tales.
Fairy tales are a specific form of narrative blending fantasy and reality. Scholars have studied fairy tales because of their “juxtaposition of the ordinary and the magical” (Zinn, 2000, p. 250), connecting cultural ideals with reality of the cultures’ norms. Fairy tales stand apart from other oral histories due to the tales’ use of wonder for the world around us in order to project awe in the audience (Zipes, 1999). Fairy tales reflect the ideals and values of the culture, and are frequently reinterpreted to fit the present society or context.

In order to interpret culture-specific telling of tales, fairy tale scholar Zipes (1999), addresses fairy tale based on their traditional structure, developed from narrative research pertaining to repeated patterns present in Western fairy tales. His findings were adapted from a thirty-point paradigm in Vladimir Propp’s (1968) study, *The Morphology of the Folk Tale*. In this structure, there is a protagonist, who is confronted with a task or problem. The protagonist must overcome the obstacle of the task. There is a villain who attempts to complicate the protagonist’s task, who is punished in the end. The protagonist succeeds and is rewarded through marriage, money, survival and wisdom, or all three (pp. 3-4). This structure serves functional purposes for the traditional understanding of oral storytelling. These functions have been based on Western European and North American tales, but the format may have influenced stories told by Turkish women.

*The role of females in narrative*

Traditionally, fairy tales have been passed down from the mother to the child, instilling cultural values of wisdom and survival (Zinn, 2000). In most cultures, fairy tales reinforce traditional gendered roles and differently emphasize male and female
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attractiveness (Gottschall et. al, 2003). For example, Snow White was named due to her appearance, but her prince’s appearance is less frequently mentioned, because it is not as important as the fact that he is a prince and holds that title. These tales “encourage conformity to culturally-sanctioned roles” (Zipes, 1983, as cited in Downey, 1996, p. 185); which have historically reinforced negative images of women, as the powerless gender whose roles in society are based on their appearance, and men, whose roles in society are based on heroic action and legitimized titles proscribed to the characters (Downey, 1996, Gottschall et. al, 2003). These traditional, patriarchal roles continued to resonate in American fairy tales for more than half of the twentieth-century.

In America in the 1930s to 1950s, women were encouraged to comprise traditional roles, as in housewife, with a Victorian style of patriarchy (Severin, 2003). Disney fairy tales like Snow White and Sleeping Beauty reflected this perspective, with these female characters saved by men. These female characters were not dynamic and frequently represented passive roles, while the male characters acted as heroes without emotional development and complexity in decision-making. Traditional American fairy tales reinforce patriarchy of our society. These messages made sense traditionally, but as American culture strives for greater gender equity, these tales have been challenged and changed.

Since feminist view gained prominence in the 1970s, American fairy tales, especially as portrayed by Disney, have responded with stronger female characters. For example, the recent Disney version of Beauty and the Beast depicts Belle as a strong female lead character, a woman with psychological and emotional complexities who is able to negotiate her power in her relationship with the Beast. Her male counterparts,
who are physically strong, are emotionally or psychologically weak. Feminist scholar, Downey (1996), describes this complexity for female characters as the “female glance” (pp. 188-189). This is a response to the male gaze, in which men stare women up and down, treating them as sexual objects.

Other Disney films in the 1990s and 2000s have used this glance in their male and female characters, and children have responded positively (Downey, 1996). In films like *Aladdin*, not only was the female character, Jasmine, strong and independent—to some extent compared to the passivity of characters like Snow White—but, the male protagonist was forced to struggle with his own identity and personal challenges. Aladdin surrenders his own power to provide Jasmine with independence in the beginning of the movie. Though Jasmine represents an independent character, her appearance has led her to become a sex-object, which somewhat limit her personal strength. Her power is debated, because, as a Disney character, she is influential to children in the United States and around the world.

Because much of the American media, especially Disney films, are redistributed world-wide, children in other countries have been socialized to both our traditional views of patriarchy and also our newer stories of greater gender equity. This is in large part due to American media colonization of Disney films, and the values and social roles derived from these films (Mohanty, 1988).

