

CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF TURKISH WOMEN DURING THE OTTOMAN
MODERNIZATION AND SELF-EVALUATION OF WOMEN IN *KADINLAR*
DÜNYASI OF 1913

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ABSTRACT

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This study, which aims to portray the circumstances of Ottoman women's movement during the first years of Second Constitutional Era from the eyes of the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* Periodical, makes an analysis of the meanings ascribed to the efforts for the restoration of women's position in social life and the roles claimed for women during Ottoman modernization period.

This research intends to confirm the fact that the basis for the mentality of defenders voicing women's rights was the progressive outlook which chose the "women question" as the focus on the way of securing not only social progress but also social integration, solidarity, national consciousness and progressiveness. Thus, the ideas expressed in the articles all written by women writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* are evaluated with the

question in mind that whether the boundaries of Ottoman women's movement and the social role granted for them in the modernization process were wholly determined by the women themselves or theorized predominantly by the policymakers of the state who were all men. Deducing from the self-evaluation of women in *Kadınlar Dünyası* of 1913, this thesis consequently underlines the fact that the struggle for women rights, which were carried out on behalf of patriotic and nationalist claims in accordance with the socio-political conditions of the time, could not overcome their invariable position of being "historical objects" despite of the fact that women held a considerable progress in their status during the Second Constitutional Era which laid the parameters of the "women question" during the early Republican Era.

Keywords: The Second Constitutional Era, Ottoman Women's Movement, Women Periodicals, *Kadınlar Dünyası*

ÖZ

OSMANLI MODERNLEŞMESİNDE TÜRK KADINININ STATÜSÜNDEKİ DEĞİŞİM VE 1913 *KADINLARI DÜNYASI* DERGİSİ'NDE KADINLARIN BU DEĞİŞİMİ DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

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II. Meşrutiyet döneminin ilk yıllarında Osmanlı kadın hareketine *Kadınlar Dünyası* Dergisi yazarlarının gözünden bakmaya çalışan bu tez çalışması, kadının toplumdaki ve aile içindeki konumunun düzeltilmesi için ortaya konan çabaların Türk modernleşme hareketi çerçevesinde kazandığı anlamları ve bu dönemde Osmanlı kadınına dönemin yöneticileri ve düşünce insanları tarafından atfedilen rolleri incelemek amacındadır.

Bu araştırmada, kadının toplumsal yaşama katılımını savunan anlayışın, kadının durumunun iyileştirilmesini toplumsal ilerleme, dayanışma, birlik ve beraberlik ile milli bilincin geliştirilmesi yolunda bir odak olarak gören ilerlemeci bakış açısının ürünü olduğu fikri doğrulanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nin en önemli kadın dergilerinden biri olan *Kadınlar Dünyası*'nda yer alan ve tamamı kadın

yazarlar tarafından kaleme alınan makalelerdeki fikirler, Osmanlı kadın hareketinin sınırlarının ve modernleşme döneminde kadınlara atfedilen toplumsal rollerin kadınların kendileri tarafından mı belirlendiği yoksa dönemin idarecileri tarafından mı kurgulandığı sorusu akılda tutularak incelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Kadınların kendi durumlarına ve kendi hak mücadelelerine bakışlarını *Kadınlar Dünyası* Dergisi'nde yayınladıkları makaleler vasıtasıyla değerlendirmeye çalışan bu tez; dönemin gereksinimleri doğrultusunda milli bir dava olarak vatanperverlik adına ortaya konan İkinci Meşrutiyet dönemi kadın hakları mücadelesinin - her ne kadar kadının sosyal statüsü açısından erken Cumhuriyet dönemi kadın hakları mücadelesinin çerçevesini belirleyen önemli kazanımlar elde edilmesini sağlasa da - kadınların değişmeyen “tarihsel nesne” pozisyonunu değiştirmeye yetmediğini vurgulamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: II. Meşrutiyet, Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi, Kadın Dergileri, *Kadınlar Dünyası*

To My Sister

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INTRODUCTION

This study aims to analyze the ideas and debates of the women writers in one of the long lasting and effective women periodical of the Second Constitutional era, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, about the changing political, economic and historical conditions in the Ottoman Empire. The ideas and issues debated by women in this periodical are important in order to understand how the Ottoman intellectual women perceive the fast-changing historical developments of the period and how they locate themselves in these developments. *Kadınlar Dünyası*, published between 1913 and 1921 served as a platform for the articles written by women authors who were trying to emancipate themselves from the position into the Ottoman society. They wanted to change their social status by expressing their opinions about various subjects.

In addition to examine the ideas of intellectual women during social reform movements of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), this study also targets to reveal the thoughts of the enlightened Ottoman women writing for *Kadınlar Dünyası* in the issues regarding education, history and economics, specifically in 1913 when the socio-economic and political changes in the Empire gained pace. This will facilitate understanding both the change in women's status from the inferior position they fell in to a better status in social and family life during the period of Ottoman modernization. It will also serve to reflect the socio-economic and political changes in the period from the women's point of views. Furthermore, this research also provides a self-evaluation of Ottoman women in the first years of

Second Constitutional Era on their status and roles in the society as well as the nature of the struggle they dedicated to their own rights. To understand how the Ottoman women intellectuals were looking inward to their struggle is so important to discover the parallels between the women's own perception of their movement and the modern bureaucratic elite's outlook regarding the women question. This self-evaluation also shows that like the intelligentsia and bureaucratic elite, women intellectuals also perceived the women's movement as a must-do step in overall modernization process and social progress.

As an equal and inseparably important element of social and family life, women's status, functions and responsibilities in social units are always areas of great significance in academic researches. The standing of women in dramatically changing nature of Turkish society in the last centuries is a frequent question in historical and sociological studies also. In order to be able to understand to which level of social status the women reached and what kind of a sociological composition they mirrored in a specific period of time in history, the preceding historical developments and facts related with the issue in this study will be narrated. That is why the study begins with a historical overview on the social status of women during the nomadic Turkish tribes before the establishment of the Ottoman state. Albeit of the fact that the social status of women was relatively equal to men in early Turkish society, the existence of women in social life became more restricted after the adaptation of the settled life and Islam. It is a fact that during the mentioned era, the Ottoman women were treated as second class citizens and many of their rights were hindered until the early 19th century when this began

to change with *Tanzimat* era. This is examined separately in the study because of the fact that Ottoman women's position began to change and the perceptions about women also altered with the *Tanzimat* era.

Until the 19th century, the dominant outlook reduced women's role as simply a mother or a wife at home. Although both reform decrees of *Tanzimat* did not bring any radical change to the standing of women; the overall reformist approach of the period affected the perception of society and Ottoman intellectuals towards women. The period between the proclamation of Imperial Edict in 1839 and the Second Constitutional Era which introduced a new outlook concerning women's rights witnessed many changes in different fields such as law and order, education, literature and press. To illustrate, the submission of the right of inheritance to daughters, the abolishment of slavery and trade of concubines and rearrangement of marriage rules were important adjustments in state regulations. The improvements were not restricted with these. Some advances in education were additionally taking. *Rüşdiyes* (secondary schools) and vocational schools were opened for girls. Moreover, primary education was made compulsory for the girls and the *Darülmuallimat* (teacher training school) for a further education of girls were initiated. Additionally, women and the problems they encountered with became one of the popular issues debated in some literary works during the mentioned period. The newspapers and periodicals constitute the primary sources for the studies examining the socio-economic and political conditions of the period. The appearance of journals and newspapers for the first time as the discussion platform of current issues in the second half of the 19th century, the policies and

social conjuncture of the country, the status of women also started to be discussed in these newly born reading materials. The newspapers and periodicals played an important role in analyzing the general circumstances of the period, social, economic and political structure of the state and the Ottoman intelligentsias' standing towards the state. The newspapers also served as the centers for the dissemination of ideas and triggered the social awareness.

Owing to the fact that ensuring the social integration throughout the country and to getting rid of decentralized inclinations were the major goals of the *Tanzimat* reforms, the regulations enacted for the salvation of women were carried out with the same concerns in mind. In this context, the role and status of women were redefined not only aiming for the elevation of their social status, but also creation of a new role model woman. The woman of this kind was theorized as a figure which would contribute to a proper an integrated social structure depending upon traditional values of the nation. It is necessary to note that the early advocates of women's social status were all men. At first, there were only a few women debating on their own rights. These enlightened Ottoman women were mostly the daughters of the elite; they were well educated by foreign tutors at home or in modern schools abroad.

The period which started with the proclamation of the First Constitution in 1876, interrupted by the autocratic regime of Abdülhamid II for thirty years and reopened with the coming of the Second Constitution thanks to the activities of Committee of Union and Progress, went through many intellectual improvements

including the women issues. This let women claim a more active role in social and economic life more often through the charity associations at the preliminary stage. The associations they founded and the journals they published became the major instruments in order to claim their rights in an organized manner. Especially with the beginning of the 20th century, women became more effective in defending their rights. Although the major reasons for the establishment of women's associations were aid and charity activities, the people who organized these associations also undertook the responsibility of defending women's rights, educating women and raising their cultural level. Moreover, the same people issued periodicals and published articles. The press gradually became one of the most important instruments which provided the women to bring forth some of their requests in the aim of getting a better status in social and family life. On the one hand, many articles published in newspapers and especially in some periodicals gave account for the complaints and demands of women and gave effort to prepare the Ottoman women contextual change on the other. In addition to women's activities in the press, Ottoman women continued to participate in many different associations, arranged some conferences and also were active in several charity programs. That is why charity organizations, associations and more importantly periodicals and newspapers were the most important sources of knowledge explicating the inclinations, demands and activities of women.

Despite the fact that the efforts for the improvement of women's social position did not essentially aim to elevate the consciousness of their own gender, it brought about the realization of women of their own identities and their rights. While the

Ottoman women were questioning their role in society and giving effort to a better status; both the boundaries of their movement and the limits of their social role they gained in the modernization process were not fully determined by themselves but mostly by the men of ruling elite. The emancipation of women was accepted as an indispensable step in the way of modernization. Also, the aim of granting equality for women was generalized by the people having nationalist inclinations. These people intended to establish preparatory configurations of a national culture. It should be asserted that such ideology affirmed the status of women as the criteria for measuring the level of a nation's civilization within the society. That's why the rights of women at the preliminary stage were defended by the reformist men of the newly born intelligentsia of the Second Constitutional Era with the aim of fortifying the images of modernity and civilization in Ottoman society. As a natural consequence of this separation occurred between the motivations guiding women to defend their own rights and the stimulus leading the men to advocate women rights came out. The social reforms and policies of the rulers of the time followed by the ideology were stressed on the women education as the first significant step, their duties in breeding the children, and thirdly, their role in family life and in the social progress.

Naturally, the government policies were also influential on women issues. The abrupt political, social, ideological and economic conversion of the Second Constitutional period shaped the thoughts of the Ottoman intelligentsia including the enlightened women. The idea of national economy arose and historical consciousness which would create a sense of national identity which gained

significance in the wake of socio-political and ideological transformation. The Ottoman intellectuals and Ottoman bureaucrats were the pioneers of these changes, and the Ottoman enlightened women were either taking place due to their social origins from these elite families, or they were seeking their own place within such transformation. Under the circumstances it was so natural to follow the process of the transformation through the women's periodicals. Constitutionalism and the other political developments of the ruling elite were enthusiastically welcome by women's periodicals. This was common issue for many women's periodicals of this period. However, there is an important women's periodical which differed from the others in terms of its staff of authors, its regular published life and the political effects its issues brought. This periodical was *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

Kadınlar Dünyası which was the official publication of *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Society for the Defense of Ottoman Women's Rights) is worthy of evaluating in terms of the leading socio-political and historical understanding of the period. A detailed survey on the articles published in the periodical gives the reader a wide opportunity to follow the imprints of politics conducted by the ruling elites and the general characteristics of Ottoman women's movement of the period mentioned above. *Kadınlar Dünyası* which focused on this thesis often gave place to the articles stimulating the idea of national identity, consciousness of history and a corporate enthusiasm for social and economic development. Thus, the last chapter of this thesis is allocated to analyze and sort out the articles in the periodical written by women who tried to keep in touch with the problems, priorities, sensitivities and policies of the period. After giving an

account for the information about the history and the writers of the periodical, this work will evaluate the outlook of women through three subtitles. Initially, the articles in the first 100 issues of the periodical published in 1913 will be analyzed in terms of the ideas on the politics of education. Then, this study will bring out the historical understanding of the periodical's writers. And lastly the articles in the periodical will be questioned in accordance with the idea of "national economy". The evaluation directed to the fields of education, history and economy will be carried out by keeping the main question of this thesis in mind. This is whether the movement, which naturally led the Ottoman women to recognize their own identities and rights, brought about by giving consciousness of their femininity or it was accepted as a symbolic instrument by the modernist and nationalist ruling men in the way of implementing their political projects. In other words, the study will question whether the women struggling for their own rights were regarded as objects by the modernist elite, or the women of the Second Constitutional Era were not able to overcome their inevitable faith of being a "historical subject" albeit their considerable progress in this era?

In order to be able to offer a more systematic historical outline of women issue many different sources are utilized as far as possible. Instead of including in all important historical events, the historical facts concerning the "women question" were outlined by keeping the main questions of the thesis in mind. The first three chapter of this thesis are mostly based on second hand historical sources. Unlike the first three chapters which would be defined as preparatory stages for the last chapter, the final chapter is based on mostly first hand sources. As the main issue

of the thesis, the periodical of *Kadınlar Dünyası* is the most frequently used first hand source. Other periodicals and newspapers of the period were also referred to reinforce analysis derived from the period when it was published in 1913 until its first interruption in the same year. Through the readings on the original texts of the periodical's daily issues as a consequence of detailed studies carried out in the Women's Library and Information Centre of İstanbul, the perception of the periodical about "women question" in the Ottoman society is attempted to be revealed. As the main questions pointed of this thesis, the periodical was evaluated under three main titles, education, historical consciousness and economy which are the issues where the guidelines of socio-political thinking of the time can be discovered.

CHAPTER I

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF WOMEN'S POSITION IN TURKISH SOCIETY UNTIL THE IMPERIAL EDICT OF 1839

Albeit the fact that the subject matter of this thesis is *Kadınlar Dünyası* with reference to the women in society, economy and politics during the first years of Second Constitutional Era, the social and historical developments concerning will help the comprehension of the topic. In this study the reader will be informed about the social status of women in the Ottoman Empire before the 20th century. Furthermore, to be able to access the reader beyond the lines of the articles in *Kadınlar Dünyası* and penetrate into the social and historical facts explained through many different articles in the magazine, an historical outline will be given beginning from the early Turks in Central Asia.

It is the fact that the reemergence of women into the society and relative restoration of their status in family and social life in the course of time this study covers is not the consequence of an organized activism based on an ideology claiming of women rights. In fact, it was not much more than a rehabilitation of Turkish women who were active in society and lost their prominent position considerably after the adoption of Islam by Turkish society. Gaining consciousness in terms of women's "coexistence" with the men in all spheres of life and the steps taken on this purpose were the outcomes of a political indoctrination. To understand the mechanism of women's withdrawal from family and social life in

its historical context is of great importance in comprehending that the women's gains in terms of their right during the *Tanzimat* and Constitutional eras. However, what kind of a role the women held in the society before their withdrawal and isolation would be analyzed and to give a complete picture of the latest developments would be discussed.

It is necessary to examine the situation of women in Ottoman society by making periodization in itself, in order to explain the stages of the setback of Ottoman women subjected until the *Tanzimat* era. As a turning point both for the Ottoman society and also Ottoman women, the *Tanzimat* era will be taken up as separate from the former ages of Ottoman history. So, in this chapter, it will be summarized women's situation in social, economic and cultural life in its historical context beginning from early Turks in Central Asia to the declaration of *Gülhane Hattı* in 1839.

Firstly it will be evaluated the women figure in old Turkish tradition and given account for the characteristics of the relation between men and women. The second historical phase discussed in the same chapter covers the period between the recognition of Islam by Turks which remarks a landmark in the history of women and all Turkish society and the rise of the Ottoman Empire.

1.1. The Woman in the Old Turkish Tradition

In the old Turkish society, the women in social life were much apparent than their contemporaries¹. The Turkish women were accepted equal with men and highly respected². In old Turkish states of Central Asia women were legally equal with the men thanks to religious celestials of *Gok Tengri*, *Shamanism* and *Taoism*³. Monogamy was a principle and common practice. Polygamy was seen only in dynasty and richest families⁴. As well as being independent, Turkish women had the right of private ownership and inheritance.

The Orkhun Inscriptions of 8th century, which is the most important source of Turkish history and social life in Central Asia, tells about some women active in administration of the country and had political impact on Khan. *Khatun*, the wife of Khan, has come into her post with a ceremony like Khan and sometimes had governed the country with the Khan. According to the Köktürk and Uyghur traditions, the imperial edicts were signed not only by Khan but also by *Khatun*. Some *Khatuns* had armies and palaces for themselves. *Khatun* sat on the left side of the Khan during some ceremonies and in envoys' receptions; and stated her ideas

1 Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 10.

2 Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p. 1.

3 Gülden Ertuğrul, *Atatürk ve Kadın Hakları*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, Cilt: 8, Sayı: 22, Kasım 1991, p.55.

4 Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 10.

concerning political and governmental issues and also undertook serious responsibilities in administration⁵.

At pre-Islamic societies, women had many social and legal rights. Women had equal marital rights. Having the right of inheritance, the women had an equal parental right with their husband over their children. Additionally, when a girl would marry, the groom's family had to give a certain amount of money or goods⁶ to the bride's family. There was no discrimination between sons and daughters. Unlike being a misfortune, the birth of a daughter was a very happy incident for Turkish families. Daughters were just as valuable and cherished as sons and they had also the right of inheritance⁷.

It is a fact that women in pre-Islamic Turkish society were equal participants with men in the family and in almost all parts of social life: mother at home, farmer on the ground, merchant in the market and even soldier in the war. Furthermore, the influence of women over social and political life was so apparent⁸.

