‘GHOSTS DO NOT EXIST, BUT NATIONS DO’: ARTICULATIONS OF GENDER, MODERNISATION AND NATIONALISM IN OTTOMAN MUSLIM WOMEN’S WRITING

by

Demet Gülçiçek

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for

the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of Warwick, Department of Sociology

June, 2020

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Acknowledgements

Firstly and most importantly, I would like to thank Nickie Charles and Maria do Mar Pereira for supervising my research. Their comments have changed my ways of understanding academic and political thinking. I cannot think of a better pair of supervisors – their questions and curiosities have truly developed my horizons. The contributions they have made to my thinking will be with me for life. Also, I am very grateful to Meltem Ahıska and Claire Blencowe for their careful reading of this thesis and supportive comments.

Some special people actively contributed to my thinking about this research. Firstly, I would like to thank Emine Erdoğan for reading this thesis and thinking with me. I feel very lucky to have our friendship and the opportunity to share many 'moods' of life with her.

Özlem Gülçiçek is one of the most special people I know. I can always learn from her excitement about many things – from stones to trees and from intellectual history to philosophical questioning. Being her sister and friend is one of the greatest pleasures of my life.

I share the special position of thinking about the same magazine as Özge Özdemir. I am very glad that she allowed me to break the loneliness of the research process. Our long term friendship has been very important to me, thanks to her support and care.

I am very lucky to have great friends to thank. They have made my intellectual, academic and everyday life engaging and beautiful. In no particular order: Katherine Quinn, starting from my early days in the UK, made everything easy. She helped me get over my homesickness very quickly, introduced Birmingham to me, and supported me for years. With Irene Dal Poz, I am very happy to share all of our 'chilled' and 'stressed' times together. She is a lifelong friend and we have many travel destinations on our list! Hanna Schumacher has given me emotional support and been a wonderful friend. Both Irene and Hanna were great housemates during the last of year of this research. I am also very grateful for the endless cheers I shared with Grace Marshall, another housemate who made my life in Birmingham so beautiful. She has been a

fantastic friend and I love every part of our Moseley lives and beyond. I am also very happy to be friends with Lucia Bracco. I am so glad that we can continue our talks, as if no time ever passed between our meetings. Thanks for helping me reflect on my ideas! Erika Herrera Rosales's friendship is also very special to me. I love all of our talks about everything from postcolonial theory to everyday life, as well as all of our visits – from Marrakesh to Barcelona. Everything I have shared with İrem Şengül has been deep and wonderful. It is always great to see how often we think on the same frequency, whether miserable and excited.

I would like to thank my parents, who both encouraged me to be myself in their own ways. I started learning critical thinking from their very different perspectives. *Keşf-i aleme çıkmama teşvik ettiğiniz ve uzaklara rağmen sevginizi hep hissettirdiğiniz için teşekkürler.*

And I am very grateful to Dino Jakušić for providing a great range of love, support, and care during this research project and beyond, starting with our first walk.

Finally, I would like to thank the Ministry of Education of Turkey for funding my PhD and to the University of Warwick Sociology Department for several conference funding grants they provided.

Declaration

I declare that the contents of this thesis are my own work, and that no material within has been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Abstract

This thesis analyses complex and contradictory discursive articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism, focusing on the case of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century. Coming from an understanding of the 'archival turn', it engages with the concept of 'feminist genealogy' and investigates subjectivities, negotiations, and normativities in the discourses of urban Muslim Ottoman women. The thesis examines the first 100 issues of the women-only magazine, *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World), published in Istanbul in 1913. This magazine is well-known in the feminist literature on Ottoman women's movements, most of which has been written from a 'herstory perspective'. This thesis builds on a poststructuralist feminist methodology, making the argument that analysing the constructions of subjectivities by negotiating normativities opens a space to further question discourses, rather than pre-given subjects.

With this aim in mind, this thesis unpacks the discourses on 'Europe' developed by the *Kadınlar Dünyası* writers through Meltem Ahıska's concept of Occidentalism. By investigating the complex and contradictory ways in which KD writers used 'Europe' to support demands for Ottoman Muslim women's engagement with modernisation, it analyses the construction of binaries between the categories of 'Orient' and 'Occident'. The thesis suggests these binaries both challenge and reproduce normative binaries regarding femininities and masculinities. This research positions demands for women's engagement with modernisation as a negotiation of changes and continuities. It analyses these negotiations by focusing on sexual normativities and productions of subjectivities in relation to 'Other' categories such as 'rural Muslim' Ottoman women and 'non-Muslim' Ottoman women. The negotiations included strategic usages of certain normative positions, such as motherhood, which are conceptualised with their affective constructions. This thesis also develops the concept of a 'mood of commitment', inspired by Sara Ahmed's conceptualisation of 'mood', to explain the affective 'atmosphere' of the modernisation discourses during the late Ottoman Empire period.