The new colonization has influenced the amount and impact of feminist literature globally. This increase reflects current socio-cultural debates resonating within post-colonial societies. Following the end of Apartheid in South Africa, individuals were more able to promote feminism, which had been discouraged as a racially divisive topic
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during apartheid (Zinn, 2000). Now the study of feminism in South Africa has become more prolific, as has the study of fairy tales. The increase in interest for these topics may be just coincidental, but scholars in this country, especially females, have strengthened their interest in the “realm of the fantastic” (p. 250). It is important that feminists retell these stories, because fairy tales have become of hybrid of different tales from different cultures, but reflecting current views of women (Zinn, 2000). In countries like Turkey, feminists have been able to reshape their narratives as well.

Recently in Turkey, there has been a pronounced increase in the number of feminist scholars, many of whom study women’s roles in modern Turkey. Through women’s oral history, which are personal narratives of women, these scholars recount struggles to adapt to new norms in Turkey. These narratives show women’s’ dual roles as professionals and homemakers, and ultimately the tension between traditional and modern Turkish society (Durakbas & Ilyasoglu, 2001). If there has been this trend in women’s oral histories, perhaps other Turkish narratives may reflect women’s new roles.

The current study

Through interviews with women in Turkey, the current study examines attitudes about the women’s roles in society based on their interpretation of their favorite childhood fairy. Interviews focus solely on female interview participants, in order to understand how Turkish females view themselves in their society, especially in relation to global feminism. This sample will reflect the educationally privileged in Turkey, but these individuals may interpret feminism and their childhood stories based on their individual values and societal norms.
The participant’s choice of fairy tale, telling of the tale, her impressions of values of Turkish people, and how she understands feminism are studied. I hypothesize that the retellings of modern Turkish fairy tales reflect a transformation of their culture, especially of a stronger women’s roles in society. As mentioned earlier, contemporary American fairy tales provide more expansive, deeper roles for women, and this may be a similar trend in popular Turkish fairy tales.

Since the Cultural Revolution, Turks had to develop new narratives, and American, Disney tales were the most accessible. Therefore, their tales may be quite similar to American stories (Ozoglu, 2007). Ideas of feminism may be understood through in-depth interviews with women about their interpretations of stories they were told as children (Ali et al., 2008; Zinn, 2000). This retelling will be in a feminine style, which will have a personal tone, and based on personal experience, with a goal of female or self empowerment (Durakbasa & Ilyasoglu, 2001; Foss, Foss & Griffin, 1999).

A female’s interpretation of fairy tales may be different from normative fairy tales of the culture, because these females are different from the generations before. Feminist scholars may feel distant from the tales, because their worldviews are different from what is encouraged in the fairy tales. Many Turkish participants who recount their personal narrative are more educated and of the professional class (Durakbasa & Ilyasoglu, 2001). There will be a trend of feminism in Turkish females telling of traditional stories. The meaning of feminism may be interpreted through actual encounters with women in Turkey through interviews about fairy tales and roles of women in their society.
Method

Participants

Nine Turkish women were interviewed about stories from their childhood and their views of feminism (see Table 1 for further demographic description). Participants varied widely in age, ranging from 19-60 years, though seven were university students, two from Bosporus University and four from the University of Istanbul, both in Istanbul, Turkey. Four of the participants were recruited through their university professor, and the remainder became aware of the study through outside connections and word of mouth. All participants were selected due to their ability to speak English, however only two participants were fluent. Compensation varied, depending on the cultural appropriateness of the situation; but in most instances, it was usually a Fannie Mae chocolate from the United States. Some participants even ate more than one piece.

Interview Protocol

Five semi-structured interviews were conducted in English, lasting from fifteen minutes to an hour, depending on outside time constraints and the number of people interviewed in a single setting. There were five interviews conducted, because participants 1 and 2 interviewed together, as did participants 3-6. For all university interviews, other students joined the relatively open interview space, due to acknowledgement by the interviewee and personal interest. During one interview, another student sat through the interview, but she declined to be interviewed, so she did not factor into the final participant count.

All participants had access to the interview questions in both English and Turkish due to the difficulty of communicating certain English phrases. Only two interviews
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were audio taped. One participant refused to be taped, and the other interviews occurred spontaneously and there was no tape recorder available. Also, not every question was asked in every interview, due to time constraints, and based on answers to questions. Interviews took place over a one week period. Notes were taken on all interviews and were transcribed within three days of the interviews.