⁵ Laszlo Rasonyi, *Tarihte Türklük*, Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1971, p. 57.

⁶ The money or goods given by the family of the groom is called "kaling". See. (İlber Ortaylı, "Anadolu'da Evlilik İşlemleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler", *Başbakanlık Aile Yazıları I*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayını, 1990, p.279; Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 10).

⁷ Latife Kabaklı Çimen, *Türk Töresinde Kadın ve Aile*, İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2008, pp. 171- 172.

⁸ Latife Kabaklı Çimen, *Türk Töresinde Kadın ve Aile*, İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2008, pp. 197- 214.

1.2. Turkish Women in Social Life after the Adoption of Islam

After adoption of Islam by the Turks, a new way of life and a different social system came into existence. Islamic Law became the basis for the construction of social life for Turks roughly from 10th century on. Islam gave rise to some changes in the life of women as well. The new religion laid the ground for a deep transformation in the family and brought many new rules concerning the family life and the status of women in the society. Turkish women lost their higher former status both in social and family life and became less apparent at outdoors. Religious rules and practices, and more remarkably the impact of Iranian, Arabian and Byzantine cultures together with also incorrect interpretations, made up practices and abuses brought about deterioration in respect of social status of women⁹. However, the changes were not striking the status of women.

In the Karahanid state, founded in 840 by the Turkish tribes and in the Seljukid Empire, a Turkish-Islamic state has ruled over the parts of Central Asia, Middle East and Asia Minor between 11th and 14th centuries, women have maintained their role in social and cultural life even though their participation and influence on social life has considerably eroded. It is possible to coincide with many strong women figure in early Turkish-Islamic states like Gevher Nesibe Khatun of the Seljukids as the founder of a significant waqf foundation; Altun-Can Khatun, the

⁹ Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p.15; Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p. 1.

mother of Tugrul Begh and Terken Khatun, the mother of Sultan Melikshah as strong political figures and also Fatma Bacı, the wife of Ahi Evran, as the founder of Bacıyan-ı Rum¹⁰ which was a strong organization in social and economic life¹¹.

Additionally, there were women warriors during the time of the Anatolian Seljukids and Anatolian principalities. Following the death of Kılıçarslan I., the Khatun in Malatya ruled over in the name of his son Tuğrul Arslan. Also, through the Atabeg¹² she appointed for his son, she interfered in significant political activities and decided to fight or invade. Also, it is stated that there was a Turkoman military unit consist of 30.000-100.000 women soldiers owned by the Dulkadir Principality in the 15th century¹³.

Although Islam advices monogamy, it also approves polygamy in the cases of illness, infertility. This meant a loss of status for the Turkish women who had been equal with men and had not taken part in polygamous household. Also, the men' inharitance property was higher than women according to Islamic rules and two

¹⁰ Bacıyan-ı Rum founded by Turkmen women has considerably contributed to the establishment, structuring and development of Turkish folk culture all over the Asia Minor. The organization which worked as a women branch of the Ahi Organization undertook many social responsibilities and also accommodated the Turkmen immigrants came to Anatolia and help them to settle down. Furthermore, they participated in defense of cities against sieges. To illustrate, the women in Bacıyan-ı Rum have defended Kayseri against Mongols in 1243. See. Mikail Bayram, *Fatma Bacı ve Bacıyan-ı Rum*, İstanbul: Nüve Kültür Merkezi, 2007.

¹¹ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul : Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p.12.; Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p. 1.

¹² The guardians appointed for minor princes of the Seljukid line who were nominally set over garrisons in provinces.

¹³ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p. 2.

women's testimonies in the court was equal with one man's¹⁴. However, in some exceptional situations, one women's testimony would be admitted in the courts¹⁵. On the other hand, there was no hindrance in the participation of women in social and cultural life. To illustrate, the Muslim women were free in trading and use of their own property. As well as commanding the obedience of women to men's authority, Islam also charged men with treating their wife fairly. Although, only the men had divorce right, Islam does not approve it unless inescapable situations and obliges men and only by giving a certain amount of money called *mahr* to the bride in the case of divorce¹⁶.

Many scholars affirm that the status and role of women in Turkish society has gradually changed after Islam. To illustrate, Yılmaz Öztuna states that the Turkish women have experienced a negative change in their status in societal structure following the acceptance of Islam¹⁷. Nermin Abadan Unat argues that the status of Turkish women has changed deeply after the Turkish settlements being exposed to

¹⁴Latife Kabaklı Çimen, *Türk Töresinde Kadın ve Aile*, İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2008, pp. 252- 254.

¹⁵ Latife Kabaklı Çimen, *Türk Töresinde Kadın ve Aile*, İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2008, p. 253.

16 Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 11; Tezer Taşkiran, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, pp.14-15.

17 Yılmaz Öztuna, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Öncesinde Türkler*, İstanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayınları, 2004, p. 226.

Arabian expansionism in 7th century and she claims the reason for Turkish women's loss status. She attributed the reason for women's isolation to Islam itself and its law *Sheriat*¹⁸.

Yet, there are many different points of view on the reasons for such a transformation. According to some scholars like Şefika Kurnaz¹⁹, Leyla Kaplan²⁰, Burhan Göksel and İlber Ortaylı the only reason for Turkish women's withdrawal from society is not only Islam itself and its rules²¹. Amongst them, Ortaylı asserts that the essential factor for the withdrawal of Turkish women from the social life was the atmosphere arose from geographical features and he claims that religious differences were not determinant on men-women relations in the Ottoman society²². İsmail Doğan agrees with İlber Ortaylı and claims that Turkish women's isolation from social life was due to the transition of sedentary settlement. He states that the separation of women and men's life spaces was a natural outcome of the requisites that the settled life produced and social interrelations it necessitated²³.

¹⁸ N. Abadan Unat, "Toplumsal Değişme ve Türk Kadını", *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*, İstanbul: Araştırma, Eğitim, Ekin Yayınları, 1982, p. 8.

¹⁹ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 12.

²⁰ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908- 1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p. 1.

²¹ Burhan Göksel, *Çağlar Boyunca Türk Kadını ve Atatürk*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993.

²² İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile*, İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2001, pp. 118- 119.

²³ İsmail Doğan, *Osmanlı Ailesi*, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2001, p. 25.

As it is acknowledged that the adoption of Islam by the Turks relatively coincided with their transition from nomadic or semi-nomadic life to the settled one, it is very difficult to determine which factor (geography, the essence of Islam itself or the impact of other civilizations and cultures) is the only or most determinant in the segregation of women. However, there is a certain point that the Turkish women lost their higher position in social structure after the time period coincide with the acceptance of Islam in comparison with the early Turkic communities. The restrictions of women in society were not valid to only early Islamization in Turkish communities and states. Especially the period between the 16th century and the proclamation of the Imperial Edict in 1839 also witnessed the decline of women's social status and function under the reign of the Ottoman dynasty.

1.3. Women in Ottoman Society until the *Tanzimat* Era

It is hard to find ample documentation concerning the status of the women in society from the very beginning of the Ottoman state especially up to 16th century. However, researchers states that women in Ottoman society were not so restricted and they were generally participant in social life. The Ottoman women could have possession of some goods and estates, and they were active in commercial life. The women having real estate could operate or sell their belongings even to non-Muslims. Furthermore, if the estates of women were sold by their husbands or sons without their consent, the sale could be canceled. However, there was a paradoxical difference between the situation of the women in cities and rural areas. While, the

women in the countryside were relatively active in social life through productive activities, the women in cities were not so apparent in social life. It was normal to see many women farming together with men and they were not as separate as the women in cities. The urban women had to be much more strictly cloistered²⁴. The daily life of women especially during the reign of some certain Sultans was harder than the others. While under the reign of Mehmet the II (1451- 1481), women were less restricted and they did not have to cover all of their heads and they could freely walk around with open faces as Ahmet Refik states²⁵, Osman the III (1754- 1757) forbid women to go out of their homes in three days of the week when the Sultan customarily patrolled the capital and they were forced to be cloistered. The women who disobeyed this rule were punished²⁶. Especially beginning from 16th century, the relatively firm position of women in social and family life mainly in palace and urban areas affected rural communities and women being separated from men in private life even in the house gradually became customary throughout the country²⁷. The *harem* of the palace was imitated by ordinary people and the women were excluded both physically and spiritually from community life.

²⁴ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 13; Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p.19.

²⁵ Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Kadınlar Saltanatı*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, pp. 18- 19.

²⁶ Şehmus Güzel, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Toplumsal Değişim ve Kadın”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Vol. III.*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1981, p. 858.

²⁷ Günseli Özkaya, *Tarih İçinde Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Yayınları, 1985, p. 13.

In fact, up to the 19th century, women could not receive scanty education. In Ottoman society even boys were not properly educated simply because modern schools were not existant, the girls had no right to attend schools apart from *sibyan mektebi* (primary school), giving only the very basic level of religious knowledge. Education in these schools did not include the teaching of the sciences, of foreign languages and also art was banned. There was no opportunity to widen the worldview and perception of life under the heavy influence of religion²⁸. Despite this restrictive approach to keep women removed from all types of social activities and to not provide them taking proper education, it was possible to encounter with some women who received education from special instructors in their houses thanks to their enlightened fathers²⁹.

In addition to socially inferior position of women in Ottoman communities, the judicial system also treated them as secondary. To illustrate, women had almost no chance to choose their husbands or refuse the candidates. Moreover, according to religious law, only men were entitled to the custody of children in case of divorce which was also dependent on the decision of men merely. Additionally, in the family, daughters' right of inheritance was half of the sons' and testimony of women in courts were not equal with the men³⁰. However, unlike most of scholars

²⁸ Seçil Karal Akgün, "Women's Emancipation in Turkey", *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, Issue: 10, 1986, p. 2.

²⁹ Burhan Göksel, *Çağlar Boyunca Türk Kadını ve Atatürk*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993, p. 131.

³⁰ Emel Doğramacı, *Türkiye'de Kadının Dünyü ve Bugünü*, Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayını, 1997, p. 5.

who state that the legal status of women was not be improved from the 16th century until the *Tanzimat* era, some other scholars who argue that women had rights of complaint and self defense under law before the 19th century at least some vicinities with the effects of Westernization attempts. Zarinebah- Shahr tries to prove this claim by studying the frequency in submission of petitions and complaints by women to the courts of Istanbul while Kurnaz stating that the wives who were ill treated by their husbands could appeal to courts and also even to the Grand Vizier³¹.

Furthermore, there were many women as the founders of some waqfs operating as donations and also libraries, hospitals and *medreses*³². The ratio in the number of waqfs founded by women is so impressing according to Kurnaz, it is one-third of all waqfs throughout the empire³³. Nevertheless, while writing about the waqfs and women Sultans, it is wise to keep in mind that those institutions were established in a way, as means to provide them income.

As it is expressed through an historical summary and some examples above, the isolation of women from society was not an overall process. There are some differentiating examples on the status of women after the adoption of Islam and on

³¹Fariba Zarinebah- Shahr, "Osmanlı Kadınları ve 18. Yüzyılda Adalet Arama Geleneđi", *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları* (ed. Madeline C. Zilfi), İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: 2000,p. 245; Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, pp. 12- 13.

³² Günseli Özkaya, *Tarih İçinde Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Yayınları, 1985, p. 16.

³³ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 13.

the other hand scholars state different and sometimes contradictory ideas especially on the reasons for the segregation of women. In addition, the status of the women in rural society was not same with the ones in the city. While the women in big cities gradually retreated from social life and were forced to hide behind their veils, the women living in rural areas enjoyed a considerable freedom and appeared next to men more often. To continue, women's alienation from social life was not so strongly felt in earlier Ottoman state but after the adaptation of a different lifestyle as the Ottoman state expanded to East-world and social system based on Islamic Law and growing effect of religious rules on one hand, and influence of Arabian, Iranian and Byzantine cultures on the other hand, the role of women in social, cultural, economic life was gradually lost just like their judicial rights. However, it is mostly agreed that whatever the reason women were not the equal partners of the men and a line was drawn between men and women as *haremlik-selamlık* (women's being separate from men) both physically and mentally.

The coming out of a consciousness on the way of questioning the backward position of women in society was not earlier than the beginning of 19th century. The Ottoman state has experienced a structural transition under the effect of political, economic, social, ideological, educational and administrative changes with the Tanzimat reforms, and the Ottoman women were also affected by these changes. The impact of process was not restricted to politics. The social structure was also reconstructed through reform movements. The effect of changes oriented by modernist ideas encircled also the women whose roles had restricted with being only a good wife and mother despite some exceptional examples. The demands in

the way of reinstating the status of women were heralded more loudly with the intensification of modernist ideas and actions. The development throughout the *Tanzimat* era can be accepted as the turning point in terms of women interests. Therefore, the change in the status of women in the *Tanzimat* is worthy to be evaluated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

OTTOMAN WOMEN FROM TANZIMAT TO THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL ERA

The preliminary stage of dramatic changes in the life of Ottoman women began in the Second Constitutional era and continued afterward. However, the *Tanzimat* reforms were also of great importance since it was a period in which many attempts in the way of expressing the problems of women, raising consciousness of their womanhood and making legal arrangements exalting the status of women have started. The Ottoman women were granted with the rights especially in education and law. The Tanzimat era was also the period during the problems of women began to be expressed in literature and also in the press to some extent. In fact, the political conjuncture of the time was very determining in the developments concerning the position of women in society. That is why this chapter will start with a short review of political developments of the *Tanzimat* era. Next, the developments in education and legal system in favor of women will be analyzed and lastly the literary world as important sources of research to explain the women's world in the time of *Tanzimat* will be explored.

2.1. Summary of Political Developments during the Tanzimat Era

The Edict of Gülhane was a “charte” of legal, fiscal, administrative and military rights marked the beginning of series of domestic reforms inspired by the West.

Although many social, economic and political reforms began with the end of the 18th century, the Rescript of Gülhane was the first imperial document presenting a formal reform program. The *Tanzimat* Edict essentially was composed by Mustafa Reşid Pasha³⁴ and supported by the British government. This resulted in deep British impact on the document concerns in the fields of administration, education and legislation³⁵. The centralization of imperial authority which was an earlier operation set out under the reign of Mahmud II deepened with consecutively regulations³⁶.

With the imperial rescript, it was assured the security of life, property and honor of entire people of all religions. According to Bernard Lewis, this was a very bold move for the times³⁷. It was a considerably important regulation aiming to develop the allegiance of the Ottoman community towards the state and to gather entire Ottoman society regardless of their religion around such an egalitarian principle of which far reaching consequence would be the unity and stabilization of

³⁴ Mustafa Reşid Pasha who was born in 1800 in İstanbul was the ambassador of Ottoman Empire between 1834- 1836. After his assignment in London as the ambassador, he was appointed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Sultan in 1837. He was assigned to the post of Grand Vizier six times. Throughout his state service dedicated himself to the reformation of the Ottoman State. Reşid Pasha who is known as the father of Tanzimat reforms convinced the Sultan Abdülmecid to the Declaration of Gülhane Rescript and marked the beginning of a new phase in the Ottoman Empire as a dedicated reformer. For further information, see: Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye, Vol II, Reform Devrim ve Cumhuriyet: Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu 1808- 1975*, İstanbul: E Yayınları, 2010, pp. 90- 98.

³⁵ Deniz Kandiyoti, *Women, Islam and the State*, London: Macmillan Press, 1991, p. 24.

³⁶ Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, London: Zed Books, 1994, p. 27.

³⁷ Bernard Lewis, *The Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2008, pp. 149- 150.

Ottoman people.

In 1841 Mustafa Reşid Pasha was discharged from his post and the reforms were interrupted for four years. Following his return to administrative position as Grand Vizier in 1845, Reşid Pasha gave a great effort to disperse the new principles in every sphere of administration. Education was also included into the agenda of reforms. Modern education was accepted in parallel to the religious educational system. Both the coming of modern educational institutions and the introduction of state control of the waqfs, the independent position of the *ulema* was limited. A new class of imperial Ottoman bureaucrats who tried to secure in their position through the modern bureaucratic hierarchy became the impetus for the reform movement. Power was increasingly concentrated at the heads of this new type of imperial bureaucrats who were the agents for the centralization of power. As the necessity of their new role *Tanzimat* bureaucracy adapted to the requirements of modernization and donated in the ideals and expectations of the West. Apart from the *ulema* trained in the *medreses*, a new milieu received education with going to West or in newly established schools organized on the European model in the Empire emerged as officials and mostly bureaucrats working for the state. They learned foreign languages from the teachers who were coming from abroad. The acknowledgements of modern West they got through their westernized education firstly affected their life superficially, in their attire, ornaments, behavior and this influence gradually penetrated into their mentality and ideology.

The changes that emerged in the social sphere due to the exported modernist ideology and relatively egalitarian perception that settled through the implementation by *Tanzimat* reforms, also affected the Ottoman women. Even though the Gülhane Rescript did not specially include articles regarding women, the changing mindset of the time had an impact on women. Thus period from *Tanzimat* to the Second Constitutional era is called “introduction to new perspectives” with regards to women’s rights³⁸. These new perspectives regarding social position of women gave rise to many changes in different areas such as jurisdiction, education, literature and press.

2.2. Ottoman Women and Their Judicial Rights

Ottoman women had suffered setbacks which limited greatly their rights until the *Tanzimat* era, acquired some improvements in different subjects of legal regulations. One of the essential developments for women was the submission of Ottoman women the right of marriage before the *kadı* in 1841³⁹. Additionally, an imperial edict issued in 1844 enabled girls’ own consent for marriage and forbid *başlık* (the dowry). The marriage was subjected to lots of legal regulations, gradually facilitated following the Edict of *Tanzimat* for the state aimed to discard

³⁸ Tezer Taşkiran, *Cumhuriyet’in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p. 25.

³⁹ Şirin Tekeli, “Birinci ve İkinci Dalga Feminist Hareketlerin Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi Üzerine Bir Deneme”, *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p. 340.

the negative effect of some local traditions and to eliminate of the hindrances in front of population growth⁴⁰.