Chapter 1 -
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The topic of 'feminist belongings' has generated various fields of research, including histories of feminist movements, different forms of engagement with feminism, and relations between different streams of feminisms (Charles, 2015; Chidgey, 2013; Kandiyoti, 2010; Liinason, 2018; Narayan, 1997; Riley, 1988; Scott, 1999). The issue of 'generational differences' among feminist women in Turkey emerged regularly in the feminist agenda. This topic would, for example, arise during *Amargi Feminist Magazine* contributor meetings. During these meetings, we decided to hold two roundtable discussions about 'feminist belongings' in relation to 'generational differences'; articles on these themes were later published in the magazine in 2014 and 2015 (issues 35 and 36). Such discussions aimed to explore 'how our motivations for becoming feminists affected our understanding of feminism'. During these non-academic discussions, we emphasised a few specific 'generational differences': my own 'younger generation' at the time, which engaged with feminism by pursuing a social science education and became involved in feminist activism through this route, an 'older generation' that built its feminism before or just after the 1980 military coup in Turkey, and a 'middle generation' that could relate to both groups but had its own different understanding of feminism.

Poststructuralist criticisms of such classifications in feminist theory make me question defining the feminist difference as a 'generational differences' (Charles & Wadia, 2018; Chidgey, 2013; Hemmings, 2011; Hesford, 2005). However, it was very significant to question our own 'feminist belongings', the possibilities and limitations we encountered while becoming feminists, the articulations of feminist and other movements, and the way we imagined our political horizons. Many feminist scholars and activists have engaged in similar questioning, in different parts of the world and different eras. The present research is an attempt to question 'feminist belonging' by

focusing on women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire, and specifically in early 20th century İstanbul. It investigates the ways in which Ottoman Muslim urban women negotiated their belongings to the Ottoman/Muslim/Turkish nation, while demanding women's rights and discussing their engagement with modern knowledge during the 'modernisation' process[1]. This research unpacks - from a feminist genealogy perspective - the dilemmas, complexities, and contradictions in the discourses of Ottoman Muslim urban women who engaged with 'modernisation'. As a case study, it focuses on *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World), a woman's magazine published in İstanbul in the early 20th century.

In the 1990s, pioneering research on the Ottoman women's movements led to a significant break in the national Kemalist state narrative (Çakır, 2016; Demirdirek, 2011; Durakbaşa, 2017; Ekmekçioğlu & Bilal, 2006). According to the state narrative, the Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, simply 'gave women their civil rights', including suffrage (full suffrage in 1934) and equal rights in some family matters, from a secular perspective. Ayşegül Altınay (2004) refers to this narrative as a 'golden plate', which implies that Turkish women owe their emancipation to the state, and should thus obey the state. As this dominant national narrative influenced academic research until the 1990s, few scholars have been aware of the Ottoman women's movements. However, the pioneering 1990s feminist research on women's history criticised the 'golden plate' narrative and attempted to 'prove' that Ottoman women's movements existed and women were 'subjects' of history-making (Yıldız, 2018). Inspired by this pioneering research, while engaging with a poststructural feminist perspective and genealogical methodology, my own research analyses the ways in which subjectivities were, and continue to be, negotiated through discursive productions and affective strategies.

[1] In making this point, I do not equate feminist and women's movements; many interventions have highlighted the limitations of such category conflations. I consider the self-definitions of movements to be a very important dimension in any analysis. In the following chapters, I will introduce my own conceptual understanding of the Ottoman 'women's movements'.

Much of this 1990s feminist research on women's history in Turkey analysed the 'state feminism' that aimed to solve the 'woman question' only for the purposes of the state. They showed that some women from the Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey, coming from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, were demanding their rights, sometimes 'despite' the state. Thus, the relationship between the nationalism and feminism of Ottoman women's movements was pointed out from the very beginning but only later further unpacked (Adak and Altınay 2010). Akşit (2010c) argues the literature on Ottoman women's movements is associated with feminist studies, while it also could have been associated with nationalism studies. Recently, the relationship between nationalism and feminism especially in relation to ethnic boundaries, the power relations between them and modernist imperialism is discussed in a wider context (Adak 2019; Brummett 2007; Demirdirek 2014). This thesis is an attempt to trace the discursive power struggles in this history by analysing subjectivities, negotiations, production of hegemonies with the aim of understanding the discursive articulations of gender, modernisation and nationalism.

1.2 Research questions

The following research questions aim to problematise women's engagement with the modernisation process in a non-Western context, focussing specifically on the case of the late Ottoman Empire. This research links macro and micro examples, and social and historical relations from a poststructuralist feminist perspective. Drawing on a feminist genealogy methodology, it focuses on the Ottoman Muslim women's movement and uses the *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) magazine as a case study. The following research questions guide this research and shape the main arguments presented here:

1. How are gender, modernisation, and nationalism discursively articulated in the women's movements of the late Ottoman period?

2. In *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) Magazine, how do debates enable urban Ottoman Muslim women to negotiate new forms of subjectivity?

3. How do urban Ottoman Muslim women engage with, reproduce, and undermine normative expectations about women?

1.3 Gender, modernisation, and nationalism

Feminist researchers have argued that neither modernisation nor nationalism should be analysed without gender (Brooke, 2006; Jayawardena, 1986; Mosse, 1982; Nagel, 1998; Parker *et al.*, 1992; Yuval-Davis, 1997). As other researchers have done in various fields, I follow the ground-breaking argument that gender is not simply an additional category, but a key element of social analysis. The present research analyses the articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism in the women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire. The articulations between modernisation and gender are problematised by asking questions about the fluid and contradictory demarcations of 'us' and 'them' produced through the discourses of Europe, based on Ahıska's concept of Occidentalism (Ahıska, 2010). I argue these demarcations are produced through complex gender relations. Demarcations of 'us' and 'them' are a part of a process of negotiating the changes demanded and continuities maintained (Ahmed, 2000). In one significant negotiation, Ottoman Muslim women demonstrated their loyalty and willingness to maintain continuity (including 'sexual purity'), while also demanding changes that appeared to threaten sexual purity. The very demarcations and negotiations themselves constituted with an affective process through emphasising the position of motherhood that will be analysed with my concept 'mood of commitment' throughout this thesis. I will show how discourses on women's subjectivity is claimed as part of affective process, through demarcations and negotiations.