The setting of the interview varied based on the interview participant. For all university students (participants 1-6), interviews took place in public coffee shops on their campuses. Participant 7 was interviewed in an internet café, participant 8 in a tour bus, and participant 9 in a hotel lobby. In all cases, at least one other person, in addition to the interviewer and the participant, was present at the time of the interview.

Participant 7 (internet café), was joined by seven other female family members, most of whom contributed but were not considered as interview participants. For the remaining two interviews, an American English professor sat in because of other unrelated factors. This open procedure helped maintain a relaxed atmosphere, and participants felt like they were taking part in a discussion with peers rather than being formally interviewed.

The interviews contained moderately-open-ended questions, in which the questions narrowed as the interviews progressed (Coopman, 2006) (see Appendix A for interview questions). Interviews began with broad questions about the participants' favorite childhood tale, and then moved to the questions to relate to feminism through storytelling and childhood socialization. The questions also attempted to gain insight into values of Turkish culture and how women specifically fit into their society. After the formal completion of interviews, participants were asked whether they had any additional
information or questions about the study. In many cases the conversation turned to the experiences of an American college student.

Coding for patterns involved finding and counting similar responses to questions for the domains: fairy tales, feminism, and values. Responses were separated into a table (see Table 2 for complete interview information), with each participant who shared a story as a column, and each row with a topic of the interview. For example, the first row was labeled “fairytales”, and the name or a description of the tale was in the participant’s column. I coded for whether the tale was Western, concept of good and evil, and happy ending, as described by Zipes (1999). The next section involved feminism, and I included the participant’s definitions and the elaborations of her views. For the question relating to values of Turkish people, results were based on values these individuals specifically stated, and the number of different individuals who stated the same or similar value. Responses for participants who did not share tales were included within the column of the other participants’ with whom they interviewed.

Results and Discussion

Nine Turkish females were interviewed about their views of feminism and its relationship to fairy tales they remember from their youth. Each participant was asked questions concerning the choice of fairy tale, her impressions of values of Turkish people, and how she understands feminism. The words she used to tell the story were also analyzed. The retellings of modern Turkish fairy tales reflect a transformation on their culture and values, especially of a stronger woman’s roles in society.

Fairy tales- results
Seven of the nine participants shared tales with me. The two participants who did not were a part of a group interview, so they contributed to the telling of the other tales shared by the other participants. One participant told a personal story, which could have happened because I asked her to tell me a story from her childhood, rather than a childhood tale. For the other participants, I asked them to share a childhood story or a fairy tale. One participant shared a tale I was unfamiliar with—a tale shared with that participant by her grandmother—but the other participants shared tales with which I was familiar. Two participants shared “Cinderella”, one shared “Little Red Riding Hood”, one shared “Hanzel and Gretel”, and one shared “Pocahontas” (See Table 1 for complete interview table).

Fairy tales- discussion

Origins of fairy tales. I was familiar with five of the tales, but that does not mean they originated in the United States. In fact, the origins of these tales may be unknown, perhaps China or Germany, but eventually they were brought to Turkey. These tales may have traveled boundaries, and have been reinterpreted within the context of Turkish culture. However, Disney has been an influential vehicle for the movement of tales across cultures.

A version of “Cinderella”, similar to the Disney version, was shared by a participant. Some of the differences between the Grimm version and the Disney version of Cinderella involves type of shoe Cinderella wears to the ball and punishment—or lack there of—for the step-sisters in the Grimm version. The participant ended her story with Cinderella dropping a glass—not gold—slipper, and no mention of the stepsisters.

3 In Turkish, the phrase “fairy tale” translates to tales told prior to the Ottoman Empire, which were lost over time (Ozoglu, 2007).
“While running, she drops her crystal shoe. Prince runs and finds the shoe. As he can’t find, he travels to find by shoe. Finds Cinderella, she wears shoe. Happy ending, they marry.” This similarity with Western tales shows how much Western cultures—particularly American culture, via Disney—has influenced Turkey.