As important arrangements issued by imperial decrees submitted in 1854 and 1857, slavery was abolished for white slaves firstly and then for the blacks as well. Albeit of this legislative change, the trade of *cariyes* (concubines) continued, as the two decrees could not be enforced in practice. Some concubines continued to exist in and also outside the Ottoman palace⁴¹. The law abolished concubines and slavery decreased the proportion of the usage of concubines as *odaliques* (co-wives) among the common people⁴².

One of the other important subjects was the right of inheritance. Women in Ottoman Empire had no right of inheritance directly until almost the end of 1840s. Only sons could inherit property without any land registry fee. Some arrangements were done for altering disordered system of land adjustment and these arrangements led up to the 1858 Land Code. Land Code of 1858 composed of 132 articles brought about many remarkable regulations containing of the inheritance of daughters as both sons and daughters could have equal property rights without any land registry fee over the *miri arazi* (state owned land).

⁴⁰ Fatmagül Berktaş, “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Femnizm, *Cumhuriyete Devreden Düşünce Mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet Birkikimi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009, p.355.

⁴¹ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 55.

⁴² Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyet’in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p. 26.

Ömer Lütfü Barkan expressed that the third article of the Land Code covers the right of inheritance of the daughters over the state owned land inherited from their fathers like their brothers. According to Barkan, this Land Code was to be a revolutionary regulation in respect of the law of inheritance. Up to the Land Code regulations, daughters only had the right of inheritance if they would not have any brothers and with paying the registry fee for the inherited land. However, with the regulations of this Land Code, the girls and then the women in the family could claim their right of inheritance over the land⁴³. This Land Code was the most important regulation supporting women between the *Tanzimat* and the Second Constitutional Era⁴⁴.

As the most important legal regulation of civil law in 19th century, the *Mecelle* codified by Ahmet Cevdet Pasha⁴⁵, approved the measurements laid by the Land Code of 1858 and did not bring any additional arrangement related to women and their rights⁴⁶.

43 Ömer Lütfü Barkan, “Türk Toprak Hukuku Tarihinde Tanzimat, 1274 (1858) Tarihli Arazi Kanunnamesi”, *Tanzimat I*, Birinci Baskı. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1940, p. 360

44 Şirin Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*, İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982. pp.1-62.

45 Being one of the most prominent intellectual and statesman of Tanzimat era, Ahmet Cevdet Pasha held many significant ranks in the office such as the governorship of some provinces and ministries. He was also an important reformist. However, “historian” may be the most important title given him because he wrote down probably the most significant historical work of that time, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, and also the other important histories like *Tezâkir*, *Mâruzât* and *Kıssas-ı Enbiya*. In addition to being a prominent historian, Cevdet Pasha also participated in the preparation of two important legal documents such as *Mecelle* and *Düstur* as a qualified jurist.

46 Mehmet Akif Aydın, “Osmanlılarda Aile Hukukunun Tarihi Tekamülü”, *Sosyo- Kültürel Değişim Sürecinde Türk Ailesi, Vol. II*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayını, 1992, p. 445.

2.3. Ottoman Women and Education

It was already the end of the 18th century when Ottoman statesmen finally realized the social, economic and cultural gaps between the Empire and the Western nations and started to take measures to bridge this gap. A great movement of westernization started. The classical Ottoman education system was regarded as a major factor causing the decline of the Empire. Consequently, introduction of the westernized of schools was followed with many changes that affected society as a whole. To educate young girls through a public education was a very new idea that emerged just after the proclamation of the imperial edict⁴⁷. To breed the educated women for the progress of the society, the newly established intellectuals encouraged the Ottoman state to initiate new schools for girls. This was one of the most vital issues to be solved through the reforms held by the state⁴⁸. As an instructor stated:

Take away the poor knowledge from the minds of the intelligent Turkish women and replace it with sciences, give her twenty years and you'll be amazed to note what kind of a generation she'll bring up for the society. Today Turkish women are totally ignorant. There is probably only one literate woman in a thousand. When the mothers are equipped with enough knowledge to give a scientific initial

⁴⁷ Emel Dođramacı, *Türkiye'de Kadının Dünü ve Bugünü*, Ankara: İş Bankası Kültür Yayını, 1997, p. 19.

⁴⁸ Afet İnan, *Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1964, p. 80.

training to their children, then they can be the initial and actual instructors of the future youth⁴⁹.

Foundation of the vocational schools for women started with the *Tanzimat* Era. The initiation of training courses in 1842 by foreign teachers to educate women as midwives at *Tıbbiye Mektebi* (Medical School) was the first attempt for vocational women education⁵⁰. In 1845, ten Muslims and twenty six non-Muslim students were graduated from these courses. The women completed these courses are regarded as the first women educated in vocational schools⁵¹.

While the only educational institution open for girls apart from vocational schools was the *sıbyan mektebs* (primary schools), with the *Tanzimat* regulations the facilities for girls in education were extended. *Rüşdiyes* (new secondary schools) and vocational schools were opened during the reform era and some rearrangements were implied on the educational institutions already operated. The reorganization of primary level of education firstly started with the Imperial Edicts of 1845 and 1847 which prolonged the duration of primary education up to four

⁴⁹ Quoted by Seçil Karal Akgün, “*Women’s Emancipation in Turkey*”, Turkish Studies Association Bulletin, Issue: 10, 1986, pp. 2- 3 from Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi Vol. VII*, Ankara, 1977, p. 199.

⁵⁰ Tezer Taşkiran, *Cumhuriyet’in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p. 26.

⁵¹ Bernard Caporal, *Kemalizm ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını*, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1982, p. 105.

years and ordered primary schools to prepare their students for the secondary level of education⁵².

With the declaration of *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*⁵³ (The Regulation of Public Education) in 1869, primary education was made compulsory for girls between the age of six and eleven. It also bid that if there is more than one primary school in a city or district, one should be allocated for girls. This edict also brought new changes to *rüşdiyes* and *kız rüşdiyes* opened in 1859. Nevertheless, at the end of the 19th century, there were only nine *rushtiyes* for the girls⁵⁴. In each girl's school, there were just more than three hundred students.⁵⁵

Moving from the necessity of women teachers in order to spread women's education over the country, *Darülmuallimat* (the teacher training school) for women was opened as a vocational school in 1870. Among the entire movement of women's education, the *Darülmuallimat* holds a special place since the increase in the number of women graduates provided teachers in newly established primary and secondary schools⁵⁶.

⁵² Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 19.

⁵³ According to the decree, the primary schools primary schools (*sıbyan mektebs*) were renamed with *ibtidaiyes*, secondary schools were called *rushtiyes*, the preparation of high schools were *idadiyes*, high schools were named *sultaniyes* and the private schools or universities were called *aliyes*. See: Bernard Caporal, *Kemalizm ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını*, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1982, p. 104.

⁵⁴ Seçil Karal Akgün, "Women's Emancipation in Turkey", Turkish Studies Association Bulletin, Issue: 10, 1986, p. 3

⁵⁵ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi Vol. VIII*, Ankara, 1983, p. 378.

⁵⁶ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 19.

Apart from the expansion of official women's schools in the empire, there were some other educational opportunities for girls such as the missionary schools. These schools brought girls advanced education and a new worldview of Western way of thinking and Western ideals. Moreover, girls in these schools had chance to learn foreign languages⁵⁷. Moreover, the foreign women teachers of these schools were to be the role models of the enlightened Ottoman women of future generations.

As an extension of the arrangements about the vocational schools, *kız sanayi mektebi* (the first women's industrial school) was opened in 1869 in Istanbul with the efforts of Mithad Pasha. As the number of vocational schools increased the three-year vocational courses for the women of all ages was opened with the industrial schools⁵⁸.

The common belief that "the educated girl becomes a witch"⁵⁹ began to change during the *Tanzimat* era and the awareness of the necessity to educate girls as well as boys increased. To illustrate, Abdul Bey, who was the Deputy of Yanya, complained about the rudeness of community in one of his speeches:

⁵⁷ Seçil Karal Akgün, "Women's Emancipation in Turkey", Turkish Studies Association Bulletin, Issue: 10, 1986, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi Vol. VIII*, Ankara, 1983, p. 382.

⁵⁹ Seçil Karal Akgün, "Women's Emancipation in Turkey", Turkish Studies Association Bulletin, Issue: 10, 1986, p. 3.

There is no attempt for the educating women for the reason that we do not see the women as an individual. However, this is not known that the training of males depends on the women education. If a mother has no education, the children also would have no values of ethic and morality⁶⁰.

Abdul Bey was not the only men attributing special attention on the importance of women's education. Similar to Abdul Bey's intention, many other male intellectuals demanded for women's education in order that qualified education of next generations could only possible through well educated mothers.

The whole efforts for the improvement of women education and the change of the mindset toward the Ottoman women ensured that they came on the scene of Ottoman social life. The educated Ottoman women began to participate in working life firstly as teachers and then as workers in industry.

2.4. Ottoman Women in Literature

Beginning from the second half of the 19th century, the new intelligentsia affected by Western ideas commenced to express their thoughts through the new journals and some literary works of that period. They wrote down articles on many different social and political subjects. Women and problems they encountered were

⁶⁰ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi Vol. VIII*, Ankara, 1983, p. 382.

among the popular issues debated on. At first, the defenders voicing women's rights in literary works and periodicals were all men. The well among these authors were, Namık Kemal, Ahmet Midhat, Şemsettin Sami, Şinasi and Abdülhak Hamid. Their major issue about women was education and they were mostly interested in urban women⁶¹. According to them, the traditions prevented the education of women. With their articles, the intellectuals tried to make the Ottoman society conscious of that one of the most significant obstacle in front of social equality and freedom is oppressing traditions which are mostly superstitions actually. To illustrate, Namık Kemal, who was one of the Young Ottomans and the adherent of liberty, wrote in one of his essays as follows:

I wonder if there is another concept besides the sum of all superstitions called traditions to make this world an ordeal for man? Death is fearful, but it only takes a minute. Traditions are eternal. A person does not suffer as much from illness or famine as he does from traditions⁶².

In his writings, Namık Kemal emphasized on the vitality of educated women for society in his article titled *Maarif* (The Education) published in 1872. He stated that women in Western countries were educated in the same conditions with the men. According to Kemal, most of teachers were women and they had high status

⁶¹ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 58.

⁶² Quoted by Seçil Karal Akgün, "Women's Emancipation in Turkey", Turkish Studies Association Bulletin, Issue: 10, 1986, p. 3 from Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi Vol. VIII*, Ankara, 1983, p. 493.

in society⁶³. In another article published in *İbret* titled *Aile* (The Family), he complained about the deploring condition of women in family life and society. He criticized the men (biting) their wives and parents seeing their daughters as commodity and giving their girls to marry with the men they had never seen before or not consented⁶⁴. These are not the only articles on women's social status in Ottoman society; *İntibah* (The Awakening) and *Zavallı Çocuk* (The Poor Child) were the other literary works of Namık Kemal which impressed the position of women in family life.

Şemsettin Sami was another Young Ottoman writer on women's issues. *Kadınlar* (Women) was the book in which Sami collected his ideas concerning women. A very interesting quotation from *Kadınlar* explicitly reveals his way of thinking about women: "If educating a man is to plant a tree making a shadow, then educating a woman is to plant a tree not only making a shadow but also giving fruits."⁶⁵

The metaphor in this quotation emphasized on both appreciation of women as an equal figure of social life with men and also on the importance of women's education. He affirmed that more women were educated, more the society developed. Because he thought that if women were well educated, they would be

⁶³ Quoted by Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyet'in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, pp. 33- 34 from *İbret* 1872, No: 16.

⁶⁴ Quoted by Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyet'in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p. 34 from *İbret* 1872, No: 56.

⁶⁵ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, p. 61.

able to train their children properly. Thence, the women could directly contribute to improvement of society and the country.

Another noteworthy Young Ottoman interested in the issue of women was İbrahim Şinasi. His well known satirical play *Şair Evlenmesi* (A Poet's Wedding) written in 1859 is confirmed as one of the leading critiques of the Ottoman marriage custom⁶⁶. He strongly disapproved of arranged marriages and cheered “love marriages” in his book.

One of the most prominent intellectuals of the time, Ahmet Midhat Efendi handled the position of women in Ottoman society as well. He strongly criticizes forced marriages and defines concubinage and polygamy as “social illnesses”⁶⁷. In his *Diplomalı Kız* (The Girl with a Diploma), *Felsefe-i Zenan* (Women's Philosophy), *Teeshhül* (Marriage) and *Eyvah* (Alas), Ahmet Midhat touched upon the importance of education for women and denounced ignorance of women and forced marriages⁶⁸.

Following the pioneering men authors, some women authors touching upon women issues and defending the rights of women came into the picture. The most notable among such women was Fatma Aliye, the daughter of Ahmet Cevdet

⁶⁶ Sema Uğurcan, “Tanzimat Devrinde Kadının Statüsü”, *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, 1988, p.506.

⁶⁷ Deniz Kandiyoti, *Women, Islam and the State*, London: Macmillan Press, 1991, p. 26.

⁶⁸ Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1997, pp.59-60.

Pasha. Her ideas were the reflections of a synthesis between Islam and the West. As she stated in *Nisvan-ı Islam* (The Muslim Women) where her ideas on women issues widely take place that Islam was not the reason for backward social position of women but the men who could not understand the essence of Qur'an and the rules of God is the reason of the backwardness⁶⁹. Fatma Aliye gave primary importance to family and considered it as the driving force of civilization through their roles as models so she placed a remarkable emphasis on women's education. Some of her demands in the way of gender equality and also the preservation of sexual differences mirrored feminist thought of the 19th century in Europe⁷⁰.

As it is deduced from a general assessment about the literary works of the period, the education of women, forced marriages and polygamy were the most expressed issues. The emergence of the discussions on these subjects and interest in women problems were not essentially a consequence of a settled consciousness of struggle for the women rights. The demands for the improvement of women's status and rehabilitation of their conditions are substantially for the total advancement of Ottoman society not only for women's emancipation. Most of the authors interested in women affairs want to see each woman as an educated mother growing up future generations properly. The emancipation of women was not the

⁶⁹ Zehra Toska, "Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar", *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, p. 74.

⁷⁰ Serpil Çakır, "Aliye Fatma", *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms Central Eastern and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Francisca de Hann and the others, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006, p. 22.

ideal, but the improvement of them was seen as a ‘requirement’ for social and economic development of the country.

Depicting women with self esteem, self confidence and qualified education in many novels and literary works was actually the doctrinization of the ideal model of Western women and a formula presented to Ottoman women. Even though it did not offer too much in the way of struggle for women’s rights, this formula paved the way for questioning the situation of women in social and family life.

2.5. Ottoman Women and Press

The *Tanzimat* era witnessed the foundation of many newspapers and periodicals besides a few official ones published in 1831. Following the publication of several newspapers which were mostly private enterprises, press became the ground for debates on social and cultural issues and held a central position in the intellectual life of Istanbul. As it is argued by some scholars such as İlber Ortaylı, the emergence of newspapers and periodicals and their entrance into the daily lives of Ottoman people may be considered as the most important event of the *Tanzimat*⁷¹. Why were so much importance attributed to the appearance of many periodicals and newspapers that this was the first time the social, political and

⁷¹ İlber Ortaylı, “Tanzimat Devri Basın Üzerine Notlar”, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim, Makaleler I*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2000, p. 489.

economic problems of the country were debated in the eyewitness of the Ottoman people.

The first newspaper which was published in Turkish and Arabic was *Takvim-i Mısriyye* by Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha in 1828 during his rule in Egypt. The following one was *Takvim- Vekayi* (1831), the official newspaper of Ottoman state⁷². *Ceride-i Havadis* was a free enterprise by an Englishman called Churchill. In this newspaper, many articles on literature, ethic and science were published. This newspaper also gave place to the articles about theatre and play summaries⁷³. The Ottoman press was becoming more systematic as the numbers of newspapers reached to twelve. Two of them were in Turkish and the others were in foreign languages⁷⁴. In 1860, Agâh Efendi and İbrahim Şinasi founded *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl* which became a platform for discussions and expressions of ideas. *Tasvir-ı Efkâr* (1862) gained popularity skill in using purer Turkish in its articles as *Tercüman-ı Ahvâl* did. The most important feature of this newspaper is that the editorial board preferred to give place the articles held history in a scientific manner.

The rise in their numbers and effect put the press a central position within reform movement. The reforms concerning women and their status in society were

⁷² Orhan Koloğlu, “Osmanlı Basını: İçeriği ve Rejimi”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Vol. I*, İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 1981, pp. 69- 70.

⁷³ Emel Aşa, “1869- 1923 Yılları Arasında Yayınlanan Türk Kadın ve Aile Dergileri”, *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişim Sürecinde Türk Ailesi, Vol. III*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayını, 1993, p. 966.

⁷⁴ Orhan Koloğlu, “Osmanlı Basını: İçeriği ve Rejimi”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Vol. I*, İstanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 1981, p. 75.

also under discussion by many journals and newspapers which dealt with women and their problems.

Terakki (1868) was a daily political newspaper. Although it was not a paper special to women, it is known as the first newspaper mentioned the rights of women. *Terakki* which defended the rights of women gave place some articles on the necessity of women's education and published essays criticizing polygamy and forced marriages⁷⁵. *Terakki* did not hesitate to give room to the letters of women's complaining the difficulties they encounter with in the social and family life. It also published a weekly supplement as *Terakki-i Muhâdderât* which was the first special women newspaper published 48 issues in 1869⁷⁶. The newspaper interested in mostly the education of young girls.

Mürebbi-i Muhâdderât was the other women periodical of the time. It started its publication in 1875 and announced itself as "giving useful information for women". It published a supplement named *Vakit*⁷⁷. *Aile* is another periodical that should be noted here even though it had only three volumes⁷⁸ in 1880. Şemsettin Sami was its editor and Mihran was the owner. *Aile* published articles on

⁷⁵ Bernard Caporal, *Kemalizm ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını*, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1982, p. 55.

⁷⁶ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993, p. 23.