Bearing in mind the research questions mentioned above, I studied a wide range of Ottoman Muslim women's magazines published during the late Ottoman period, when modernisation was very much part of the agenda. These magazines were valuable source material, made available for research by the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation in İstanbul (Berktay, 2017; Greening, 2000); they made it possible to follow changes in and responses to the public agenda (Metinsoy 2020), in line with my research questions. After reviewing many women's magazines during archival research (Toska *et al.*, 1993), I decided to focus on the most 'famous' women's

magazine in the field of Ottoman women's studies: *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World, hereafter referred to as 'KD'), published between 1913 and 1921. This magazine was particularly interesting for my research for two reasons. Firstly, as one of the most famous magazines of the period, it was well researched; previous studies had made me question the very notion of modernisation in Turkey and other national contexts. I had complicated emotions about the women writers who demanded 'women's rights' recognition and respectability' in its pages – and gave much thought to their feminist culture. Secondly, despite being familiar with this famous magazine from the literature, my own reading highlighted different themes and developed different questions than those I had encountered in previous research. These 'different themes and questions' reflected my own engagement with poststructuralist and postcolonial feminist readings, which have also contributed to this research[2].

Drawing on archival research, inspired by the 'archival turn' that also affected feminist research, I have engaged closely with the first 100 issues of the magazine, which covered many topics and demanded women's rights as a part of modernisation and nationalism process. As I questioned various articulations, subjectivities, normativities, and negotiations, three issues became important to this thesis: The notion of 'Europe', dress, and motherhood. The following section explains the organisation of this thesis in relation to these issues.

1.4 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter 2 introduces the relevant literature. Because this is a poststructuralist feminist analysis, this chapter does not point out a 'gap' in the feminist scholarship because

[2] I do not intend to suggest that poststructuralist and postcolonial readings are the same type of thinking. It is clear, however, that there are some strong links between the important writers of poststructuralist and postcolonial thought. Michel Foucault's effect on Edward Said's thinking, Jacques Derrida's effect on Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, or Spivak's effect on Judith Butler's thinking are some examples. These examples can increase and certainly need to be linked through a comprehensive analysis. When I refer to poststructuralist and postcolonial theories in this thesis, I do not mean they are the same theorising, but I simply refer to my engagement with two different but highly interlinked strands of theorising.

'filling a gap' with new research assumes that there is a 'whole' body of knowledge to complete. Instead of preassigning a positivist 'whole', I introduce research that has shaped my questions and analysis – or problematisations, in the Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1984). This approach locates the present research within the broader literature, incorporating my own contribution to the study of women's movements in the Ottoman Empire (and broadly in non-Western contexts) from a poststructuralist feminist perspective. By introducing a discussion of gender history mainly between 'herstory' (women's history) and poststructuralist feminist history, I recommend considering these two perspectives in relation to each other, rather than in opposition to each other. Building on this foundation, I provide a reading of the literature on the history of Ottoman women's and feminist movements. I then introduce a criticism of the 'feminist wave analogies' (Charles, 2015; Hemmings, 2011) to locate Ottoman women's movements that could resonate with other non-Western women's and feminist movements. After that, I introduce relevant literature on the complicities of feminism, nationalism and modern imperialism, as it is significant considering the ambiguous geopolitical position of the late Ottoman Empire. The discussion on the 'complicity' of women's movements with other power regimes is important both to show the complexity and plurality of history and to trace discursive power struggles. Following this discussion, Meltem Ahıska's (2003; 2010) conceptualisation of the term 'Occidentalism' is used to unpack complicated and contradictory discourses on the notion of 'Europe' in the Ottoman Muslim women's movement in relation to power regimes. Finally, I show that thinking pluralities of femininities and masculinities in the Ottoman Empire's Muslim community is necessary, and explain how they are linked to 'sexual honour and purity' (Najmabadi, 2005; Sirman, 2008) and 'affect' conceptualisations (Ahmed, 2014a; Ahmed, 2014b). This chapter concludes by revisiting the research questions introduced above and linking them to the conceptual framework.

In Chapter 3, the above mentioned genealogical analysis of archival material makes it possible to conduct a feminist poststructuralist analysis of Ottoman women's movements, drawing on KD magazine articles. I start by introducing my understanding of the 'history of the present', inspired by Michel Foucault (1972; 1990) and 'feminist genealogy'. These concepts help to explain the notion of 'discourse' used

in this thesis and my reasons for selecting some KD discussions but not others. They also clarify the types of knowledge included in and excluded from this research. The concept of an 'archival turn' is then introduced, reflecting feminist and queer understandings of the archive (Cifor, 2016; Derrida, 1995; Dever *et al.*, 2010; Eichhorn, 2013; Freshwater, 2007). Following this theoretical discussion, I explain my own way of relating to the archive. This section includes the practical information about KD, such as publication dates, discussions, magazine editors and writers, and my own experience in the archive. This chapter concludes with a self-reflective look at key points recorded in my research diary to explain my own engagement with KD women.