The participant who shared the story of “Pocahontas” is a notable example of the specific influence of American culture. Pocahontas is based on documented historical events and people, but it is not a fairy tale. However, the versions of these tales that the participants are familiar with are likely the Disney versions. I am making the supposition because the retelling mirrored the Disney versions, and further, the predominance of Disney in the international media would make these women’s exposure to Disney versions highly likely. The participant who told the story of Pocahontas did not speak about it in its historical context; instead, she claimed that Pocahontas fell in love with John Smith, but they did not end up together. “Jack goes back to his country. Pocahontas waves hand. That’s all.” This was the ending of the Disney version, not the historical events (Cook-Lynn, 1996). Because Pocahontas is not a traditional fairy tale, it may be expected that the participant’s tale may reflect exposure to the Disney version.

*Understanding good in fairy tales.* The happy ending is traditional in children’s tales, as this is how the children know that the value of the hero or heroine, are one they should embody (Zipes, 1999). None of the Western stories participants shared ended graphically. There was a pattern in six of the seven stories, that the protagonist won over the antagonist/villain, and the protagonist was rewarded in the end. These six participants all emphasized the positive ending for the protagonist, instead of explaining possible consequences for the antagonists. For example, in the Grimm version of
“Cinderella” and “Hansel and Gretel” the antagonists are physically punished for their immoral deeds, but the participants just discussed the happy ending. Perhaps being rewarded for virtue is valued more than punishment for misdeeds in Turkey.

To understand how participants viewed these happy endings, we need to understand what values are being communicated as good or bad. Three of the participants related goodness with rewards for an earlier struggle. When asked about the message of the tale, one participant explained that the “good one wins in [the] end.” This pattern occurs in the participant who did not tell a tale I was familiar with, one that may not have a Western version. For these females, the world may be viewed in dichotomies of good and bad, which occurs across cultures.

One of the participants who discussed Cinderella explained that she won in the end, because she had good/innocent intentions. She went on to say, “Don’t let jealousy enter your life.” Another participant claimed Cinderella was nice despite the unhappy things that happened to her, and she was granted with a happy ending. The participant who told me a tale I was unfamiliar with discussed that, in the end, the character who suffered was rewarded and the character that brought about the suffering was punished. Hard work and innocence may be of value in Turkish culture, but they may be taught so implicitly, participants may not have realized them as a value.

While participants may have shared these Western tales for my benefit—because I was familiar with them or in order to relate to me—it is still likely that many fairy tales told in Turkey are influenced by the West. Perhaps, due to translating discrepancies, they felt they could only share fairy tales, especially those they thought I would be familiar with, but perhaps what they did not share has a deeper meaning. Research shows that
fairy tales are a powerful socialization tool for young children (Zipes, 1999). However, the participants would receive their values and understanding about their social roles and how they define themselves from fairy tales. My participants may have been unaware of the influence these tales had on their socialization. As a researcher, I predicted that I would be able to understand women based on tales they shared with me, but instead I feel I was able to understand more from their interpretations of these tales.

*Women in fairy tales and society.* The participants were asked what the tale implied about women in their country and how the tale represented actual Turkish women. Though these questions were similar, the answers were different, implying slightly different factors. Three participants viewed the women in their tales—who were largely the protagonists—merely as fictional characters. The participants denied that these characters represent anything about females in their society. Additionally, no participant personally related to the protagonist as an influence on her personality development. One claimed that the message of Hansel and Gretel was directed at witches and stepmothers, but “nothing for females.” However, she continued her explanation to say that the story taught her how not to treat her future children. Thus, there was an inconsistency between her claim that females cannot learn anything from the story and the personal lesson she took from the story.

As previously mentioned, an individual may be unaware of how much social influence fairy tales have on his or her socialization (Zipes, 1999). Even if their media and outside socialization forces try to encourage different values through different fairy tales, individuals may continue to relate to tales with a lesser feminist orientation. However, three participants emphasized traditional gender roles when describing how the
Values stated and understood 31

protagonist was saved. I hoped to find a presence of strong female characters in these narratives. Particularly the traditional versions of “Cinderella” and “Little Red Riding Hood” portray females in traditional patriarchal roles. Instead of saving herself, a male character saves the female protagonists in these tales. The participants may have learned about these traditional roles from the stories; and given that the participants shared their favorite tale, their values and expectations in life may reflect these roles.