⁷⁷ Emel Aşa, "1869- 1923 Yılları Arasında Yayınlanan Türk Kadın ve Aile Dergileri", *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişim Sürecinde Türk Ailesi*, Vol. III, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayını, 1993, p. 966.

⁷⁸ Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası*, prepared by Zehra Toska, Serpil Çakır, Tülay Gençtürk, Sevim Yılmaz, Selmin Kurç, Gökçen Art, Aynur Demirdirek, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993, p. 2.

housekeeping, family games, cooking, health and so on. The periodical was also the first independent publication for women⁷⁹.

Mürüvvet was a weekly women supplement of the newspaper *Mürüvvet* which gained the support of Abdülhamid II who declared that he was a supporter and promoter of the publication of women periodicals and newspapers. One of the most interesting features of this magazine was that it was separated the publication into nine different sections according to their topics⁸⁰. It can be deduced from the variety of sections based on different subjects that the magazine tried to raise the level of women's culture by increasing sorts of themes women were interested in.

Şüküfezar (1886) was the first journal of which editorial and administrative boards were totally composed of women. The journal attracted attention with its interesting abstract giving account for the reason of its publication as:

Women are members of a group always insulted by the men with the expression 'long hairs short wits'. We will strive for disproving this expression. We never prefer being women in favor of men or vice versa. We will only work and give effort to do something correct⁸¹.

⁷⁹ Emel Aşa, "1869- 1923 Yılları Arasında Yayınlanan Türk Kadın ve Aile Dergileri", *Sosyo Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi Vol III*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992,p. 966.

⁸⁰ Emel Aşa, "1869- 1923 Yılları Arasında Yayınlanan Türk Kadın ve Aile Dergileri", *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişim Sürecinde Türk Ailesi, Vol. III*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Yayını, 1993, p. 967.

⁸¹ Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1993, p. 15.

Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete which published twice in a week from 1895 to 1906 and once a week up to 1908 is known as the long lasting women periodical of the Ottoman Empire. Fatma Aliye, Emine Semiye, Nigâr Osman, Leyla Saz, Fatma Fahrünissa and Gülistan İsmet were the important woman writers of the periodical. They wrote about women's problems and stated that economic dependency was the reason of the women's backward position in society⁸². The periodical's demand for the equality of women in society was not more than searching for the recovery of their position as second class citizens. With the international news section, the periodical was informative about women and their life styles in Europe⁸³. With both its longevity of publication and also the writers in editorial board, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* was the most important periodical until the periodical named *Kadınlar Dünyası* was issued in the Second Constitutional Era.

The following facts on women periodicals published during the *Tanzimat* can be underlined as: Firstly, apart from *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, most of the journals or newspapers were closed down after only a few issues. Secondly, the women's periodicals could not go beyond borders of İstanbul except for *Âyine* published in Salonica⁸⁴. Thirdly, the matters taken up limited to those only

⁸² Serpil Çakır, "Aliye Fatma", *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms Central Eastern and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Francisca de Hann and the others, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006, p. 22.

⁸³ Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1993, p. 26.

⁸⁴ Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2009

appealed to Muslim women in the empire. These three reasons prevented women publication from reaching wide readers.

Women question was discussed within a narrow framework. The main focus of the periodicals was to educate Turkish women and to elevate their level of culture.

However, their efforts cannot be defined actually as a struggle for rights in its modern meaning. On the other hand, all of these efforts marked the subsistence of women themselves and their problems in the press and provided a basis for more profound future discussions as well as legal regulations concerning the life and the status of women.

CHAPTER III

THE OTTOMAN WOMEN DURING THE CONSTITUTIONAL ERA

The reform movements held in the 19th century as the consequence of recognition of the West as a modernized civilization next to the Empire. At first, these reforms mainly concentrated on military renovation for the fortification of the state and centralization of power. Efforts in the way of modifications on the administrative system of the empire were carried out in the reign of Selim III and Mahmud II. The following period, started with the Declaration of Gülhane Rescript in 1839 witnessed a great deal of transition towards institutionalized bureaucratic, legal and educational systems. Although the changes during the *Tanzimat* period were mostly superficial, they were of great significance owing to being the products of mental transition of the new born Ottoman intelligentsia. The *Tanzimat* reforms were trying to design a normative, systemized, centralized, controllable administrative and legal system. In fact, this kind of an approach was directed against the traditional patrimonial structure of the state and society and gave way to some reactions.

With the rise of *Tanzimat* bureaucracy which assumed the role of leadership in conducting the reforms on the way of rationalization and modernization of state apparatus. These reforms were carried out in accordance with the requirements of modernization and the expectations of Western powers in some extent. The *Tanzimat* bureaucracy tried to rule in a manner excluding some groups and classes.

Also, the *Tanzimat* reforms led to increase the duality or bifurcation both in education and law⁸⁵, *medreses* next to modern schools and religious courts with secular ones. The duality during the *Tanzimat* era of course led to depressions and resistance in some extent in the fields of politics and social life. On the other hand, the economic and social problems and political instabilities as a natural consequence of these problems together with the international political pressure paved the way to the appearance of constitutionalist idea which claims itself to be directed to the authoritarian nature of ruling elites.

The liberal outlook inspired by the West became the main discourse of the opposing groups. The press also played a vital role in dissemination of these new ideas. As a matter of fact the press was the main instrument in opposing movement called the Young Ottomans founded in 1865 by the intellectuals like Namık Kemal, Şinasi, Ali Suavi and Ziya Pasha. The Young Ottoman movement held a significant role in the preparation of Kanun-i Esasi and proclamation of the First Constitution⁸⁶. On the other hand it is the fact that it was not a coincidence that the constitutional monarchy declared in the time when the political tension resulted from the crises in the Balkans was at the peak, the footsteps of oncoming Russian war were seen and inner political conflicts became severe as some important reasons for the declaration of constitutional monarchy⁸⁷. The First Constitution

⁸⁵ İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

⁸⁶ Cemil Koçak “Yeni Osmanlılar ve Birinci Meşrutiyet”, *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce-Cumhuriyet’e Devreden Düşünce Mirası Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet’in Birikimi Vol. I*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001.

⁸⁷ Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye’nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2008, pp. 219- 231.

could run only for a very short time. In 1877, the Russo-Ottoman War break out, Abdülhamid II exiled Midhad Pasha⁸⁸ who known as the architect of Kanun-i Esasi and the Sultan abolished the assembly and the Kanun- i Esasi was shelved.

The assembly could reconvene again after thirty years. Although these thirty years passed away with restrictions and prohibitions of Abdülhamid's autocratic regime, an intensive movement of reform was also carried out through which many improvements in education, communication, technology and transportation were brought out. The new institutions of education installed during the Hamidian era paradoxically were the places the most decisive opponents of Abdülhamid regime were brought up. Some members of the Young Turk movement which took the road in 1889 in order to re-establish the constitutional regime in opposition to Abdulhamid II were the graduates of these schools. The movement initiated in Military School of Medicine in 1889 accelerated its organized actions against the regime after the foundation of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and the activities of this group against the authority of Abdülhamid II resulted in the reactivation of constitutional monarchy again in 1908⁸⁹.

With the opening of the Second Constitutional Era, Ottoman women became more apparent and effective. Women individually or collectively began to claim a more active role in social, economic and military fields through the associations.

⁸⁸ Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2008, p. 228.

⁸⁹ Sina Akşin, "Jön Türkler", *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, Vol. III*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1981.

The Ottoman women started to state their claims in an organized manner through the associations they founded and also by means of the press.⁹⁰

The developments concerning the women's status in society were obviously closely related with the political developments of the period. Therefore, the first part of this chapter will look over the women situation during the first years of Second Constitutional era in parallel with to the social and political developments the empire experienced. Then, the associations closely related with women's movement and women periodicals of the time will be examined. Finally, the most significant of many women magazines published throughout the Second Constitutional Era will be the topic of the last sub-title of this chapter.

3.1 The Situation of Women during the First Years of Second Constitutional Era in the Context of Socio-Political Developments

In the Second Constitutional Era, the ideology of Ottomanism, which was widespread in the 19th century, was replaced by a nationalist and corporatist ideology after the Balkan Wars. Although Ottomanism was not completely given up, nationalism started to be the dominant ideology among the intellectuals and government officials⁹¹. Especially the extraordinary conditions which emerged after the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913 led to strengthening of corporatism and solidarity. The family as a solidarity group in a sociological context became one of

⁹⁰ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p.22.

⁹¹ Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi", *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce- Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi, Vol I*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, pp. 117- 128.

the basic concerns of the Unionists⁹². By this way, “the family became a political issue” in the condition of war⁹³ and the Young Turks redefined the functions of the family and naturally ‘the woman’ socially and politically. Why the women were more visible mostly through the associations established with the aim of charity and aid for especially the soldiers in the war and helpless people is a result of the role allocated for women as a part of national solidarity⁹⁴.

In addition, the role of women in society which had become more apparent with the ongoing efforts of then current ruling party, the CUP was redefined in accordance with the principles of nationalism which had been targeted to become the dominant ideology. Meanwhile, women’s participation in the public sphere was both encouraged and limited through government politics. Population and employment policies were the most effective ones among central control mechanisms. As Ziya Gökalp claimed, these mechanisms were used to create a ‘national family’ in order to unionize the people. The statement: “We already handed political reforms, now we should carry out social reforms as well. We could make social reforms mainly for amending the family life.”⁹⁵ included in the article titled ‘Reform in Family Life’ (Ailede İmtiyaç) which appeared in *Kadınlar Dünyası*, one of the prominent journals of the time, indicates that *Kadınlar Dünyası* agrees with Ziya

⁹² Zafer Toprak, “The Family, Feminsm and the State During the Young Turk Period, 1908- 1918”, *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l'Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne*, İstanbul-Paris: Éditions ISIS, 1991, p.443.

⁹³ Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009, p. 101.

⁹⁴ Zafer Toprak, “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Devlet, Aile ve Feminizm,” in: *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi, Vol. I*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık AileAraştırma Kurumu, 1992, pp. 228-232.

⁹⁵ İçtimai, “Ailede İmtizaç”, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, July 12, 1330, No: 151, p. 2

Gokalp's ideas. Reforms in the family life have been the intersection point of the Ottoman women's movement with Turkish nationalism that became apparent in the Second Constitutional Era⁹⁶. The Ottoman women who had taken steps towards socialization along with the Second Constitutional Era began to characterize themselves as a member of the social environment they lived in and an individual of the population that constituted the nation as well as they questioned their social status and duties besides the status and domestic duties of them⁹⁷.

3.2. The Major Women Associations of the Period

Two reasons made the women's associations important in the Second Constitutional Era: First, the early appearance of Ottoman women in social life in the Second Constitutional Era was taken place through the activities held in the unions which were mostly founded for charities. Second, several women's periodicals were the official publications of some effective associations in the political life. Due to the ongoing wars, these associations were mainly struggle for providing clothes to the soldiers on the front, aiding the wounded soldiers and supporting the families of the soldiers died in the battlefield. Following the defeats of the Ottoman army in the Balkans and the Caucasus, the Muslims of lost

⁹⁶ Fatmagül Berktay, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Feminizm, *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirası Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009, p.355.

⁹⁷Güldane Çolak, Lale, Uçan, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Basında Kadın Öncüler*, İstanbul: Heyamola Yayınları, 2008, p.21

territories embarked a big migration to Anatolia and İstanbul escaping from violence. As a result of huge masses as immigrants; famine, epidemics and starvation spread over the cities. Some people, especially women, did not remain indifferent to the deploring situation and began to work for aiding the poor, the destitutes and the helpless people. In the meantime some associations were established for charity. Even though the history of the association of this kind dated back to early constitutional era, they have become widespread with the coming of the Second Constitutional Era.

There were several associations and charity organizations which were founded or managed by women. The *Cemiyet-i İmdadiye* founded by Fatma Aliye in 1908 to provide winter clothing for the soldiers of the Rumeli frontier was important as being the first women's organization⁹⁸. The association had also some welfare activities abroad⁹⁹. The women who were the members of this organization have contributed to the aid campaigns of their association by selling their handcrafts.

The *Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* is another association founded by women in the same year with *Cemiyet-i İmdadiye*. This association declared that the organization was open to whole women regardless of their religion intended to help the orphan females and children.

⁹⁸ Tezer Takıran, *Cumhuriyet'in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p. 38.

⁹⁹ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, pp. 43- 44.

In addition, political parties also had charity unions. The unions, *İttihat ve Terakki Kadınlar Şubesi*, *Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti* founded under the patronage of CUP and *Osmanlı Kadınları Terakkiperver Cemiyeti* which had been founded by CUP for women were the examples of this kind of practices¹⁰⁰. *İttihat ve Terakki Kadınlar Şubesi*” was founded in 1908 for helping the soldiers and deprived people. Also, it was established with the leadership of a political party, it organized political activities such as arranged meetings. In these meetings some speeches and poems were presented in order to awaken the national sensations.

In 1912, the *Donanma Cemiyeti Hanımlar Şubesi*, founded by Nezihe Muhiddin, aimed to collect money for Ottoman navy but this aim could be achieved one year later from the foundation¹⁰¹.

The *Esirgeme Cemiyeti* was founded for aiding the *İttihat ve Terakki Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Union and Progress Vocational School for Girls). The secretary of this organization was Nezihe Muhiddin. The association had lots of branch offices in İstanbul and arranged some courses in the aim of serving in educational and cultural purposes¹⁰². In 1912 another *Esirgeme Cemiyeti* was founded for the purpose of the help the immigrants and orphan people after the Balkan Wars.

¹⁰⁰ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 56.

¹⁰¹ Şefika Kurnaz. *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996, p. 115.

¹⁰² Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p.39.

Nezihe Muhiddin was the secretary of this organization too. The association was enlisted as the organization serving for public good after the will of the Sultan¹⁰³. Both of these organizations were known with their nationalist activities¹⁰⁴.

The workings of the women under the roof of an official organization had started with the *Kızılay Hanımlar Merkezi* which came into effect by Dr. Besim Ömer within the body of the *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*. The *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* of which former title was the *Mecruhin ve Zuefa-yı Askeriyeye İmdat Cemiyeti* was founded in 1877¹⁰⁵. The association which was inactive during the regressive years of the Hamidian regime was reorganized after the declaration of Second Constitution in 1908. The members of the association were assembled in 1911 and the Regulation for the *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* was enacted after this meeting. One of the articles in the regulation titled as the Women's Wing League of *Hilal-i Ahmer* declared the establishment of a *Hanımlar Merkezi* (Women's Centre) with their branches¹⁰⁶. The main aim of this centre was to hold the support of whole men and women and to bring women active position in the society¹⁰⁷. The

¹⁰³ Serpil Çakır, "XX. Yüzyılın Başında Kadın ve Aile Dernekleri ve Nizamnameleri", *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi, Vol III*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992, p. 996.

¹⁰⁴ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, pp.39- 40.

¹⁰⁵ Seçil Karal Akgün and Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a*, Ankara: Kızılay, 2002, p. 27.

¹⁰⁶ Seçil Karal Akgün and Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a*, Ankara: Kızılay, 2002, pp. 35- 39.

¹⁰⁷ Seçil Karal Akgün and Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a*, Ankara: Kızılay, 2002, p. 40.

Women Centre should be assessed far more than an ordinary charity organization. It was essentially a multi-functional organization. It cared for the soldiers on the war front and supplied their clothes, foods and equipments. On the other hand, behind the front it dealt with civilians especially migrated from the occupied land after the wars. In additionally, being essentially a women's organization it was charged with reflecting the spirit of modernization which was the target of constitutional monarchy. The association undertook such an important social role that it led to women to have social status and to coexistence of women and men in social structure. Being the first in terms of welfare activities arranged by women, the association well organized in hospitals. Moreover, it established the *Daru's-sîna* (art house), joined an international exhibition with handicrafts produced in the art house of the centre and also published a women calendar of events which contributed to personal development and expanded their horizons. It contained knowledge related with multiple subjects from philosophy to education, health and first aid. Besides, the booklet involved in many phrases and mottos raising the self confidence of the women: "better the status women held, more the country developed", "progress and evolution is impossible without women", "in order to freed country from collapse, it is essential to mind girls firstly" and " the most important national power is the young girls" ¹⁰⁸.

The *Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti İslamiyesi* (1916) came out in order to satisfy the employment gap which was the consequence of recruitment of

¹⁰⁸ Seçil Karal Akgün and Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a*, Ankara: Kızılay, 2002, pp. 150- 164.

men in big masses for the wars. The association tried to satisfy the deficiency in employment through supplying job opportunities for the women. The association supported by Enver Pasha and his wife. The association also undertook the responsibility of conducting the official population policy of the Ottoman state and obliged the officials and the labor to work for the association to marry in order to support the policy aiming to prevent families from collapsing¹⁰⁹.

The activities of associations established by women with the aim of charity have given rise to solidarity among women and also strengthened their social awareness. Through these kinds of activities women have had the chance of becoming together and participate in social life effectively. Such a role of these associations and similar organizations also provided a basis for women's apprehension of their own role in family and society and consciousness of moving together within the framework of certain purposes. That is why many different associations were founded by women in order to advocate women's rights, to support women for their participation in working life, to provide employment for women and also to offer some facilities for the education of the Ottoman women.

The *Teal-i Nisvan* which was founded by Halide Edip and her fellows on behalf of improving the cultural level of the women was an early sample of unions founded for charity in 1908. The *Hizmet-i Nisvan* was founded by Fatma Aliye's sister Emine Semiye in Edirne. It was composed of ten Muslim and six non-

¹⁰⁹ Zafer Toprak, "Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti Kadın Askerler ve Milli Aile", *Tarih ve Toplum*, Vol. IX, No: 51, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, March 1988, pp. 34-37.

Muslim women. Fehime Sultan, the daughter of Sultan Murat was one of the founders of this organization ¹¹⁰. This organization aimed at encouraging women to receive education, participate in working life and use domestic products. Another association aiming to defend the women's rights was the *Osmanlı Cemiyeti Hayriye-i Nisvaniye* opened in 1909. The association opened a hospital and a school. *Malumat-i Dahiliye Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi*, targeting to support women to participate in work life, was founded in 1912. The association was also supported by the *Milli Meşrutiyet Fırkası* (National Constitutional Party)¹¹¹. One of the most effective associations was the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* which meant that “the association for defending women rights”¹¹².