Chapter 4 introduces the context and background of the late Ottoman Empire and early Republic of Turkey. This chapter covers the magazine's main historical and social discourses related to KD women and their agenda. It also analyses the political and intellectual discourses that influenced modernisation and nationalism. In one of its main arguments, my research argues that gender and modernisation are not separate categories; they are constructed together and thus the main focus will be the debate of 'woman question'. This chapter begins by analysing political changes, including political regime change, intellectual perspectives on modernisation in relation to the 'woman question' (Kandiyoti, 1992), and relations between Ottoman and Kemalist modernisations. This is followed by a discussion of women's organisations and magazines in the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

'Europe' was a very politically charged notion in non-Western contexts during modernisation. The 'selective labelling' of 'good and bad' aspects of Europe has been linked to women's representations (Narayan, 1997) as a form of 'boundary making' of a nation (Chatterjee, 1993a; Kandiyoti, 1987). Occidentalism was one type of producing 'selective labelling' and Chapter 5 'Negotiations in discourses on 'Europe': The Production of Occidentalism' is based on this conceptualisation. This chapter argues that KD writers, in common with other intellectuals and figures of the time, adopted a binary between 'Occident' and 'Orient'. They supported a 'superior modern knowledge of the Occident' but still drew boundaries to keep out the 'Occident' and to 'protect the nation'. Through their Occidentalism, I will argue, Ottoman Muslim urban women's subjectivity was claimed. Although some binaries were produced, others

involving femininities and masculinities were both undermined and reproduced. The following section of this chapter focuses on a KD debate around the issue of 'fighting with Europe' and shows how Occidentalism can have different focuses in relation to ethnicity and religion. The last section unpacks KD writers' approach to European women's movements, situating it within the broader negotiation of their position in the national context. By using Occidentalism to discuss women's subjectivity, this chapter reveals the complexity of the paradigm, helping to analyse the articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism in a non-Western context.

Chapter 6 analyses the way in which Ottoman Muslim women's movements had to legitimise themselves by demonstrating their loyalty to the nation, during the time of intense change through modernisation (Najmabadi, 2005). It emphasises the ways in which Ottoman Muslim women negotiated the notion of *iffet* (the sexual honour of women) to engage with modernisation. It also shows how the changes of femininities demanded for modernisation appeared to threaten normative femininity and, by extension, the nation's purity. One important illustration of this issue involved women's clothing; it is possible to follow these negotiations (Chehabi, 1993). This chapter begins by conceptualising the notion of *iffet* as a form of femininity and *namus* as a form of masculinity. It then describes the clothing promoted in the agenda of Ottoman Muslim women. Later, the chapter analyses how women's clothing became a 'national' issue, as women demanded the 'invention' of standardised clothing for Ottoman Muslim women. These demands, I will argue, worked to construct the 'urban Muslim' woman category in relation to categories of 'Others' that included 'rural Muslim' and 'urban Non-Muslim' women. Thus, this chapter unpacks both the negotiations of normativities within the women's movements and the process of Othering in a national context.

The final analysis chapter, Chapter 7, introduces research on the 'new woman' and ideas about the 'new family' that emerged as a discussion during the modernisation process, at the beginning of the 20th century (Bora A., 2010). It argues that women's motherhood role was used strategically to claim recognition and respectability, as women demanded emancipation. This chapter develops the concept of the 'mood of commitment', inspired by Sara Ahmed (2014a). This form of dedication to a 'common

good' involved being constantly active and giving one's body and soul to one important cause. I will also show how KD writers was in this kind of a 'mood of commitment'. I conceptualise 'mood of commitment' through three emotions emphasised in the magazine: 'the nation's sadness', 'women's pain', and 'self-blaming'. This conceptualisation also refers to the production of hegemonic Turkish-Muslim identity within women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire. Building on this conceptualisation, I will show how the motherhood role was used strategically to demand women's engagement with modernisation; I explain this through my concept 'scientific motherhood'. Finally, I will point to the discussions around a form of arranged marriage (*görücülük)* that I suggest came on the agenda with the position of mothers and I will show how Occidentalism, *iffet*, and affect work together in this debate. By speaking as mothers, KD writers claimed changes in family life, made a strategic entrance into nationalist movements and demanded women's engagement with modernisation.

Finally, Chapter 8 concludes this thesis with a summary of the arguments, returning to the research questions and revisiting them after the analysis. This research makes a contribution by locating these arguments within the broader literature. The conclusion reflects on the original research presented in this thesis.

1.5 The conclusion of the beginning

I have discussed how an interest in 'feminist belongings' shaped my engagement with feminist activism in Turkey; this thesis makes a contribution to this research area by developing arguments and analysing women's subjectivity from a poststructuralist and genealogical feminist point of view, focusing on the case of *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) magazine. The following chapter introduces important theoretical discussions and brings the conceptual framework together.