One participant told Pocahontas, a story involving a strong female. A strong female character is one who makes smart decisions, recognizing her decisions on others; she does not act passively, responding to situations as they occur. While the participant who spoke about Pocahontas said that the character says nothing about females, that Pocahontas specifically has power. The participant explains that her power derived from her father, based on his role as chief, but she did not relate Pocahontas’s power as an influence on females. However, Pocahontas represented a strong female character, but the participant saw her power as implicated by who she was within her group, rather than her own instrumental attributes. This fact may reflect a value of group-reliance and cohesiveness: not of independence. Do these stories hold no actual relevance in the socialization of the participants; or were the participants unaware of the influence these stories had on their socialization?

Feminism- results

I asked participants directly to discuss their explicit views of feminism; their understanding is interpreted. Eight of the nine participants were asked to define feminism and to talk about its role and importance in society. The participants’ view of Turkish feminism is different from that of scholars, who have attempted to separate the
movement from a Western understanding of the concept to understand who she is as a female in Turkey and to protect her fellow woman against domestic violence (Arat, 1998; Durakbasa & Ilyasoglu, 2001). When asked if feminism is important for their society today, a group of students discussed with one another that there were not many feminists. “Only Duygu Asena…feminist author. Just her…” Their idea of feminist may be an individual who publicly speaks and writes about the topic. The only participant who was not directly asked compared the condition of women in Turkey today to the past. “In Ottoman times, females had no education… [Now that there is a] Republic, they got their education”. Her answers implied that she, as a woman today, valued education, or that power has shifted and greater equality now exists. She, however, did not expand on whether the feminist movement was a positive or negative.

Of the eight participants asked about feminism, five participants claimed that the concept of feminism is new and still developing, however no participant explained what aspect of their social world feminism was directed at. Six participants viewed feminism synonymous to modernization and secularization, but they appeared distant from the movement, and one participant explicitly said that it was not important in her life. Four participants discussed feminism as an issue important to only a select group. One participant explained “feminism is not a common thing. Very common in West [region of Turkey].” They discussed the topic as an urban issue, in well-developed areas of the country. They view the topic as related to secularism in their country. A common occurrence in the interviews was to compare the urban development to more traditional, rural villages. There may be more concern for this issue than feminism.
When asked their definition and views of feminism, answers reflected a tone relating to how essential the feminist movement was within their society. Responses varied in their attitudes towards feminism; however, most participants felt the movement was unnecessary. Only one participant actually claimed she was a feminist, but she claimed that every woman was a feminist. Four participants described feminism as unnecessary because women already had rights. One understood feminism as a struggle for equality, but then said there was no need for the struggle. “respect feminism, but I don’t think it should be as strict. Equality, no need for feminism.” Though the participant respected the ideas of feminism, she felt women were treated equally in her society.

Another participant viewed feminism from a domestic/economic perspective. “In Turkish families, mothers have power. They have the money.” Her claim was that because women already have power over their husband’s money, they are already in control. This may not be equality, but the description relates to agreement between husband and wife, or a substantial amount of domestic power for women.

Two of those four participants discussed feminism as being too extreme. One participant’s understanding implied that women would have more rights than men, and, therefore, she disagreed. “Ideas don’t interest me. Don’t agree. I think everyone should be equal....” Her answers were brief, and she said that feminism did not interest her. Another participant equated feminism with statements made by females always being correct without debate. She also alluded to females rebelling against men, and no longer listening to their points of view within the feminist movement. “I find it wrong that always females are right. We should listen to men. They have the chance of being right.
Females wrong listen to men.” Some participants may have assumed feminism is about overpowering men.

Two respondents provided a positive outlook on the topic. One participant stated that feminism is a new and largely ignored issue, but it could have the potential to change roles of both men and women where it is applied. “As females stand on own, against world. No need for another...” I was unclear whether she meant that females did not need males or that females could be independent from both women and men. Her ideas of self-reliance and independence are dissimilar to values stated by other participants. She explained that the concept is not well known, but with a greater understanding and more discussion about feminism, people in her society will “start [to] change minds against women stereotypes.”