One of the most important of such kind of associations was *Teal-i Nisvan*, the name of which meant “the rise of women”, was not only a charity; it was also among the associations asserting the rights of women. It aimed to raise the level of education and culture of women without disregarding traditional values¹¹³. *Teali-i Nisvan* was working to aid the emigrants escape from the wars in Rumelia, giving effort to prevent from epidemics, setting up hospitals and nursing. It also organized courses for illiterates and people willing to learn foreign languages and arranged

¹¹⁰ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 45.

¹¹¹ Şefika Kurnaz, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996, pp. 97- 98.

¹¹² Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını 1908- 1960*, Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p. 41.

¹¹³ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p.38; Tezer Takıran, *Cumhuriyet'in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p. 38.

conferences in order to educate people with the participation of both men and women¹¹⁴ and these courses were given in a classroom in Gedikpaşa¹¹⁵. Furthermore, some instructors were giving courses of translation classes. Thanks to the courses of these kinds many articles relating women issues, history, literary and social matters were translated into Turkish from foreign languages especially from English. Additionally, to read and write Turkish very well and to attend English courses were some of the conditions to be a member of the association¹¹⁶.

The *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* founded in 1913 precisely worked on the purpose of defending women's rights. The association attributing special attention for the education of women stimulated the women to participate in working life and began businesses for women. The association established by Ulviye Mevlan intended to relieve the misery of women to open private schools, publish newspapers and booklets, arrange conferences, reform the clothing of women and create national attire. The organization advocated the right of higher education for women and made courses in the İstanbul University available for women in 1913. Then, a university for women, *İnas Darulfünunu* was set up as a next step. The association also cooperated with the women's organizations in

¹¹⁴ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p.39.

¹¹⁵ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 53.

¹¹⁶ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p.39.

foreign countries¹¹⁷. Additionally, the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-yı Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* obtained employment in public offices for the women. As an illustration, Bedra Osman and her friends were accepted by the İstanbul Phone Company. The *Osmanlı Müdafaa-yı Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* was very significant as in terms of being the holder of *Kadınlar Dünyası* which is the main topic of this study. *Kadınlar Dünyası* together with the activities of the association encouraged women to take part in advocating women's rights and pioneered the movement on the purpose of women's emancipation.

3.3. The Best Known Women's Periodicals of the Period

The leaders of women organized charity activities maintained under the roof of these organizations, being lack of education in the first place brought the problems of women within the household and society up for discussion via press¹¹⁸. Women's periodicals, started to be published since the second half of 19th century proliferated during the Second Constitutional Period. At first *Demet*, *Mehasin*, *Mefharet* and *Kadın* periodicals were published in 1908. Except for these, a great deal of women's periodicals such as *Muvasser Kadın*, *Kadın*, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, *Erkekler Dünyası*, *Güzel Prenses*, *Kadınlık*, *Siyaset*, *Seyyale*, *Hanımlar Alemi*, *Kadınlar Alemi*, *Kadınlık Hayatı*, *Bilgi Yurdu Işığı*, *Türk Kadını*, *Genç Kadın*, *Kadın Duygusu*, *İnci*, *Diyane*, *Kadınlar Saltanatı*, *Hanım*, *Ev Hocası* and *Firuze*

¹¹⁷ Serpil Çakır, "XX. Yüzyılın Başında Kadın ve Aile Dernekleri ve Nizamnameleri", *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi, Vol III*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992, pp. 1008- 1009.

¹¹⁸ Güldane Çolak, Lale, Uçan, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Basında Kadın Öncüler*, İstanbul: Heyamola Yayınları, 2008, p.22.

were published until the establishment of the Republic even some of them were very short-lived¹¹⁹.

Political, social, ideological, and economic changes undergone during the Second Constitutional Period had an enormous impact on the emergence of women's periodicals. The government policies which took their form in accordance with the conditions of the period had effected on women. This fast conversion had also shaped the thought of intelligentsia in the Ottoman state. The idea of national economy was consolidated and consciousness of history gained more importance in order to create a sense of national identity in the wake of ideological changes and transformations. The enlightened people of the period gathered around the societies like *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland Association), *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Society), *Tarih- i Osmani Encümeni* (Committee of the Ottoman History) made efforts in order to develop a national culture, policy, and history understanding. It is possible to follow the traces of this freshly expanded understanding in women periodicals of the period.

The articles in the women's periodicals stated the policies of the period. Especially constitutionalism was enthusiastically welcomed by women's periodicals and the idea of the need for the constitutional regime was accepted for the salvation of the nation. In 1908, the *Mefharet* periodical which was released in Salonika put 'Long Live the National Assembly' as headline on to its cover page. This phrase was important because it was the first time that the concept of

¹¹⁹ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, pp. 32- 37.

“national assembly” was used instead of “the deputies’ assembly”¹²⁰. When the intellectual articles of another early periodical of the Constitutional Period was twelve issues *Mehasin*, founded by Asaf Muammer and Mehmet Rauf¹²¹. The periodical known with its Western orientation stood on behalf of constitutionalism, and advocated the education and legal rights of women. The periodical published the texts of women conferences. At one of these conferences, Celal Sahir said that “the reason that the women were deprived of being educated, going to the university or working as doctors, lawyers, teachers and so on, is not the effect of religion but the ignorance and darkness of East”¹²². The pictures of this periodical were prepared in Europe, and the photographs of women in Western style clothing were published¹²³ in order to orient women to Westernized life. In another conference, Celal Sahir stated that women of the world were vigorously struggling for their rights and consequently women gained their rights to vote in Australia, New Zeland and some parts of the United States. He also informed that there were several women deputies in the Finnish National Assembly in 1907 and showed these women as examples for their Turkish fellows. He added that the constitutional government could not just deal with improving the legal rights of

¹²⁰ Afet İnan, *Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması: Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadının hak ve Görevleri*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1975, p. 93.

¹²¹ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını*, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p.12.

¹²² Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyet’in 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Yayınları, 1973, p. 51.

¹²³ Şefika Kurnaz, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996, pp. 141- 145.

women due to the fact that it had to engage in the problems inherited from the old government¹²⁴.

Another important periodical of the time was *Demet* published in İstanbul seven issues by Hakkı Bey. In its first issue the periodical declared that, *Demet* was a weekly literary, political illustrated magazine for women. The periodical gave room to the problems of women education, the care of children, fashion and the culture of women. Most of the articles of the periodical indicated that it was supporting the Young Turk movement. In periodical, it was aimed to spread the ideas of the Young Turks among women¹²⁵. Although *Demet* was a publication for the Ottoman Muslim women, it is important that it printed the photographs of the Armenian women¹²⁶ and informed the reader about Armenian women writers. The articles publishing about literary works of Armenian women writers imposed the protection of women's rights and freedom which were acquaint Ottoman society with feminist thoughts at first time¹²⁷.

¹²⁴ Şefika Kurnaz, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996, p. 143.

¹²⁵ Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını*, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1998, p. 12.

¹²⁶ Emel Aşa, "1869- 1923 Yılları Arasında Yayımlanan Türk Kadın ve Aile Dergileri", *Sosyo Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi Vol III*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992, p. 969.

¹²⁷ Tülay Keskin, *Feminist Nationalist Discourse In the First Year of the Ottoman Revolutionary Press (1908- 1909): Readings From the Magazines of Demet, Mehasin and Kadın (Salonica)*, Unprinted Master Thesis, Bilkent University, 2003, p. 61.

Kadın was the other periodical that was published in Salonica outside from İstanbul for the first time¹²⁸. It was published in 1908-1909 but it published in İstanbul one issue titled *Musavver Kadın*¹²⁹. Most of the authors in the periodical included the figures of Turkish nationalism, the famous figures of politics and literature. With its cadre, the *Kadın* was one of the earliest forums of women's rights in the newborn Turkish movement¹³⁰. Emel Aşa categorized the articles of *Kadın* into three sections: One of them was communal culture, the other was women and femininity issues and last one was the literary works. The periodical published so as to advocate women's rights, prominently focused on the education of women. As it stated in the abstract of the journal, the primary object of the periodical was to address all women readers regardless of their level of education. In addition, not satisfying with dealing only with the problems of Turkish women, the periodical also gave place many translated articles on their pages. These articles were mainly on domestic issues like family and marriages, motherhood, feminism, women's movements in Muslim and European countries, ethics and status of women in Western civilizations¹³¹.

¹²⁸ Emel Aşa, "1869- 1923 Yılları Arasında Yayınlanan Türk Kadın ve Aile Dergileri", *Sosyo Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi Vol III*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992,p. 970.

¹²⁹ Emel Aşa, "1869- 1923 Yılları Arasında Yayınlanan Türk Kadın ve Aile Dergileri", *Sosyo Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi Vol III*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992,p. 970.

¹³⁰ Tülay Keskin, *Feminist Nationalist Discourse In the First Year of the Ottoman Revolutionary Press (1908- 1909): Readings From the Magazines of Demet, Mehasin and Kadın (Salonica)*, Unprinted Master Thesis, Bilkent University, 2003, p. 77.

¹³¹ Emel Aşa, "1869- 1923 Yılları Arasında Yayınlanan Türk Kadın ve Aile Dergileri", *Sosyo Kültürel Değişme Sürecinde Türk Ailesi Vol III*, Ankara: T. C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992,p. 971.

The women's periodicals emerged during the Second Constitutional Period published articles to protect traditional values on one hand, and articles to support the orientation to modern life on the other hand. The women wrote articles for these periodicals were generally the daughters of the respectable families, who were educated by teachers at home or attended to foreign schools. Among the intelligentsia who tried to work for the awakening of the women there were also some men published articles in women's periodicals.

There are some other periodicals which were published at Constitutional Period. Most of the periodicals had been short lasting but one of them was different from them in terms of both the cadre of writers and the duration of publishing. The *Kadınlar Dünyası* as one of the most important Constitutional Era Women Periodical minded the problems of the period and tried to find solutions to the situation of Empire. It also advocated a great plan for a new Turkey after 1908 which included a comprehensive reform movement in the social, economic and educational life¹³² That is why the *Kadınlar Dünyası* will be examined and studied separately in the last chapter.

¹³² Hester Donaldson Jenkins, *An Educational Ambassador the the Near East*, New York, Chicago, London & Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1925, p. 297.

CHAPTER IV

KADINLAR DÜNYASI

Kadınlar Dünyası, which was the official publication of *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti*, a society which advocates and protects the rights of women gave so many opportunities to analyze the change in the status, role and identity of women and also to understand in what extent these changes brought new political and social demands. The periodical had a considerably important role in the women movement and in questioning the values demanded to be altered by Ottoman women. Another significant reason for considering it as a valuable source in understanding the character of the Ottoman women's movement is that multiple articles published by the women from very different segments of society. This facilitates deciphering the basic motivations behind women's demands for changes in social structure, politics, education, law, family and working life. If the major incentives could be revealed, it would be easier to question that what kind of a role women held both as an object and as a subject in the process of national state formation and in what extent they expressed their relations with the politics of modern bureaucratic elite.

Not all the subject titles in the periodical will be held in this chapter in a mechanical approach. Instead, the main question of this thesis will be directed to the periodical in order to understand how it formulated the women's movement. When the main characteristics of the intelligentsia during the first years of Second

Constitutional Era are examined, three different fields of analysis arise. Initially, the articles in the first 100 volumes of the periodical published in 1913 will be analyzed in terms of the ideas on education. Then, the historical understanding of the periodical's writers will be studied between the lines of articles and lastly the articles in the periodical will be analysed in regards to whether they reflect an idea of "national economy" or something else different. The evaluation directed to the fields of education, history and economics will be carried out by keeping the main question of this thesis in mind that whether the Ottoman women's movement, which naturally led women to recognize their own identities and rights, essentially brought about with the consciousness of their own femininity or their movement was it accepted as a symbolic instrument by the modernist and nationalist ruling men as means of implementing their political projects. In other words, were the women figure struggling for their own rights as a subject of this matter or totally as an object? If the women of the Second Constitutional Era were not able to overcome their inevitable faith of being "historical objects" despite of the fact that they held a considerable progress in their status?

4.1. About the Periodical

Kadınlar Dünyası which was founded by Ulviye Mevlan started to be published on April 4, 1329 (1913). It is written on the cover page that "Daily scientific, literary and social newspaper special for women. This is an edition exclusive for esteemed Ottoman ladies regardless of gender, ethnicity and sects". First 100 issues of the periodical were published daily, so it was announced as a

daily newspaper but later, the periodical maintained its publication weekly. Because of war and other poor conditions, the periodical was confronted three intervals until it was ended in 1921. Because of the shortage of paper, the first break after the 154th issue lasted three months; second it was recessed four years due to the First World War. After four years, periodical was started to be issued in its 163rd volume and maintained up to 194th volume. It was ended probably due to the Independence War. In 1921, the last issue was the periodical published with the number of 194/15¹³³.

There is no certain data for the press run but at the 165th issue it was announced that the periodical published 3000 printing because of shortage of paper and suggested the readers to subscribe. Regular daily publishing of *Kadınlar Dünyası* was four pages without any pictures, started to climb to sixteen pages with pictures and photographs at its heading page after weekly publishing issues¹³⁴. The daily issues were 10 liras including mailing cost and weekly issues were 20 liras. On the other hand, yearly subscription was 100 liras and six months subscription was 60 liras. For foreign countries annual and semi- annual subscriptions were 38 and 20 franks. Its managerial office was at Binbirdirek- Sultan Ahmet at first and then moved to Divan Yolu- Sultan Ahmet.¹³⁵

¹³³ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 80.

¹³⁴ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 81.

¹³⁵ *Kadınlar Dünyası (1913- 1921), Vol. I* (edited by Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı Yayınları, 2009, p. 1; Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 81.

The title of the periodical was written both in Arabic and in Latin letters. It also issued a French supplement named “Monde Feminin” from the 121st issue to 128th in order to inform the women of West about the Ottoman women and establish mutual relationship. In this supplement, the periodical published articles like *La polygamie et l’Islam* (The Polygamy and Islam), *Pour le journal Kadınlar Dünyası* (For the Kadınlar Dünyası Periodical), *La Femme Turque et son role social* (The Turkish Woman and Her Social Role), *Il y a Feministes et Feministes* (There are Feminists and Feminists), *Chronique feministe* (The Feminist Chronicle) and *Turques et Françaises* (The Turks and the French)¹³⁶.

Kadınlar Dünyası expressed that, with the publication of this periodical not only the acquisition of women’s rights would be provided, but also the nation would be elevated; therefore a binary mission could be achieved in consequence¹³⁷. *Kadınlar Dünyası* which was accepted as a pioneer in Ottoman women’s movement gave so many information about which reasons made the Ottoman women complaint about their situation, what kind of a struggle they maintained in order to overcome some related problems and defend their rights and also what kind of conflicts they became aware both their own gender who oppose their struggle and also the opposite sex¹³⁸. It was stated in its first edition which was

¹³⁶ Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı. *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası*, (prepared by Zehra Toska, Serpil Çakır, Tülay Gençtürk, Sevim Yılmaz, Selmin Kurç, Gökçen Art, Aynur Demirdirek), İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993, pp. 279- 283; Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 81.

¹³⁷ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 88.

¹³⁸ *Kadınlar Dünyası (1913- 1921), Vol. I* (edited by Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 1.

published on April 4, 1329 (1913) that *Kadınlar Dünyası* follows the experiments of women's publishing activities developed in the framework of the women movement in Europe and the United States of America¹³⁹. This shows that the periodical monitored the women movements outside the empire.

The staff of the periodical was all women and it was emphasized by the periodical itself that only the articles written by women writers can take part. The names of writers was not completely defined but the articles of periodical gave a bit information about the writers wrote frequently. Ulviye Mevlan, Aziz Haydar, Emine Seher Ali, Mükerrerrem Belkıs, Atiye Şükran, Aliye Cevad, Sıdıka Ali Rıza,, Safiye Biran, Yaşar Nezihe, Nimet Cemil, Sacide, Nebile Akif, Melihe Cenana, Mes'adet Bedirhan were the prominent writers of the periodical. Each writer specialized in certain issues. Ulviye Mevlan, Aziz Haydar, Emine Seher Ali, Mükerrerrem Belkıs and Nimet Cemil generally wrote on women rights, feminism, social problems and education; Nebile Akif and Atiye Şükran emphasized on navy and industry. Mes'adet Bedirhan published many plays having social themes. Yaşar Nezihe and Meliha Cenana were the poets addressing many poems with social messages¹⁴⁰.

Ulviye Mevlan recognized as the founder of the magazine was a woman trained in the Ottoman palace where she brought in her early ages. She was forced

¹³⁹ *Kadınlar Dünyası (1913- 1921), Vol. I* (edited by Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 88.

to marry an elderly man while training in the Ottoman palace. In the first few issues, her name was written as Nuriye Ulviye and after her second marriage with Rifat Mevlan, she started to use her husband's last name. Ulviye Mevlan who was also the founder of *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* started to publish *Kadınlar Dünyası* in her early twenties. Although she suffered many difficulties at great personal costs, she did her best in order to be able maintain the publishing of the periodical. She laid a great effort mobilizing women and improving their position in social life¹⁴¹. Despite of the fact that there is no indication at the end of the editorial column, it was recognized that editorial column was written down by Ulviye Mevlan. Later, she signed the editorial column with her own name under the title of *Düşünüyorum*.

One another writer of the periodical, Aziz Haydar opened a school named *Ana Mektebi* (Mother's School) with his brother İsmet Haydar and gave great effort to educate young girls who would be mothers of future generations. She attained great significance the education of mother because she believes that a good generation could be brought up only by well educated mothers. In addition to being a school teacher and school manager, she also published many articles focusing on the significance of women's education¹⁴².