Chapter 2 -
LITERATURE REVIEW: FRAMING THE CONCEPTS

2.1 Introduction

Kumari Jayawardena is a pioneering researcher, who works on gender, history, modernisation, and nationalism in non-Western contexts from a feminist perspective. In her ground-breaking book *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World,* published in 1986*,* she writes:

> This study deals with the rise of early feminism and movements for women's participation in political struggles in selected countries of the 'East' in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The developments in the countries chosen –Egypt, Iran, Turkey, India, Sri Lanka, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam and Indonesia – show certain parallels and similarities of experience as well as some clear differences of strategy based on their specific historical backgrounds. [...] Feminism was *not* imposed on the Third World by the West, but rather that historical circumstances produced important material and ideological changes that affected women, even though the impact of imperialism and Western thought was admittedly among the significant elements in these historical circumstances (Jayawardena, 1986, pp. 1–2). [emphasis original]

Although her work was published 34 years ago, Jayawardena mentions several issues that contemporary feminist researchers of the early women's movements continue to think about. For example, she puts 'East' in quotation marks, highlighting the need to question the very concept of 'the East'. She refers to the diverse modernisation experiences of several countries, which have been problematised by later researchers, as mentioned below. She addresses 'similarities of experience' and 'differences of strategy' that would later become aspects of a significant line of questioning, involving the possibilities and limitations of transnational feminist theory and activism. Finally, the complicated power relations with the Western hegemony, the 'accusation' that feminism has been 'imposed' by the West on several non-Western contexts, and new ways of engaging with feminism in non-Western countries have all been discussed

intensely in the postcolonial literature. I will explore the main discussions about various issues analysed in the relevant literature, which have shaped the questions of my own research. With this aim in mind, and building on poststructuralist and postcolonial feminist perspectives, this chapter unpacks some of multiple and complex theories on gender, modernisation, and nationalism that inspired in my research. Considering the rich and impressive thinking on this wide-ranging topic, it is neither possible nor desirable to introduce every important study. As the introduction mentions, my research does not aim to 'fill a gap' in the literature, as such a goal would undermine the poststructuralist claims of my work. Instead, this chapter introduces significant research that has shaped the problematisation[3] underpinning this thesis, including the theoretical discussions that have prompted and directed my key research questions. In other words, I aim to critically evaluate the theoretical perspectives and specific concepts that are most relevant to my analysis by linking theories and concepts to create a conceptual framework for this research.

There have been very active discussions within poststructuralist and postcolonial feminist studies about feminist work on gender history, analysing early women's movements (Browne, 2014; Guha, 1997; Kandiyoti, 1992; Najmabadi, 2005; Riley, 1997; Scott, 1997; Spivak, 2000). What is the relationship between historical research on early women's movements, which aims to 'discover' women's experiences (from a women's history or 'herstory' perspective) and poststructuralist research that unpacks gendered discourses? Are women's history perspectives, which include Jayawardena's work, the 'opposite' of poststructuralist feminist theories? This chapter argues that women's history and poststructuralist feminist perspectives do not necessarily exclude each other, but rather build on each other. This thesis draws on the work of researchers who question the relationship between 'women's history' and poststructuralist feminist historiography in non-Western contexts, including my own criticism of the common perspective to define women's movements in non-Western contexts, shaped during

[3] I use the term 'problematisation', which is inspired by Michel Foucault (1988). Chapter 3 includes a theoretical explanation of the way in which this concept is defined here.

the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as 'first-wave feminism'. The investigation of women's involvement and negotiations with nationalisms inspired by postcolonial theories constitutes a special focus of this chapter (Chatterjee, 1993a; Najmabadi, 1997; Narayan, 1997; Yuval-Davis & Stoetzler, 2002). Questioning 'non-Western' perspectives on the 'West' provides an important context for introducing the concept of 'Occidentalism' developed by Meltem Ahıska (2000; 2010). The sexual regulations and affective constructions of the modernisation and nationalist movements, I will suggest, belong within theories of Occidentalism – incorporated into investigations of the multiplicities of femininities and masculinities (Abu-Lughod, 1998a; Bier, 2011; Nagel, 1998). The conclusion of this chapter revisits these theoretical discussions to discuss the significance and relevance of key questions within this broader literature. This chapter also draws my conceptual framework, which shapes the analysis that underpins my research.

2.2 Gender History: Visibility, Discourses, and Classifications

Discussions of gender history are very significant in this research because the case study investigated here is part of the women's movements of the early 20th century. Gender history is not simply the history of women's movements, even though pioneering research on gender history, which has made a very important break from masculine understandings of history, has often focused on the history of the women's and feminist movements (Rowbotham, 1977; Rowbotham, 1992; Scott, 1992; Tilly, 1989). However, gender history discussions have raised important questions about theoretical engagement with the history of women's movements, especially in relation to women's subjectivity. Gender and women's history has become both a popular topic and a significant object of analysis, especially during in the last fifty years, in both feminist academic and activist circles (Berktay, 2003; Butler, 2011; Nicholson, 1986; Sinha, 2000; Tilly, 1989). Prompted by second-wave feminisms, in particular, some feminist activists and researchers have begun to question what women did during various historical periods worldwide (Çakır, 2016; Corbman, 2014; Sancar, 2012; Tilly, 1989). These questions reflect both the obvious lack of women in national historical narratives and the problematic representations of particular groups of women, such as mothers during the nation-building process, nurses during wars, queens only as

extremely powerful upper-class women, and women only as part of family studies (Adak, 2007; Berktay, 2003; Tilly & Scott, 1989; Altınay, 2004). This section refers to two different feminist approaches to analysing women's movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries: the 'herstory approach' and 'poststructuralist feminist history' in Joan Scott's categorisation. I do not consider these two approaches to be opposed or contradictory; rather, the two perspectives emerge in relation to each other. My work focuses on these two approaches, not because there are only two ways of thinking about gender history, but because I find this distinction useful in locating my own perspective on feminist historiography.