The second participant who had a positive outlook about feminism did not feel that a feminist movement was necessary, but she did believe that women should have power. “In Turkey, there is already feminist power. We don’t need to be community. We don’t need to be against to be feminist. Every Turkish woman on her own is feminist...We own our own powers.” Her response varied from the other participants, because, as mentioned previously, she claimed that all women were feminists. She also discussed group-reliance, but her position was unclear. Overall, feminism may not have been the most pressing issue in the participant’s lives.

From discussions about feminism and women’s rights, other topics, like politics and inequality, emerged, which gave breadth to the participant’s discussion about their values. During two interview sessions, the participants continued in a discussion about the differences between urban and rural life, with a distraught tone about the treatment of
the people in the rural parts of Turkey. In a discussion about the western versus eastern part of Turkey, one participant stated about the east, “Government doesn’t care about them. They are exploited by other countries.” This became a theme for many interviews.

Feminism - discussion

I may have been able to analyze participants’ arguments more if I understood how feminism has been culturally taught and framed for individuals. I also did not ask the participants to explain in what aspect of life—family, political, etc.—feminism is understood. I did not receive the best understanding of whether the participants thought feminism was different from women's rights. Are these individuals at a place in their society in which females do not need a separate voice to encourage their freedom or equality? Turkish feminism may be akin to the third wave feminism of the United States in that aspect (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000). Additionally, similar to results of other qualitative research of feminism, these women tended to support ideas of feminism, but they were hesitant to identify as feminists (Ali et. al, 2008).

For all participants, there was no consensus about the definition of feminism, but the participants framed the concept based on their experiences and how they understood their culture. There was no indication that any participant felt that she needed to fight for greater equality, possibly because they believe females are already equal to men in Turkey. Four participants, however, discussed the need for greater development in the eastern part of Turkey. In the third-wave feminism tradition, perhaps these females are generating ideas to change their world (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000). For these women, feminism may not be understood in relation to womanhood, but a separate
concept and movement. Also, I identified participant's views of feminism based on my own interpretations. Other individuals may interpret their definitions differently.

**Values - results**

Participants shared their favorite fairy tales and their definitions of feminism, which highlighted inferred values. These values may differ from values shared explicitly. When asked about the most important value for Turkish people, one participant did not answer. For the others, some of the most important values were family and honesty/trust. However, only one participant described honesty and trust together. One participant only listed trust and another only listed respect. One participant said, “Fair, right, true person. Not lying.” I included that statement as a part of honesty and trust, because she described someone with loyalty and compassion, which is a deep trust. Trust and honesty relate to dependence, which may reflect why family was also such an important value.

Family and friendships were mentioned in four interviews, the participants did not expand on their definition of family, however, and who they considered family to be. For one who said that friendship was most important, she said, “we need someone else”. Relying on others was also explicitly once, but it was inferred for all participants.

For all participants, relationships were important. Relationships with the elderly may have been important as well. Two participants said that respecting the elderly was an important value. One described respect in relation to the elderly as: “We never say unkind things when old people are around. Respect.” They may value the elderly for the wisdom they can provide about their culture.

Three participants mentioned traditions as a Turkish value. One related it to the celebration of the Islamic holiday Ramadan. “Our peculiar traditions. Our feast,
Ramadan feast.” What she meant by the term “peculiar” may not be clear, but it can be inferred that she may have felt like that was a part of her national identity, especially prior to the formation of the Republican State.

One participant related traditions to the Ottoman Empire. “If you have learned your traditions. Coming from Ottoman. It’s your decision to do or not to.” The participants’ description of choice may contrast group reliance and it provides good evidence for the influence of typically Western values, like independence. There have been many attempts by the government to remove influence of the Ottoman Empire (Ahmad, 2003; Arat, 1998). It is interesting that that particular participant said people choose not to follow those traditions. Traditions were referred to in relation to a religious or pre-Republic perspective. Perhaps there are not modern traditions created after the Republic was established. Perhaps many traditions of the Ottoman Empire continue to resonate, but are viewed as separate from their daily life.