¹⁴¹ Serpil Çakır, "Mevlan Civelek, Ulviye", *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movement and Feminisms Central Eastern and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Francisca de Hann and the others, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006, p. 336- 337.

¹⁴² Güldane Çolak and Lale Uçan, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Basında Kadın Öncüleri*, İstanbul: Heyamola Yayınları, 2008, p. 89-90.

Emine Seher who was the chief editor of *Kadınlar Dünyası* until the 107th edition of the periodical wrote many articles on many different issues like women rights, social problems, education, arts, history and entrepreneurship. Yaşar Nezihe, another well-known writer of the periodical was actually a poet who was the first woman to focus on social issues in her poems. Nezihe whose poems were published by many different periodicals of the time written also a poetry book titled *Feryadlarım* (My Cry). Her poems reflected the tragedies she lived throughout her childhood and rest of her life¹⁴³. Mes'adet Bedirhan was known with her plays published in the periodical. Additionally, Belkıs Şevket who known as also the first woman getting on a plane supported women entrepreneurs to take part in business life and defended the coexistence of women and men in social life¹⁴⁴.

In addition to the writers, there were many translators in the periodical such as Nadire Nazmi, Sıyret Tevfik, Mihrinur Hanım, Aliye Cevad Asım and Leman Cezmi. It is the fact that all these writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* were not entirely Turkish origins. There were many women from different nationalities who were the members of *Osmanlı Müdafa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* at the same time. Some of these writers were Odette Feldman, Grace Ellison, Amelie Frisch, Madam Dugue de la Fauconneire, Lucy Tomayon and Lia Hurşi.

¹⁴³ Güldane Çolak and Lale Uçan, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Basında Kadın Öncüler*, İstanbul: Heyamola Yayınları, 2008, p. 59-60; Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 84-85.

¹⁴⁴ Güldane Çolak and Lale Uçan, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Basında Kadın Öncüler*, İstanbul: Heyamola Yayınları, 2008, p. 59-60; Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 31-32.

4.2. Main Issues in the Periodical

One of the most important women periodicals of the time, *Kadınlar Dünyası* naturally gave room priority to the women and their problems as the most important issues. The primary issue held in the periodical is women's participation in social life formerly they isolated from. The articles sending to the periodical often emphasized on the importance of the issue for women and to formulate how this participation should be carried out¹⁴⁵. The obstacles of their participation in social life and the rules of the involvement they have to be subjected were the other significant subjects discussed in the periodical.

The necessity of women's attainment to their freedom was mainly emphasized in the articles. The objectives listed in the article titled *Osmanlı Kadınlığının İsteddiği* (What the Ottoman Women Demand) were the most often discussed issues in the periodical at the same time:

- To elevate the level of women's education by founding new schools or reforming the old ones.
- To encourage women's participation in professional life and commerce
- To improve women's clothing
- To reorganize the marital rules

¹⁴⁵ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 161.

- To improve women's status in family
- To treat mothers in capable of raising up their children properly
- To encourage women's involvement in social life¹⁴⁶

According to the *Kadınlar Dünyası*, the reform for women was directly related with social reform and the acquisition of education, legal rights and a proper status in family and professional life were the basis for women's involvement in social life and for the redefinition of their role in new social system¹⁴⁷. These issues were discussed in different sections and volumes of *Kadınlar Dünyası*. Furthermore, in order to stimulate women's consciousness, the periodical published also the letters from women readers, the news about women's associations and announcements for conferences.

Kadınlar Dünyası did not only interested in Ottoman women but also portrayed the conditions the women abroad. One section in the periodical throughout its first twelve volumes is allocated for the history of women's status in different parts of the world from Arabia to China. Additionally, there were many articles and news in the periodical trying to convey its reader some information regarding the women's movement especially in Europe and the United States. For instance, the article titled *Kadınlar Nasıl Çalışıyorlar?* (How the Women Are Struggling?) uttered that women in the United Kingdom firstly made propaganda

¹⁴⁶ *Kadınlar Dünyası*, "Osmanlı Kadınlığının İstedığı", October 15, 1329, No: 112, p. 2 cited by Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 165.

¹⁴⁷ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 167.

through meetings, demonstrations and conferences in order to defend their rights and then initiated hunger strikes and even acts of violence. The same article also announced that the periodical would inform the reader about the developments relating to the women's rights in Europe.¹⁴⁸

From its very early issues *Kadınlar Dünyası* published articles which examined the reasons of the poor conditions that the Ottoman State and nation fall into, and in these articles the primary reasons of the bad condition of the country were emphasized as illiteracy and economic irregularity. In these articles it was highlighted that illiteracy was mostly aroused from women. To illustrate, Emine Seher Ali states in one of her articles:

There is certainly a broad difference between the German mother who nourish her child's mind by enlightening them through the knowledge of national traditions and ancestry and binding her child with their historical and national values; and our mothers who lead their children to laziness and timidity by threatening them through haggish irrationalities. What is the reason for the difference? The reason is undoubtedly lack of education¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁸ Fahriye Bedirhan, "Kadınlar Nasıl Çalışıyorlar", April 9, 1329, No: 6 in *Kadınlar Dünyası* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 57- 59.

¹⁴⁹ Emine Seher Ali, "Kadınlıkta Seviye-i İrfan", April 4, 1329, No: 1 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p.5.

The German women were well educated and so they bred their children properly. However, because of the illiteracy of Turkish women, both the children were not educated well and the nation also did not elevate. Also, in her article published in the first issue of the periodical she argued that the Turkish women were mostly illiterate, and the unconscious people grown up through illiteracy would be beneficial neither for themselves nor for the nation.

Education of women often held as one of the most important or even the most important issue within the Ottoman women's movement. When some of the letters sent to the periodical are recognized, it is revealed that some women saw the women question simply not more than a problem of illiteracy and thought that the women movement should not be exaggerated¹⁵⁰. Additionally education of women was thought along with the education of children. Because, it was believed that to be able to raised future generations beneficial to their country could be possible through educated mothers. It demonstrated that the ideological background of will for women's education was rather related with the ideal of social progress than feminist inclinations. Such a social role ascribed to the women was one of the most important matters *Kadınlar Dünyası* concerns about. That's why there is a regular corner in the periodical for the education of children titled *Terbiye-i Etfal* (Child Education).

¹⁵⁰Şefika, Kurnaz, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996, p. 148.

In almost all issues of the periodical, various articles emphasized that the development and modernization of a nation depended on the women and the development could only be achieved by means of education of women. According to periodical, the education should be multipurpose. Individuals ought to be adopted into social life through education and they also impressed by national sentiments¹⁵¹. Accordingly, some lectures were given and advertisements of various conferences were placed on the periodical without fee. In addition to illiteracy, lack of the practice of old traditions and laws and their reevaluation were stated some important reasons for Ottoman State's decline. Moreover, the necessity for changing the old rules and rearranging them in accordance with the present conditions was often highlighted¹⁵².

Developing national consciousness was another subject often discussed in *Kadınlar Dünyası*. Stated in the periodical that the last remedy for Ottomanism could not include in material defense tools like army or armored turret; but rather it depended on national sentiments and patriotism¹⁵³. Sentiments for national consciousness were determined essential for the maintenance of a state. Avoiding

¹⁵¹ Şefika, Kurnaz, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996, p. 152.

¹⁵²Şamlı: S (in) L, "Teceddüt Devri Ne Zaman Hulûl Edecek?", April 20, 1329, No: 17 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 170.

¹⁵³Ulviye Macit, "Yurt Hemşirelerime", April 11, 1329, No: 8 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p.79.

from directly imitating the traditions, languages and life styles of other nations through national consciousness was stated as the way in order to achieve it¹⁵⁴. In order to keep national consciousness alive; articles, national stories and also poems were published in the periodical's every single issue.

Another important feature of *Kadınlar Dünyası* was aroused from its emphasis on the importance of the consciousness of history. So many articles fostering the consciousness of history held place in the periodical. Articles dealing with history were generally written by Emine Seher Ali under the section of *Tarih Kıvrıntıları* and by Aliye Cevat under the title of *Tarih Sayfaları*. In her article titled as *Tarih*, Emine Seher pointed out that lack of historical knowledge was the most important obstacle in front of nation development. She expressed that nations cannot survive long without knowing about their histories which cover their past experiences. Since the history is a total sum of past actions, the humankind is in need of historical knowledge for constituting their futures. Thus she stressed that in order to impose consciousness of history articles on this issue would have been taken place in newspapers as far as possible¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵⁴Nazife Mehmet Ali, "Milliyetimizi Muhafaza Edelim", May 4, 1329, No: 31 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 320-321.

¹⁵⁵Emine Seher Ali, "Tarih", May 6, 1329, No: 33 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 334.

It was discussed in *Kadınlar Dünyası* that the economic problems the country encountered with in the articles of Atiye Şükran. Atiye Şükran highlighted that the economic problems increased because of the misuse of national resources. She criticized that the people who do not trust national products prefer to use import ones and the imported products invaded all country. *Kadınlar Dünyası* gave effort to promote national industry and endeavored to encourage the people using national products through various advertisements. The writers of the periodical believed that the lack of indigenous manufacturing is gravely injurious to the national economy. The ideas on economy expressed by *Kadınlar Dünyası* explicitly have nationalistic inclinations. The writers of the periodical thought that not only men but also women should become manufacturer rather than being an effortless consumer. Especially Ulviye Mevlan expressed that one of the most important subject concerning the economy is encouraging women to involve in professional life.

The other important issue often setting out the nationalist inclinations of the periodical's writers was fashion. The outdoor clothing especially was a matter of discussion. Many articles offering reform for women clothing were published in the periodical and the nationalization of women clothing was confirmed as an important goal. Some articles criticized the use of European models and fabrics and offered a more national fashion of which models, fabrics and producers were all native. In her article titled as *Tesettür-i Nisvan* (Women's Clothing), Pakize Sadri

asserted: “If we had wanted to be improved, we should have established a national fashion and clothing and chosen domestic products.”¹⁵⁶

Considering the fact that the women held new social roles other than being just mother and wife as a consequence of changing social patterns, the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* considered veils as an obstructive element and suggested that the women’s clothing should be modernized and styled convenient to working life. Although most of the writers agreed on abandoning of veil, some strictly criticized any concession from Islamic rules concerning the women clothing. The fashion also held with its other dimensions in the periodical. *Kadınlar Dünyası* published many photographs and displayed advertisements of Western hair styles, cosmetics and make up equipments¹⁵⁷.

Almost all issues of the periodical had consisted of a special section for poetry and literature. Philosophy, arts and Ottoman minorities were issues occasionally discussed in the periodical. Moreover, some plays and articles on the drama acting were submitted by the editorial board between pages.

As it is considered, there were many issues the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* dealt with. it is not possible to asses each issue in details, beginning from the next subtitle; national education, consciousness of history and national economy

¹⁵⁶Pakize Sadri, “Tesettür-i Nisvan”, June 21, 1329, No: 79 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p.309

¹⁵⁷ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 178.

through which the guidelines of current socio-political thought of the time can be discovered will be evaluated in accordance with the main questions pointed out by this thesis.

4.3. Articles about Education in *Kadınlar Dünyası*

The period which *Kadınlar Dünyası* started to be published was the time many reforms carried out including the modernization of education. During this period, the Young Turk government gave effort to establish a new system of education included in secular primary and secondary schools following their preliminary examples, vocational schools, teacher training colleges and some institutes. The government provided the reorganization of the University of Istanbul. Additionally, the facilities of education were expanded for girls. After opening the doors of primary and secondary schools to the girls, the Young Turk regime let the girls to be in university life¹⁵⁸. The rise in the number of and secondary schools let to the emergence of the requirement for higher education for the girls. Thus, the first higher educational institution named as *İnas Darülfünunu* (University for Girls) was founded on August 29, 1330 (September 12, 1914)¹⁵⁹.

The demands for the improvement of education expressed in the articles of *Kadınlar Dünyası* were similar to the changes attempted by the government: the

¹⁵⁸ Bernard Lewis, *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2008, p. 310.

¹⁵⁹ Emre Dölen, *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi Vol. I, Osmanlı Döneminde Darülfünun 1863- 1922*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009, p. 454.

expansion and modernization of educational facilities, making the education compulsory and free of charge and providing education for more girls. When the periodical's articles on the issue of education were evaluated, it is clearly seen that the lack of education were pointed out as the most vital problem leading to the backwardness of the Empire. The modernist ideology ascribing one of the most essential roles to the education in the way of development often mirrored on the articles of *Kadınlar Dünyası*. After defining the lack of education for both girls and boys as one of the most important problem the country encountered with, the writers of the periodical also tried to analyze the reasons for the low of girls in schools and sometimes suggested some ways of solution pertaining to the problems of education. The reasons they ascertained for the necessity of women's education revealed the social function assigned to women both by themselves and the political elites of the time. The writers also explained what kind of an educational system they offered and which rights they demanded for themselves in many articles they wrote. "There is no doubt that a state which cannot offer a proper education to their citizens is never be able to develop and inevitably subjected to be dissolved, decayed or even collapsed" wrote Emine Seher Ali in one of her articles¹⁶⁰. The intellectual women of the time considered illiteracy and bigotry as the main reasons for the problems the Ottomans fell into¹⁶¹ and marked the education the only instrument to be able to overcome illiteracy, bigotry and laziness. Mükereem Belkıs

¹⁶⁰ Emine Seher Ali, "Ahlâk- Maarif", April 5, 1329, No: 2 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol.I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 15- 16.

¹⁶¹ Belkıs Ferit, "Tahsilimiz", April 12, 1329, No: 9 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 89- 90.

said: “It is undoubted that only education can rescue a nation from the disaster it falls into and contribute its development.”¹⁶²

Kadınlar Dünyası called attention to inadequacy of educational system which was confirmed as the most significant cause of weakness of the Ottoman society and criticized that there were very few girls had the chance for education. According to the periodical, the primary reasons for illiteracy and disregard to education were bigotry and insufficiency of schools¹⁶³. Regarding the lack of schools and educational facilities as the reason for Empire’s misery, *Kadınlar Dünyası* called the women for drawing a lesson from this wretchedness and work harder improving the deploring conditions of schools and educational system. The periodical stated that a public survey could explicitly prove what a small number of women had opportunity to be educated throughout the country and even in the capital¹⁶⁴. Hatice *Hanım* also criticized the lack of educational institutions open for

girls in her article dated June 30, 1913:

Due to the lack of schools designed for improving the level of girl’s intellectuality, only consisting a teacher training college and a high school throughout such a vast

¹⁶² Mükerrerrem Belkıs, “Maarif Nezareti’nden Büyük Bir Temenni”, July 4, 1329, No: 92 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 437- 438.

¹⁶³ Paşabahçesi: Şerefettin, “Kadınlarda Maarif”, June 4, 1329, No: 62 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 123- 124.

¹⁶⁴ Şamlı: S [in]. L., “Hayat-ı Nisvîyemizde Fikdan-ı Maarif”, April 11, 1329, No: 8 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 80- 81.

empire, and the incapability of instructors teaching in secondary schools of which number is already inadequate; the girls in the countryside are deprived of schooling¹⁶⁵.

Asserting that the training of women was even more important than men's education, Mükerrerem Belkıs suggested the foundation of a new high school at least and added: "Actually it is not enough. Next to a few in İstanbul, let's establish new girl's high schools in each province of our country."¹⁶⁶

Another significant problem women encountered with during their education was the shortness of their school life due to the fact that they are obliged to leave their school in early ages¹⁶⁷. Hatice *Hanım* also criticized this situation with the following statements:

The girls are taken away from their schools just after their teenages for engagement or marriage. Hence, they are prevented from understanding their

¹⁶⁵ Hatice, "Kızlarımızın Lüzum-ı Tahsili", June 30, 1329, No: 88 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 402- 404.

¹⁶⁶ Mükerrerem Belkıs, "Maarif Nezareti'nden Büyük Bir Temenni", July 4, 1329, No: 92 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 437- 438.

¹⁶⁷ Aziz Haydar, "Bizde Kız Evlatların Tahsili", April 16, 1329, No: 13 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 127- 129.

status in the family and the rights they have and consequently, girls obliged to be slaves at the hands of ruthless husbands.”¹⁶⁸

The absence of financial support to education was another problem pointed out in *Kadınlar Dünyası*. Mevhibe Hanım suggested a solution by asking that: “If our people who unhesitatingly accepted to pay the 1/4 war tax imposed by the government, would not refuse to pay a tax to be used for such a precious aim at the same time.”¹⁶⁹

The other important demands and suggestions laid by the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* in the way of solving the problems were settling obligatory education down and making schools free of charge. Mevhibe Mustafa expressed these demands:

From now on, all our children should be educated without any payment and also schooling should be compulsory. If I can I see that the tax for education that I paid is used properly and efficiently and observe that the schools handed by the Ministry of Education are qualified enough and also I am obliged to send my daughter to the school, we will take an important step towards wellbeing¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁸ Hatice, “Kızlarımızın Lüzum-ı Tahsili”, June 30, 1329, No: 88 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 402- 404.

¹⁶⁹ Mevhibe Mustafa, “Maarifimiz”, April 20, 1329, No: 17 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p.172.

¹⁷⁰ Mevhibe Mustafa, “Maarifimiz”, April 20, 1329, No: 17 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p.172.

In a broader sense, education was a national issue for the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* as much as being a women problem. Mükerrerem Belkıs related the issue with patriotism and stated: “To be indifferent in the issue of education or prevent it from improving is treason against the country. We never hope such kind of an attitude from the people ruling our country.”¹⁷¹

The improvement of education is the keystone of social progress. In accordance with the dominant modernist ideology of the time, the justification of the necessity of education for women was based on the ideology of “national growth”. Emine Seher Ali asserted:

I said yesterday that the development of countries depend on the level of their women’s literacy. We, the Ottoman women, need education much more than all others. Thus, let ourselves to collect contributions, to satisfy our needs concerning education as much as we can and open new schools through the associations we will found. The country... We should not forget the women in the country. Let’s increase the number of the schools for girls everywhere¹⁷².