2.2.1 'Herstory' and poststructuralist feminism

Joan Scott (1999) [1983] has argued that Virginia Woolf's desire for a 'history of women' was fulfilled by the later increase in feminist productions on the topic. According to Scott, women's history books, journals, and conferences emerged as a criticism of traditional 'history', which erased women's existence by focusing exclusively on upper class, white, Western men. In response, women's history research has created 'new knowledge about women', which was systematically excluded before (Scott, 1999, p. 16)[4]. Even though Scott's article was published in 1983, over the past 37 years, both feminist and non-feminist researchers have shown continuing interest in her approach, which has highlighted 'women's visibility' from a 'women's history perspective', increasingly pointing to the categories of race, class, ethnicity, disability, and sexuality[5]. In her article, following a similar argument presented in her other books and articles (1986; 1997; 2008; 1992), Scott calls the women's history approach 'herstory'.

---

[4] For an interesting discussion of the criticism of objectivity, seen, from a women's history approach, as a way of excluding women from history, see Nicholson (1986).

[5]Although increasing 'women's visibility' is one way of engaging with women's history, it is not the only approach.

Scott points out that, although 'herstory' approaches are very diverse in their topics, methods, and interpretation, they all emphasise women's ignored experiences and visibilities in history and 'insist on female agency in the making of history' (Scott, 1999, p. 18). Some 'herstory' strategies include gathering evidence about women in order to present the women as historical subjects, gathering evidence to criticise some forms of 'progress' and 'regress', challenging conventional history, and offering new forms of narrative and categorisation in history[6] (Scott, 1999). Scott points out early books written with a herstory approach: *Becoming Visible* (Bridenthal & Koonz, 1977) and *Hidden from History* (Rowbotham, 1977). The titles of these pioneering studies emphasise the *visibility* of women. In short, according to Scott, herstory research proves that women were not 'inactive or absent from events that made history, but that they have been systematically left out of the official record' (1992, p. 5).

I agree with Scott's further point that herstory approaches have challenged the idea that women have no history, revealed the importance of 'personal' or 'subjective' issues as a significant interest for historical investigation, and argued that 'women' and 'gender' need to be historicised. However, I would like to reinterpret Scott's criticism of the 'herstory' approach from her own perspective. She identifies two 'risks' that she associated with herstory approaches: fixing women's experience and isolating women from the general historical understanding. To avoid these risks, Scott suggests using a poststructural feminist perspective on history, rather than the 'herstory' approach (Scott, 1999). I would argue that efforts which seem to 'fix women's experience' and to 'isolate women' can open ways of historicising gender categories, challenging national narratives, and allowing to rethink the very notion of history itself.

Louise A. Tilly (1989), who writes about the herstory approach, believes that herstory approaches should not be associated simply with visibility and isolation; she points out

---

[6] The herstory approach is related to social history, a field that has also influenced studies of everyday life, such as the French Annales School and Marxist scholars, including E. P. Thompson, Hobsbawm and Raymond Williams (Scott, 1999). Postcolonial historiographical theories also focus on 'other' categories excluded from written history (Guha, 1999).

the contributions that herstory research has made in various fields, including demographic history, economic history, intellectual history, and political history[7]. Focusing on 'herstory' examples from the US and revaluating Scott's argument, Tilly argues that:

> The best women's history [...] does not study women's lives in isolation; it endeavours to relate those lives to other historical themes, such as power of ideas or the forces of structural change. In this way, women's history has already changed our view of what matters in history (Tilly, 1989, p. 443).

Jayawardena's (1986) book *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* may be good example of Tilly's point. Her research reflected the herstory approach (for example, in its emphasis on experience) and her book introduced discussions of non-Western contexts not previously discussed. By investigating the complex relationship between women's emancipation and nationalist struggles during periods of imperial and colonial domination, she raised questions about power relations produced through the Eurocentric idea that non-Western women's nationalisms during the late 19th and early 20th centuries were not 'political enough' to be imagined as a part of feminist movements. Instead of 'fixing women's experience', the risk cited by Scott, Jayawardena questioned the given understanding of feminism.

To return to Scott's methodology, building upon a comparison of herstory, she explained her own 'poststructural feminism' in the following passage:

> Perhaps the most dramatic shift in my own thinking [caused by engaging with poststructuralism] came through asking questions about how hierarchies such as those of gender are constructed and legitimized. The emphasis on 'how' suggests a study of processes, not of origins, of multiple rather than single causes, of rhetoric or discourse. (Scott, 1999, p. 4).

---

[7] Having said that, Tilly shares some concerns about women's history, including its descriptive tendencies. What she does is suggesting herstory approaches an analytical perspective and developing a methodology. Scott and Tilly have authored many collaborative works. For an evaluation of these works, see: Scott (2014).