Values- discussion

Patterns emerged from the interviews that connect Turkish values with fairy tales and feminism. Values such as family, friends, respect, trust, and honesty relate to group-reliance. For example, the message the participant received from “Little Red Riding-Hood” was not to talk to strangers. This participant discussed how Little Red Riding Hood was punished for being, literally, without anyone else, and had to rely on others to save her. The participant who told the story of Pocahontas claimed that Pocahontas had power, but it was granted to her from her relative place in her group, as the daughter of the chief. Participants may view feminism as a contradiction to these national values of group-reliance, resulting in conflict about the value of feminism.
The interview participants may have also invoked the importance of tradition and group-reliance when discussing the need to help individuals in the eastern part of Turkey. There has been a cultural and value segmentation between people from eastern and western Turkey. The western part of Turkey has moved forward economically, and many residents now identify as European. These changes may have also reshaped some values and made western Turkey more modern. Yet, the participants expressed a shared identity with individuals in the eastern part of the country, which may have reflected the desire to help them.

Research limitations

Because I coded the interviews myself, the results are based on my own interpretation of the meaning of the statements made by the participants. There would need to be greater inter-rater reliability for a more accurate interpretation.

The language barrier also acted as a communication and interpretation limit. I may not have been able to fully understand what the participants implied by words they used. For example, in traditional fairy tales, the males are frequently described using action verbs (for example, ran, climbed, fought) and the females are described using passive verbs, indicating traditional gender roles (Downey, 1998). However, I was unable to accurately distinguish gendered verb usage, due to language barriers and the difficulties recording the participants’ words verbatim. Participants may have also realized this language barrier and chose to tell me stories they thought I was familiar with, rather than the ones most important to them. In addition, particularly involving values, these participants may have been unable to translate issues about Turkish values...
Values stated and understood 39

accurately in another language. This is a common concern in research involving a culture
dissimilar to one’s own.

Another limitation was the structure of the interviews themselves. I was limited
by time constraints. Only one interview was planned prior to the meeting, so the
participants may have had other places to be, so their answers may not have been fully
developed. Also, there were distractions within the settings. There were other people
present at each interview, which may have influenced the participants’ answers. For
example, I interviewed a tour guide on a tour bus; she may have been hesitant to answer
questions honestly, if the answers could have cost her the job she had. I hoped to find
honest, explicit answers, but realized the implicit themes and what was not said may have
been more important to understanding Turkish culture.

Conclusion

The meaning of feminism, as with other values, must be viewed from the context
of the culture. In Turkey, perhaps, females—especially an educated population—feel
women have greater equity, so they do not feel the need fight for rights, which may
already be in effect. The greater issues seem to be the inequalities of life for people in
the urban versus rural environment, specifically a lack of resources and support for
individuals in rural, eastern Turkey. Perhaps feminism is simply label—that is largely
talked about with a negative connotation—instead of a movement to change society.
Several research findings have found similar results (Ali, et al., 2008; Breen & Karpinski,
2008; Haddock & Zanna, 1994). However, what the participants may not have realized is
their desire to change society could be viewed as a form of feminism.
The participants may want to change their society, but they do not want to be attached to a label. To understand that many of the participants recognized a need for change within their country should not be generalized to every Turkish female, and the individual’s means of change may differ as well. The participants are products of their individual histories and socializations; how they see the world is relative to that fact.

The process of understanding and negotiating where females stand in politics, the public world, and society in general depends on their individual perspectives, which is based on different pulls and influenced by socialization factors like parents, school and the media. However, the media may continue to socialize Turkish females with messages of traditional gender roles. These gender roles may not have such an influence, because, instead, these women want equality between the sexes. The media may influence their value of rewards for good deeds.

Research shows that Muslim women in the United States may not identify as feminists, but they agree on ideas of feminism (Ali et al., 2008). This study was published a few months after I began my research. This article may have been helpful in discrediting preconceived notions I had about Turkish women and understanding that identifying as a feminist may not be as important as supporting a feminist cause. Much of what I had set out to find in these interviews was to find a consistency with a stereotype that Muslim women are subordinate to men, or that these women defiantly fought against this stereotype. What I found is a reflection of neither extreme. There are elements of feminism within Turkey, but values of traditions and other concerns frame feminism as something of less importance. I initially hoped to understand these women through their views of feminism and influence by feminism, as these views related to
their interpretations of stories. I found that feminism has had less influence than other values emphasizing group-reliance. However, ideas of women-hood, established traditions, and cultural narratives all have an influence onto one another and in socializing values in children.
References