The women intellectuals of the time were being in consciousness of the role attributed them within new modern social system and believed in their key position in the development of the society and country. Mükerrerem Belkıs claimed that the

¹⁷¹ Mükerrerem Belkıs, “Maarif Nezareti’nden Büyük Bir Temenni”, July 4, 1329, No: 92 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 437- 438.

¹⁷² Emine Seher Ali, “Ahlâk- Maarif”, April 5, 1329, No: 2 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol.I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 15- 16.

women were able to make a nation's destiny better or worse. According to her, there was no other element that could affect the structure and ideas of society more than women; that was why the destiny of a nation was at the hands of women. She also defined the women as the people who are responsible for any possible decadence of the nation, because she believed that the indifference of women in education cause the country's collapse¹⁷³. Sıdıka Ali Rıza also affirmed that the shortest and most effective way of doing a nation's internal affairs better was to educate the girls who were the potential mothers of the future¹⁷⁴.

As it is stated above the education of women was thought closely related with the education of children. Because, it is believed that the future generations who have ability to contribute to the development of the country could be grown up by only properly trained mothers. It shows that the ideological background of will for women's education is rather related with the ideal of social progress than feminist priorities. The encouragement of women to participate in educational life both through government politics and intellectual milieu and the ascription of such a social function to the women should be thought within the framework of the social mechanism which were used to create a 'national family' in order to unionize the nation in the way of "development". One of the most important roles attributed to

¹⁷³ Mükerrerrem Belkıs, "Avrupa'da Tahsil-i Nisvan", June 16, 1329, No:74 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 247- 249.

¹⁷⁴Sıdıka Ali Rıza, "Mekteplerimiz", April 20, 1329, No: 17 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 173.

the mother of “national family” is to train their children in accordance with national values.

The first person responsible for the education of a child is the mother of him or her. If the mother has the knowledge and methods of education, she can raise her children healthy both mentally and physically and teach her children social ethics. Thus, she is able to grow up an individual beneficial to human being¹⁷⁵.

wrote Sıdıka Ali Rıza and emphasized on the necessity of well instruction of children. On the other hand, Ferit Belkıs complained about women’s ignorance in childraising:

They have not any knowledge about pedagogy, house holding and home economics. Also, they cannot give entirely the knowledge of ethics and sciences to their children. A child receives education firstly in mother’s bosom and also gains the love of country and soldiery. So it means that the advancement of our country heavily depends on the education of women¹⁷⁶.

The love of country and the nation were the principal values that should be given to kids through education because some women intellectuals believed that the Ottoman young people did not have enough patriotism in themselves. Aziz

¹⁷⁵Sıdıka Ali Rıza, “Mekteplerimiz”, April 20, 1329, No: 17 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 173.

¹⁷⁶ Belkıs Ferit, “Tahsilimiz”, April 12, 1329, No: 9 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 89- 90.

Haydar, in one of her article, addressed: “If we want to live on, consider ourselves and believe in God, we should give our children the sense of nationality.”¹⁷⁷

Resembling with the other women writers of the time, the writers in *Kadınlar Dünyası* encouraged women to participate in social life and defended their rights on behalf of patriotism. They perceived the struggle for women’s rights as a national issue. That is why they developed a nationalist women approach rather than the universalism of Western feminism. In the same way Halide Edip formerly stated in her article titled *Mehasin Okuyan Kardeşlerime* (To My Sisters Reading Mehasin) published in the 6th issue of *Mehasin*:

A woman is first and foremost an Ottoman and also a patriot. Her country should be the most precious and cordial thing in her heart. The interests of the country are always much more superior to the interests of womankind. Thus, the women ought to defend their rights not for themselves but so as to be able to well educate their children they raise for the welfare of their country¹⁷⁸.

Another detail supporting the idea that the primary motivation of women’s movement moves on a nationalist channel rather than a feminist one is the fact that the problems underlined by the women intellectuals often did not confine to the ones special to women but also valid for the men: “Many schools for boys also have

¹⁷⁷ Aziz Haydar , “Kadın-Vatan”, Kânun-i Sani 17, 1330, No: 161, pp. 4-5 in Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 234.

¹⁷⁸ Halide Salih, “Mehasin Okuyan Kardeşlerime”, *Mehasin*, April 1324, No: 6, p. 421.

the same conditions and even though they started to operate brightly, they encountered with the danger of vanishing in a very short period of time.”¹⁷⁹

Approaching similarly to the issue, Nebile Kamuran wrote: “We should leave such unreasonable ideas aside and improve the quality and conditions of education. The illiteracy of women also damages the men.”¹⁸⁰

To sum up, the new responsibility assigned to the women in the process of socialization during the first years of Second Constitutional Era was bringing up new generations. It was thought that through this responsibility of women, social transformation could be achieved by the shortest way¹⁸¹. Moreover, the quality of women education was accepted as one of the most important elements that could contribute to the satisfaction of this goal. The demands for the augmentation of girls in schools and also increase in the number of girls’ schools might be thought within this context.

¹⁷⁹ Aziz Haydar, “Yine Mekteplerimiz”, April 25, 1329, No: 22 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 220.

¹⁸⁰ Nebile Kâmuran, “Maarif”, April 27, 1329, No: 24 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp 246- 247.

¹⁸¹ Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996, p. 229.

4.4. Consciousness of History in the Articles of *Kadınlar Dünyası*

Another important feature of this periodical was aroused from its emphasis on the importance of constituting the consciousness of history. Due to its very impact on national development, consciousness of history was attributed great value by *Kadınlar Dünyası*. Articles on history were generally written by Emine Seher Ali in the section of *Tarih Kıvıntıları* (Traces of History) and by Aliye Cevat in the section of *Tarih Sayfaları* (Pages of History). In her article titled *Tarih* (History) Emine Seher indicated that being lack of historical knowledge and consciousness of history were the most important reasons that prevented a nation from development. She expressed that nations cannot live long without knowing about their history and since history was a sum of repeated actions, all nations were in need of historical knowledge for establishing their future. That's why she pointed out that in order to enhance the consciousness of history; more articles on history should appear in newspapers as far as possible¹⁸².

It might be useful to look over the ideas of Emine Seher Ali which emphasized on the necessity of consciousness and historical knowledge for social progress:

The weakness of the knowledge of national history is an obstacle in front of our nations' progress. It also retains us from learning the truths. We never question...

¹⁸² Emine Seher Ali, "Tarih", May 6, 1329, No: 33 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 334.

We do not know the origin of our nation. History is the past story of nations. The nations not aware of their own past never live long and maintain their existence. History is a mirror for the future. Since history repeats itself, who looks ahead with the knowledge of his own history can shape the future and destiny¹⁸³.

In the same article, she also stressed on the need for women's being aware of their history:

Women's insight in history is a must. The mother is the first teacher of the children. I stated before but let's repeat: There is a huge difference between the mother who tell her children ghost stories and the mother who mentions about the history of her nation¹⁸⁴.

Furthermore; in this important article, Emine Seher both tried to strengthen the consciousness of history of women by telling them the origins of their rooted civilization:

Whatever someone says, it is the fact that our nation did not emerged through only a few warrior and just about 400 tents... If we accept the reality that everything turns back to its origin (Emine Seher Ali means that everything in the world has an

¹⁸³ Emine Seher Ali, "Tarih", May 6, 1329, No: 33 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfi, 2009, p. 334.

¹⁸⁴ Emine Seher Ali, "Tarih", May 6, 1329, No: 33 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfi, 2009, p. 334.

end), we can easily recognize that the survival of our nation up to now is unbelievable. Actually, we were just about to live such an end in the history, before Bayezid.... Our state was much stronger after the reestablishment. The essence of Sultan the Mehmed's rule is the basis of our government today¹⁸⁵.

In response to Emine Seher Ali's article; Aliye Cevat, from Kabatas, wrote a letter to the periodical expressing that she agreed with Emine Seher Ali in that a nation without knowing about its past resembles a child is not aware of his father. Development of countries depends on the importance they ascribe to their own histories. After this response letter, Cevat started to write articles on history for *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

In *Kadınlar Dünyası*, the articles on history were not be written only about the historical events and figures, Aliye Cevat also gave account for the characteristics of historical knowledge and evaluated the social function of history:

The articles I will write down under the title of *Pages of History* will mention about the most important historical events in the world history, the history of some nations and the reasons for their collapse. Because, now I am totally convinced that if the humankind do not know the history, they cannot find any solution to overcome their possible end. It is necessary to mention about what the history is and what history tell us before giving information about important events in the

¹⁸⁵ Emine Seher Ali, "Tarih", May 6, 1329, No: 33 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 334.

history of human being... History undoubtedly proves that while the nations which depend on honesty, honor, working and ethics can naturally develop; the nations who are lazy, dishonest and immoral always have to be disappointed and perished¹⁸⁶.

Cevat also put emphasis on scientific and methodological aspects of history and history writing. In her article she gave a detailed account for the resources used by history discipline and named the primary sources as *asar-ı atika* (cities, statues, stone inscriptions, coins), the secondary sources as *asar-ı mazbuta* (kütüb-i semaviye, muahedat, kavanin mecmuaları, mehakim ilamatı) and the third hand sources as *asar-ı menkule* (oral history). She particularly emphasized on the fact that primary and secondary sources were much more reliable for historians than oral sources. Thus, she appreciated scientific historical methods.

Aliye Cevat separated history into two as history of a *hususî tarih* (particular nation) and *umumî tarih* (general history of human being). She favored general history claiming that the specific history could not be wholly understood without appealing to general history. She also put an emphasis on the necessity of keeping history in contact with other disciplines. Geography, geology and linguistics must

¹⁸⁶ Aliye Cevat, "Tarih Sayfaları", May 26, 1329, No: 53 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 28- 29.

be the primary disciplines helping history¹⁸⁷. She put a multidisciplinary approach on history in those days.

In the articles published as *Tarih Sayfaları*, Aliye Cevat continued to inform the reader about the content and methodology of history. She gave the periodization of human history into four parts and named as Ancient, Medieval, Modern Age, and Contemporary Age; and she conferred the classification of ancient history into four periods as Stone Age, Neolithic Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. Cevat gives information also about historiography and history writing beginning from the earliest history writing methods. She introduced many historians from the ones in ancient times to contemporary historians of Muslim and Christian worlds¹⁸⁸.

In her following articles, Aliye Cevat released the history of some particular civilizations in *Tarih Sayfaları*. To illustrate, she wrote on the history of Egyptians¹⁸⁹ and Punic Wars which fought by Rome and Carthage for several issues¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁷ Aliye Cevat, "Tarih Sayfaları", May 26, 1329, No: 53 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 28- 29.

¹⁸⁸ Aliye Cevat, "Tarih Sayfaları- 2", May 30, 1329, No: 57 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 69- 73.

¹⁸⁹ Aliye Cevat, "Tarih Sayfaları- 3", June 1, 1329, No: 59 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 90- 94.

¹⁹⁰ Aliye Cevat, "Tarih Sayfaları- 6", June 9, 1329, No: 67 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 176- 178.

When the ideas released through the articles in *Kadınlar Dünyası* concerning education and history were evaluated together, it would be easily seen that the knowledge and consciousness of history are regarded as vitally important for growing up superior generations which would contribute to their country in the way of welfare and development. For the women intellectuals of the time, history itself and its knowledge were cements for a nation which dreams to be civilized. At this point, women was attributed a significant responsibility of leading their children to gain a sense of nationality through awareness of the past. When the scientific approach in historiography was rising on the one hand, the historical knowledge was using pedagogically on the other side. Ziya Gökalp also states that the aim of “national history” was entirely pedagogical:

The best way of making the children loves their country and introducing their nations as the most honorable one is to teach them merits and achievements of their ancestors and telling them the glorious story of their nation. The ideals which wanted to be owned by children for a good future can easily be indoctrinated through history. The deepest the roots of three of ideals, the most fertile and freshest its fruits in the future¹⁹¹.

Although history instrumentalized through the nationalist philosophy, the rise of scientific approach in historiography also coincided with the period in which

¹⁹¹ Zeki Arıkan, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Tariheçilik”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol: 6, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985, p. 1592.

nationalism rising up¹⁹². Just a few years earlier than the emergence of *Kadınlar Dünyası* in 1913, some associations having nationalist sensations were established. One of them was the *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association) which was founded on December 24, 1908. The aim of the association was declared as teaching the Ottoman people the history and historical heritage of all the Turkic tribes throughout the history¹⁹³. Some of these associations also served for development of history as a science. *Tarih-i Osmani Encümeni* (The Council Ottoman History) which was founded by Abdurrahman Şeref, Necib Asım and their friends in 1910 brought professional standards of history and its ancillary sciences and through its periodical and other publications, it created many facilities of historical research¹⁹⁴. The council also gave the primary examples of scientific approach on the problems that how the sources of history should be used and how the documents should be processed¹⁹⁵.

Another important association promoting Turkish nationalism was founded in 1912 under the title of *Türk Ocağı*. The association of which aim was to exalt the Turkish race and its language gave also effort for introducing the great Turks in the history with new generations. The association is also important for the Ottoman

¹⁹² Halil Bertay, “Tarih Çalışmaları”, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol: 9, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları: 1985, p. 2459.

¹⁹³ Zeki Arıkan, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Tariheçilik”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol: 6, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985, p. 1590.

¹⁹⁴ Halil Bertay, “Tarih Çalışmaları”, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol: 9, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları: 1985, p. 2459.

¹⁹⁵ Zeki Arıkan, “Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Tariheçilik”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol: 6, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985, p. 1592.

women's movement. Because the association was the first place the women appeared as speechmaker in a public sphere¹⁹⁶.

4.5. The Ideas Expressed in *Kadınlar Dünyası* Concerning Economy

The policies drawing the frame of economic developments after 1908 would be listed as the legal regulations in the way of institutionalization of the capitalist state, the efforts for supporting the industrialization and corporatization, and primary attempts for the economic independence of which absence was seen as the major factor for the latest setbacks of the Ottoman Empire. After 1908, the approach of Unionists about economic independence was of a narrow political and legal interpretation. It was only confined necessity to political aspects. They emphasized on the privileges limited sovereignty of the State but could not solve the relations of dependence aroused from the economic mechanisms of imperialism¹⁹⁷. Economy was overshadowed in the Empire when the reformist attempts were focuses on fortifying and centralizing of the state. This narrow perception mirrors also in the ideas released in *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

The characteristics of Ottoman economy between 1908 and 1914 can be described as agrarian, industrially backward and import dependent. However, despite of unsuitable conditions, the economy of Ottoman Empire shows the

¹⁹⁶ Bernard Lewis. *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2008, p. 474-475.

¹⁹⁷ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908- 2002*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2003, pp. 29- 31.

indication of revival to some extent. In 1913, *Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu* (The Law on the Promotion of Industry) which gave privileges to the domestic entrepreneurs was one of the stimulus of this revival¹⁹⁸.

In this period, *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Society) called people for emancipation of the Ottoman country economically through a wide range activism pertaining to national economy. Many activities were carried out in order to stimulate domestic entrepreneurship. *Milli İstihlak Cemiyeti* (National Consuming Association) was founded on the July of 1913 and some campaigns were initiated so as to encourage the consumption of domestic products¹⁹⁹. According to Bernard Lewis, all these are the preparatory steps of policy of national economy which would be flourished in Republican era were taken in this period²⁰⁰.

Economy was one of the most discussing subject matter in the *Kadınlar Dünyası*. Thus, resembling with the dominant economy politics of the period, the most stressed issues in *Kadınlar Dünyası* were economic independence, establishment of national economy, use of domestic products, private entrepreneurship and industrial development. The roles attributed to women in all these processes were one of the most often discussed issue in the articles of the periodical concerning the economic life.

¹⁹⁸ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908- 2002*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2003, pp. 32- 33.

¹⁹⁹ Bernard Lewis. *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2008, p. 620.

²⁰⁰ Bernard Lewis. *Modern Türkiye'nin Doğuşu*, Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi, 2008, p. 309.

The writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* in their writings expressed the importance of economy in socio-political development of the country. In a *Darü'l-Fünün* conference of which records were published in *Kadınlar Dünyası*, Nezihe Muhlis explained the importance of the economy for the welfare of a country:

I think that the most remarkable reason for the misery of our country is about the issue of economy. I searched as much as possible and I discovered that the wellbeing of a country's financial conditions depends on prosperity of economic life. I believe in that if we leave the laziness, we can recover the economic condition of our country and became happy²⁰¹.

Ulviye Macit is another writer of the periodical who wrote on the importance of a suitable economy for the maintenance of a nation's economic life:

I think there is no Ottoman woman not knowing that our time is the age of economy. Economy is like a vital element of life. Whether if a weak body which lost blood was open to all kinds of illnesses, a country which have not suitable economic conditions also equally weak and exhausted²⁰².

On several occasions, many different writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* expressed their ideas on the importance of economic independence. The indispensability of

²⁰¹ Nezihe Muhlis, "Konferans" April 6, 1329, No: 3 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 27-31.

²⁰² Ulviye Macit, "Yurt Hemşirelerime", April 11, 1329, No:8 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 78-79.

economic independence for the political autonomy was also emphasized. It is stated that no matter how strong political structure it had, if a country had severe economic problems, it was never able to be a self-governing state and never gained the identity of an independent political body. A non autonomous state was always dependent upon the preferences and interests of big powers. The women of *Kadınlar Dünyası* thought that if a nation wanted to be act independently, it should absolutely be rescued from economic dependency²⁰³. Based on a self experience Emine Seher Ali lived, she criticized the economic dependency of the Ottoman State upon the European ones:

Hoping to find some originally Turkish made goods, I and my firends visited many shops and stores... We entered a stationer with thousands kind of products. We could not find even a match stick made which was a domestically produced. We were disappointed. Even if we visit too many shops and asked for different products, all those we found were European. All the sources of our economy were swiftly passing into the hands of Europeans. Complaining about this situation is unnecessary. Instead, we should think hard on how we can stir our economic life up²⁰⁴.