This research follows Scott's poststructuralist feminist perspective: adopting some 'how' questions and discursive constructions of hierarchies, but not origins or causal relations; investigating multiple, contradictory meanings and discourses, but not providing 'proof' or 'evidence' of what actually happened in history[8] [9]. However, I do not locate this poststructuralist feminist perspective as the 'opposite' of 'herstory' in attempting to understand the history of women's movements similar to Tilly's intervention. Instead I avoid presenting 'herstory approaches' and the 'poststructuralist feminist perspective' as a dichotomy, as Scott and other researchers do (Walker, 2008). I suggest that what appears to be a dichotomy is productive rather than exclusive, when the relations between the two approaches are emphasised. The following section uses this argument to explain how the early history of women's movements in Turkey was researched, from a herstory perspective. It also shows how my argument on the relationship between 'herstory' and poststructuralist feminist historiography can allow us to rethink feminist historiography in Turkey.

2.2.2 Feminist historical enquiries: Following Ottoman women

The organisation of second-wave feminism in Turkey during the 1980s (Durakbaşa, 2017) launched early research on the history of the women's and feminist movements in the Ottoman Empire[10]. This early research followed a herstory approach, emphasising the visibility of women especially through their involvement in political movements. It criticised the Kemalist national historical narrative by emphasising women's agency and linking some dimensions of ethnicity with gender (Arat, 2010a). Later, research on women's movements and feminist history shifted the focus to

[8] Chapter 3 develops this point through a new conceptualisation of 'feminist genealogy'.

[9] Scott develops an analysis based on this kind of a poststructuralist feminist approach in her book *Parite* (2005).

[10] However, this does not suggest that research on these topics did not exist before. For a rich analysis of Kemalist women's activism and their pre-1980 feminist activism in Turkey, see: Çağatay (2017).

constructions of femininities and masculinities, women's agency, and neglected femininities[11]. This section of the chapter investigates each of these themes, following the complicated theoretical contributions made by historical research on early women's movements in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

The early research on Ottoman women's movements aimed to raise awareness of the visibility of Ottoman Muslim women's activism. Serpil Çakır's (2016) book, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* [the Ottoman Women's Movement], was published during the early 1990s. This research had a ground-breaking effect on the feminist movement in Turkey because the Kemalist national-history narrative claimed that Turkish women were simply given their rights by the Republic on a 'golden plate' after the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, as mentioned in Chapter 1 (Altınay, 2004; Arat, 1999b; Durakbaşa & İlyasoğlu, 2001; Van, 2009). Çakır's research revealed that this Kemalist narrative was simply not true; more than 40 women's magazines demanding rights for women were published in the late Ottoman Empire. Aynur Demirdirek (2011) [1991] also published a book on Ottoman women, introducing some of the women's magazines and women's political conferences published and organised during this period. These two studies constituted an intervention in the male and state-centric understanding of history, arguing that 'women were subjects' of the history-making process in Turkey. How did these early researchers talk about women's visibility? Çakır explains the aim of her book in the following way:

> I looked to their [Ottoman women's] writings from the perspective of a [women's] rights struggle. I intentionally avoided analysing the quotations I provided. [...] I avoided a detailed analysis and intervention. I intentionally did

[11] Having said that, I do not consider this a liner 'shift'. Herstory approaches to feminist historiography in Turkey are very common, while some poststructuralist feminist research was carried out during the later 1980s. My emphasis here is on the relationship between the herstory approach and the poststructuralist feminist perspective on a theoretical, rather than chronological, level.

> not apply a critical analysis and methodology. This could have been an intervention into their [Ottoman women's] voices[12] (2016, p. 24).

Importantly, Çakır emphasises the need to avoid 'critical analysis' in her work. Instead, she aims to show that Ottoman women were 'active subjects in social movements' (Çakır, 2016, p. 22). Making women 'active subjects' and not 'intervening [into] Ottoman women's voices' are aims of herstory approaches, as explained above. Although Çakır argues that she does not apply a critical analysis, I would suggest that her attitude, in making Ottoman women active subjects, is, in itself, a critical analysis of the nationalist narrative. That narrative failed to see Ottoman women as part of the state formation or to include them in 'objective' historical understandings, which only included male political figures in history. She says that her aim was to show that women were active subjects in their struggle for emancipation and did not have women's rights bestowed on them 'from above' (Çakır, 2007). In this sense, Çakır and Demirdirek's works intervene by making the 'accusation'[13] that Turkish women did not fight for their rights; they also raise questions about the 'emancipatory promises' of modernisation, secularism, and nationalism.

This criticism of the Kemalist national narrative is further developed by Yaprak Zihnioğlu (2013) [2003], who builds on the question raised by Çakır and Demirdirek, whose work reveals the visibility of Ottoman women's movements. Zihnioğlu was interested in women involved in parliamentary politics in early Republican Turkey (broadly from 1923 to 1945); her case study investigated a group of women who wanted to establish a women's political party in the new Kemalist parliamentary system before

[12] All translations from Turkish to English in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise stated. Where an English translation of a book existed, I used the translated version.