Table 1

*Participant information*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Student:</td>
<td>Student:</td>
<td>Student:</td>
<td>Student:</td>
<td>Student:</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Tour Guide</td>
<td>Teacher living in the United States</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Bosperus University</td>
<td>Bosperus University</td>
<td>University of Istanbul</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>University of Istanbul</td>
<td>University of Istanbul</td>
<td>University of Istanbul</td>
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### Table 2

*Interview Information*

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<th>3</th>
<th>4, 5 and 6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Story:</strong></td>
<td>Cinderella</td>
<td>Cinderella</td>
<td>Hansel and Gretel</td>
<td>Pocahontas</td>
<td>Little Red Riding-Hood</td>
<td>Personal story</td>
<td>Good and bad and box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Origin:</strong></td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Non-western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Message:</strong> (good/bad dichotomy)</td>
<td>“Good one wins in end”</td>
<td>‘People are nice. Good people find nice things!”</td>
<td>“They use mind…Insist on happy way”</td>
<td>Love is Always my favorite. Peace. No fights. And love. Love is the reason of peace.</td>
<td>I mustn’t trust everyone.</td>
<td>It effects my life—relationships. Affects my psychology.</td>
<td>We discussed rich. We were glad she died. We didn’t discuss the poor, because it was natural. All our heroines were women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What does it say about females</strong></td>
<td>“Most home, waiting for husband”</td>
<td>“Nothing for female. For a witch, stepmother”</td>
<td>I don’t think so. Woman changes tribes. She fights. She has power. She has power. Her father is chief leader. If others wouldn’t care they wouldn’t listen. She has power. She can do it.</td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>It doesn’t tell about females.</td>
<td>Housewife and more. This tale didn’t tell us about feminism. For example, when my cousin had a boy, [maternal] grandmother said: “your shoes now throw to roof”. It was not that important because it was my maternal grandmother. My daughter said “no, here are my shoes.” She preferred family to be around her.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ending:</td>
<td>None. She did not tell story.</td>
<td>Wears shoe. Happy ending: marry</td>
<td>&quot;Escape home. Father regretful, happy&quot;</td>
<td>Jack goes back to his country. Pocahontas waves hand. That's all.</td>
<td>The hunter comes saves the girl.</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Medium full of snakes and rich woman died. Small box full of gold and riches. She shared with the other poor.</td>
</tr>
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<td>———</td>
<td>———</td>
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<td>———</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Important Values</td>
<td>Hospitality, honesty, respect, RESPECT. Love—for everyone.</td>
<td>Family, trust/honesty. To have marriage—being single is not common.</td>
<td>First maybe Friendship—rely on someone. We need someone else. Second is family is way important, traditions. We Never say unkind things when old people are around. Respect—everybody has a place and we have responsibility. We are free—nothing competes us. you can do what you want to, if you want to. If you Have respect. If you have learned your traditions. Coming from Ottoman. It’s Your decision to do or not to.</td>
<td>First Family, unbreakable friendships. Relationships are very important. Trust. And third, Traditions. Our peculiar traditions. Our feast, Ramadan feast. I think Ours are more special, but only I think.</td>
<td>Family, helpful people, respectful, old people.</td>
<td>Our flag. You see it everywhere. Think it’s our flag.</td>
<td>Fair, right, true person. Not lying. Our country’s important. Not my topic [religion]. Don’t want to be religious. Guide me.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix A

Interview Questions

1. What is your favorite childhood “fairy tale” (peri masali)?
2. Can you tell me the story?
3. Why is that your favorite?
4. What do you think is the main lesson/value/moral of the story?
5. How did you learn that value from the fairy tale?
6. What does this tale tell you about females in your country?
7. How well does this tale represent actual Turkish women today?
8. If not, how does it misrepresent?
9. What are some of the most important values among Turkish people?
10. How do you define feminism?
11. What do you feel is its role in Turkish society?
12. Is feminism important for Turkish society today?
13. What connections do you see between women’s roles and the fairy tale you told?