Kadınlar Dünyası allowed for some ideas commenting on the reasons for economic dependency. One of the most important reasons was very limited

²⁰³ Nezihe Muhlis, “Konferans” April 6, 1329, No: 3 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfi, 2009, pp. 27-31.

²⁰⁴ Emine Seher Ali, “İstihlâke Doğru!”, April 11, 1329, No:8 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfi, 2009, pp. 74- 75.

production potential. Emine Seher Ali emphasized this issue with the following words: “There is no need to complain about the weakening of industrial production and trade in our country. Instead, we should search for the reasons of this situation.”²⁰⁵

Fatimatüzzehra also analysed the causes of economic depression and scarcity of material production and reminded the reader old days of Ottoman market:

Each of our elders had a craftsmanship. All of them were tradesmen or artisans. There were many different types of artisans among them and some were masters of their profession. The amount of their production was well enough for everyone in the country. I really don't know what happened to us. Neglecting our resources, we brought their end²⁰⁶.

Women intellectuals writing for *Kadınlar Dünyası* binded the economic dependency with the capitulations and concession agreements. They stated that capitulations threaten economic and financial autonomy of the Ottoman Empire:

Capitulations which granted many privileges to foreigners are our fathers' mistake. These old agreements are the sources of our current economic depression. However, we granted these privileges in the past depending upon the power and

²⁰⁵ Emine Seher Ali, “İstihlâke Doğru!”, April 11, 1329, No:8 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 74- 75.

²⁰⁶ Fatimatüzzehra, “Teşebbüs-i Şahsi Ne Demektir” April 24, 1329, No: 21 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 211-212.

dignity of our state, today we should take them back believing on our insistence and steadiness²⁰⁷.

Resembling the limited perspective of Unionists on economic independence, the ideas released in *Kadınlar Dünyası* stressing on the privileges and relating problems but did not pay attention to actual causes which submitted the country to dependence resulting from imperialism.

In order to solve the problems like economic dependency, lack of production and limited capacity of economic life; *Kadınlar Dünyası* suggested some solutions to the people of the Ottoman state and the rulers. The establishment and enhancement of national economy, augmentation of material production, the improvement of domestic industry, promotion of domestic products' consumption and encouragement of individual entrepreneurship were all subjects offered for the proper national economy.

In Ulviye Macit's article took place in the 8th issue of the periodical in April 11, 1329 called her reader to protect national economy:

Soldiers, armed forces or castles... None of them save us from being defeated.

Because these are all related with material beings. The power based on material

beings are always defeated by a stronger one, but the sense of nationality and the

love of country in the hearts of the patriots are undefeatable. Let's love our nation.

²⁰⁷ Nezihe Muhlis, "Konferans" April 6, 1329, No: 3 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 27-31.

Let's be proud of what our nation produces. Let's cherish them into the most special corner of your houses. Let's care for our industry which is about to die. Let's buy their safe, strong and qualified products and make them happy... Let's raise our children with this sensitivity and protect our crafts and craftsmen²⁰⁸.

Some articles mentioned the foundation of some associations aiming to improve national economy, supported domestic manufacturing and encouraged the use national products. In some others, the periodical gave detailed information about the policies and programs of these associations. Some of the important associations explored in the periodical are *Esirgeme Derneği* (the Association for Protection), *Milli İstihlak Cemiyeti* (The National Consuming Association) and *Mamulâtı Dahiliye İstihlâki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (Domestic Products Women's Association).

As a solution for overcoming the economic depression and economic dependency, in the articles of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, it was repeatedly stressed the use of national products many times in its articles. *Kadınlar Dünyası* voiced to the women in a *Darü'l-fünun* conference of which records published in the periodical in its third issue on April 6, 1913: "Please wear our own products even if they are rough and inadequate. If it is not possible, do your shopping in the Muslim shops at least. The welfare and happiness of our nation relies on this."²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Ulviye Macit, "Yurt Hemşirelerime", April 11, 1329, No: 8 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 78- 79.

Moreover, Atiye Şükran recommended shopkeepers to place domestic merchandises on the shelves of their shops. She also called them to inform their clients about the origin and the place of production of the commodities they sell. She thought that in this way, both domestic industry could be supported and native manufacturers could learn what the consumer need. Additionally, Atiye Şükran stated that if the Ottoman people attempted to use home produced goods, the number of manufacturers and factories and also amount of production would level up²¹⁰. Another writer of *Kadınlar Dünyası* supporting the consumption of national goods is Aziz Haydar. In her article titled *Yerli Malları* (Domestic Goods), Aziz Haydar appreciated the rise in the consumption of national goods and advised their consumption rather than the boycotting due to their low quality. Furthermore, the author suggested women refraining from discrimination to do their shopping in a store named *Terakki* operated by a non-Muslim Ottoman. In a manner of Ottoman nationalism, Aziz Haydar said “We prefer to attend also the shops of our non-Muslim citizens, as long they sell domestic goods.”²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Nezihe Muhlis, “Konferans” April 6, 1329, No: 3 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 27-31.

²¹⁰ Atiye Şükran, “Bilmek İsteriz”, April 21, 1329, No: 18 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 177- 178.

²¹¹ Aziz Haydar, “Yerli Malları”, May 26, 1329, No: 52 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. II* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 25- 26.

One of the important aspects of modernist ideology of the time and Unionist economy politics was the promotion of individual entrepreneurship. The writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* also supported individual entrepreneurs through their writings. In her article titled *Teşebbüs-i Şahsi Ne Demektir?* (What Does Individual Entrepreneurship Mean?), Fatimatüzzehra Hanım described individual entrepreneurship as being individualistic and self-confident, progressive and capable. She underlined the importance of courage and entrepreneurship in business and individual initiative in economic development²¹².

The writers of the periodical sometimes gave several examples about some entrepreneurs and their business in order to lead women readers of the periodical to do business and establish manufacturing facilities. They also gave room to the demands and announcements of some new enterprises in their articles. Furthermore, they tried to guide women who want to do business and they recommended some business opportunities that have economic potential. To illustrate, Atiye Şükran, in her article titled *Bir Müteşebbis Daha* (One More Entrepreneur) told the women in details how a textile plant could be established and operated²¹³.

²¹² Fatimatüzzehra, “Teşebbüs-i Şahsi Ne Demektir” April 24, 1329, No: 21 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 211-212.

²¹³ Atiye Şükran, “Bir Müteşebbis Daha”, May 6, 1329, No: 33 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 335- 336.

Kadınlar Dünyası writing articles focusing on economy attributed some roles to women during the processes of nationalization of economy, improving domestic manufacturing, promotion of national merchandizing and individual private enterprise. According to Emine Seher Ali, the progress of the men depended on women's improvement just like the development of national industry relied on women's effort²¹⁴. She stated in another article that the single aim was to advance the situation of womankind and consequently national unity and thus ended the troubles that the nation suffered for a century²¹⁵. As it was seen that women and their interference in economic life was accepted as the instrument of total improvement of Ottoman country.

With its anonymous writers, the article titled *İçtimai* (Social) in column of certain intervals of the periodical attributed the responsibility of economic independence of the nation from the European powers to Ottoman women:

Who will free our pitiful people from the yoke of European economy? Do the men? Never... We do not expect any effort from them anymore but how nice if the womankind improve themselves and are able to bring into a new generation... but

²¹⁴ Emine Seher Ali, "İstihlâke Doğru!", April 11, 1329, No:8 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 74.

²¹⁵ Emine Seher Ali, "Anasır-ı Osmaniye", April 13, 1329, No:10 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 94- 95.

now the source of our hope is the women. However, please do not weep. Let's come into action. Let's get used to crafts and craftsmanship²¹⁶.

Pakize Nihat in her article written for the 30th issue of the *Kadınlar Dünyası* titled *Sanayi-i Nisvan* (Women in Industry) demonstrated European women and their enthusiasm in production as example for the Ottoman women. She stated that there were many girls' school for industry and trade but the Ottoman country neither had vocational colleges nor was able to establish new plants or factories. According to her, the Ottoman women also did not dare to do business. She voiced that if both men and women, altogether, engaged in a profession and contributed to national manufacturing; both the Ottoman country and its people would reach welfare and abundance²¹⁷.

²¹⁶İçtimai, "Cesaret-i Medeniye", April 24, 1329, No: 21 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, p. 209.

²¹⁷ Pakize Nihat, "Sanayi-i Nisvan", May 3, 1329, No: 30 in *Kadınlar Dünyası Vol. I* (prepared by Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu and Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz), İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 2009, pp. 307- 308.

CONCLUSION

Although some historical evidences referred in the related chapter of this thesis shows that the isolation of Turkish women from society after the adoption of Islam was not an overall process and women's alienation from social life was not so strongly felt even in early Ottoman period. It is, however, a fact that after the adoption of Islam by Turkish communities, the status of Turkish women deteriorated. Especially after the Eastward expansion of the Ottoman state and popular practice of a social system based on the Islamic Law, various social changes emerged. In such a changing context, with the growing effect of religious rules on the one hand, and influence of Arab, Iranian and Byzantine cultures on the other, the role of women in social, cultural and economic life gradually deteriorated just like their judicial rights.

Whatever the reason for women being held unequal to men with line drawn in between physically and mentally, the important aspect of the theme of this study is the restoration of what was lost for women in the context of Turkish modernization process. It is important to know what the developments concerning women were prior to initial steps taken towards re-elevating the status of women in social life. To understand the mechanisms of women's revival in family and social life is of great significance to apprehend whether women's gains during the *Tanzimat* and Constitutional eras are the results of the rehabilitation of women rights through the ideology indoctrinated by the ruling elites or an organized activism claiming women rights pursued by predominantly women followers.

What this study claims is that the Ottoman women's movement, which naturally led women to become aware of their own identities and rights, was not so much the result of their own consciousness, as was the politicians and modern bureaucratic elite holding them as an object for the political projects in different phases of Turkish modernization. In fact, the late *Tanzimat* modernists did emphasize women among their modernity suggestions and in their writings. Indeed, it is impossible regard all steps of Turkish modernization respect to women's rights, but the Second Constitutional Era in which some of the most dramatic changes in all fields of life was carried out serves best for this. One of the most important publication organs for the women movement in the Second Constitutional Era, *Kadınlar Dünyası* holds various important articles supporting the varying conditions of women. The ideas and debates of writers in the periodical contained the necessary information to understand how the Ottoman intellectual women perceived social and political developments of the period and how they located themselves in this socio-political context. These also gave the reader a chance to analyse to what extent women's own perception of their role and rights resembled with the policy makers. These compose the evaluation this thesis aims to classify.

It was not until the *Tanzimat* Era that the demands in the way of reinstating the status of women were heralded. The development throughout this era may be regarded as the turning point in terms of women's rights owing to the fact that the era which introduced a new outlook to this laid down many changes in different fields such as law and order, education and social life. Additionally, women and

the problems they encountered became one of the popular issues debated in some literary works and articles published in some newspapers and periodicals. To secure social integration throughout the country and to assure centralization and fortification of the state were the principal aims of the *Tanzimat* reforms. It is not surprising that the necessity for the improvement of women's status were evaluated within the same context. The role and status of women were reformulated in order to reform their social status and to introduce women equipped with adequate abilities to integrate others into society. It should be stated that people advocating women's rights in the *Tanzimat* Era were almost all men at first.

With the beginning of the Second Constitutional Era, one of the most striking sociological aspects is that corporatism and solidarity became one of the main focuses of government policies. The family as the smallest but the most vital solidarity group was one of the priorities of the Unionists in their social reform policies. The Turkish family was held as a part of politics under the conditions of warfare and the role of family and naturally women were reformulated socially and politically by the Young Turks. Taking reflections from this view, the Ottoman women became more apparent in social life. The great intellectual improvements during this period guided women to claim a more active role both in social and economic life through charity associations. The associations established and periodicals issued by women became the major instruments to defend their rights in an organized way. The fact that women were more visible in this period mostly through the charity associations actually was the outcome of the role ascribed to women as a crucial part of national solidarity. Why the women's revival in social

and family life was so important for the CUP rulers is that women were recognized as the key figure in securing solidarity in both family and society through the roles attributed to them.

The socio-political and ideological changes undergone during the first years of Second Constitutional Era had also great effect on the issues publishing in many women's periodicals and the articles in the women's periodicals stated the policies of the period. To illustrate, constitutionalism was eagerly welcomed by women's periodicals and these periodicals repeatedly stated that the constitutional regime was essential for the welfare of the nation. Although, there are many other important women's periodicals in the period of Second Constitutional Era, *Kadınlar Dünyası* differs from the others in respect of its considerably important role in the women movement. Actually, the essential importance of the periodical is derived from the fact that the articles in its many different issues provide the researcher questioning opportunities of that what kind of a role women held both as an object and as a subject in the process of modernization. When the original texts in the first 100 daily issues of the periodical are studied, it is clearly seen that the ideas of women on the role they chose of themselves were mostly similar with those of the ruling men, and the articles were mostly the ones stimulating the idea of national identity, historical consciousness, qualified education and a corporate enthusiasm for social and economic development.

The demands of the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* for the improvement of education overlapped with the objectives of the government regarding the

educational reforms. The modernist ideology of some intellectuals and rulers was attributed one of the most crucial roles to the education in the way of development as also often done by the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası*. If the accounts of the periodical's writers are examined in a broader sense, it can easily be seen that education all by itself was a national issue for the writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* as much as it was a great problem for women. Also, the intellectual women of the time were really conscious of the function ascribed to them within the new modern social system as a key component in the mechanism of the development of the society and country. It was widely considered that the future generations who would contribute to the progress of the country would be brought up by only properly educated mothers. That is why women's education was regarded as closely related with the education of children. There are so many accounts in *Kadınlar Dünyası* to demonstrate that calls for women's better education were rather related with the ideal of social progress than feminist priorities and perceptions.

Besides the lack of education which was treated as one of the most important reasons preventing a nation from development; lack of historical and national consciousness was also given great importance by *Kadınlar Dünyası* writers as one of the vital problems that should be resolved. When the ideas released through the articles in *Kadınlar Dünyası* were analysed, it is simply that the knowledge and consciousness of history were regarded as crucially important for bringing up superior generations in terms of their contribution to welfare and development of the country. The responsibility which was intellectually imposed upon women was

that they should lead their children to get a sense of nationality through awareness of the past.

Like in the issues of education and consciousness of history, the ideas of *Kadınlar Dünyası* writers concerning the problem of national economy resembled the economy politics of the ruling elite. The issues often discussed in periodical were economic independence, establishment of national economy, use of domestic products, private entrepreneurship and industrial development. On several occasions, many writers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* expressed their ideas on the importance of economic independence through nationalistic inclinations to some extent. The frequently repeated suggestions of the writers of the periodical to the government for the establishment and enhancement of national economy, fortifying of material production, the improvement of domestic industry, promotion of domestic products' consumption and encouragement of individual entrepreneurship bore all the signs of nationalistic tendencies that the writers of the periodical shared with the policy makers of the period. To illustrate, the promotion of individual entrepreneurship was among most frequently stated fact in the lines of the articles as one of the important aspects of modernist ideology.

To sum up, the results of this thesis explicitly show that the mentality of defenders voicing women's rights was the progressive outlook which selected this as the focus on the way of providing social progress. Women were seen as the social instrument for supplying not only social progress but also social integration, solidarity, national consciousness and progressiveness. This research also affirmed

that the boundaries of Ottoman women's movement and the social role granted for them in the modernization process were not wholly determined by women themselves but predominantly by the policymakers of the state who were all men. The self-evaluation of women intellectuals about their struggle for women's emancipation and the roles ascribed to them in the process of modernization also confirmed that this assertion is so plausible. Instead of compiling from different second hand sources, this study aims to discover through a very significant first-hand historical resource, the *Kadınlar Dünyası* Periodical, that the self-evaluation of women intellectuals in many different articles in the periodical demonstrate to what extent the women's own perception of their effort for securing women's rights resembled with the modern bureaucratic elite's and intelligentsia's point of view concerning the women question and to what degree the motivations which lead women to defend their own rights differed from the ones driving the men of ruling bureaucratic milieu and intelligentsia to support women rights. It should be stated that the similitude between the motivations lie behind the promotion of women rights by the enlightened women and modern bureaucratic elites of the Second Constitutional Era cause women and their struggle to be a "political instrument" within the overall modernization process rather than an "ideal" of their gender, although the women held a considerable progress in their status during the Ottoman modernization process, main goals of which were centralization, modernization and fortification of state apparatus. The reduction of the efforts for women's rights to the degree of political instruments was resulted from also the fact that the consciousness about women's right were restricted to a narrow society including modern bureaucratic milieu and could not be a widespread movement

advocated by masses in addition to intelligentsia and policy maker bureaucratic elite of the time.

There are several factors contributing to this situation. The empire's vast territory, its decentralized structure and heterogeneous composition led the modernization process to be limited with a restricted area. The comprehensive reform program in social, economic and educational life offered through the modernization movement could not receive massive acknowledgement by society and restricted only to big urban areas. The efforts for defending women's rights within the framework of modernization process were also confined to a certain amount of territory and population. The fact that the empire was still preserving its theocratic character also played an important role in the restriction of both modernization process and spread of the consciousness about women's right. The milieu which advocated women's rights restricted only to certain number of intellectuals and ruling elite whose principal goals were rather national progress, centralization and fortification of the state than gender consciousness and human rights. The warfare conditions the empire often encountered throughout the Second Constitutional Era were one of the other reasons giving way to ascription of a passive role to the women. Because, women were held as a key figure in assuring national solidarity in the warfare conditions.

Consequently, as a matter of fact that, as this study analyzes the handicaps of women's movement during the first years of Second Constitutional Era, some encouraging features of it should also be emphasized. The parameters of the

“women question” during the early Republican Era were laid down in the Second Constitutional Era. The women intellectuals of the young Turkish Republic who were the pioneers in the struggle for women’s emancipation that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk vitalized, received feedbacks from the socio-political developments and the Ottoman women’s movement of the Second Constitutional Era. Thus, the prior attempts during the early Republican Era to establish women in the society equipped them with a steppingstone towards acquiring full emancipation.

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