[13] The word 'accusation' is used here to highlight contemporary political discussions that disparaged the feminist movement, undermining women's involvement in the modernisation process.

any other political party had been established. She introduces her own research as follows:

> Many social scientists in Turkey ask what the role of women during modernisation in Turkey was. I want to ask this question again from the women's perspective by focusing on the foundation of the Republic years. Did women accept being passive signifiers and symbols of Republican reforms, Westernisation, and modernisation? (2013, p. 15)

Zihnioğlu again refers to the herstory approach by emphasising the 'women's perspective', questioning whether women are merely 'passive signifiers and symbols' and concluding they were not. This questioning gives her research a critical perspective on the nationalist narrative. She argues that women were used as a 'means' for achieving Kemalist modernism, to 'spread' the ideals of Kemalism. Her research (Zihnioğlu, 2013) also shows that some women in Turkey, who imagined a more radical perspective, were excluded from the political arena[14]. Zihnioğlu's research has made it possible to question women's relationship with the state at various levels of political organisation, including Parliament, and the instrumentalization of women during the nation-building process (Arat, 2010a). In other words, Zihnioğlu's research on the women's movement, carried out using a herstory approach, has created links with modernisation and nation-building, rather than 'isolating' women from history, which Scott cited as a 'risk' of herstory approaches.

As previously mentioned, the herstory approach began to develop with the rise of second-wave feminism in Turkey during 1980s, and the results of these inquiries were published during the 1990s. In a similar way, feminist movements in Turkey were actively thinking about 'differences among women' during the 1990s, in relation to

[14] For a research note written about this book by the author, see Zihnioğlu's reflexive article (2020). In this research note, she also emphasises how her interest in women's history was linked with some second wave feminist figures in Turkey, such as Şirin Tekeli.

Kurdish women's movements, lesbian and gay[15] movements, and the contributions of some Muslim feminist intellectual women (Bora A. & Günal, 2007). Following these interventions, Lerna Ekmekçioğlu and Melissa Bilal published *Bir Adalet Feryadı: Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Ermeni Feminist Yazar* (A Cry for Justice: Five Armenian Feminist Authors from Ottoman Empire to Turkey). Published in 2006, the book focused on five Armenian women writers, incorporating an article about each writer and several articles written by Armenian women themselves between 1862 and 1933. According to the authors' introduction, 'The struggle of Ottoman women for emancipation in relation to family, education, work, and politics started in the middle of the 19th century. Some of the women who were involved in this struggle were Armenians' (2006, p. 13). Like the other stories mentioned above, this first study of the Armenian women's movement grew out of the herstory approach, as shown in the book's emphasis on the existence of Armenian feminists and its aim of giving them visibility[16]. This intervention had a significant impact on pioneering feminist researchers studying the early history of women's movements in Turkey, who used the term 'Ottoman women's movements' to mean 'Ottoman Muslim and Turkish women's movements'. This intervention showed feminist researchers' own prejudices and their reproductions of normative claims of nationalism; this will be discussed later in this thesis through an engagement with conceptualisations of 'complicity'. Pioneer researchers, who are all active participants in the feminist movement in Turkey, engaged with these criticisms reflexively; Çakır (2016) added the new preface of her book, while Demirdirek (2014) published a new study of the relations between Muslim and non-Muslim women in the late Ottoman Empire. In short, herstory research on the Ottoman Armenian women's movement questioned given understandings of the

[15] During the 1990s, the queer movement named itself the lesbian and gay movement in Turkey and this is the reason this term is used above.

[16] However, the editors of and contributors to this book also emphasise the importance of criticising and rewriting feminist historiography (Bilal, Ekmekcioglu, and Mumcu 2006). Thus, this book does not only have an aim to prove that Armenian women were *also* a part of women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire period; but has a strong emphasis on recognition of Armenian women's movements.

category 'woman', in relation to religion and ethnicity; it made other categories of women visible and pointed to dominant understandings of feminism in a context in which pioneering feminist researchers were making only some women visible.

Based on this important herstory research, which focused on women's agency and visibility, some of the later studies discussed in this thesis shifted the focus to the multiplicities of women's experiences, locating the Ottoman women's movements in a broader history and context. Serpil Sancar, for example, was interested in femininities and masculinities in state formation during modernisation. She published her book *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar* (Gender of Turkish Modernisation: Men make the state, Women make the family) in the mid-2010s. In this book, she builds a holistic historical narrative by investigating the inclusions and exclusions of femininities (focusing on the notion of family) and masculinities (focusing on the notion of the state). Sancar (2012) explains how men were encouraged to be involved in shaping state institutions, while women were made responsible for (and restricted to) the family domain. Deniz Kandiyoti adopted an original approach, locating the Ottoman women's movements and the case of gender in Turkey in the context of the Middle East (Kandiyoti, 1996). She questioned notions such as the 'liberation' and 'emancipation' of women (Kandiyoti, 1987), and asked questions about masculinities from a broader historical perspective (Kandiyoti, 1998; Kandiyoti, 2010). Serkan Delice, in his article *Zen-dostlar Coğalıp Mahbublar Azaldı: Osmanlı'da Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Cinsellik ve Tarihyazımı* (Gender, Sexuality and Historiography in the Ottoman Empire) researched male subjectivity in the Ottoman Empire from a poststructuralist queer perspective through 'same-sex' socialites, avoiding a linear history understanding (Delice, 2012). Later in this thesis, additional research on gender during the late Ottoman period coming from a poststructuralist feminist perspective will be discussed; for now, I would argue that research, including my own, which follows a poststructuralist feminist methodology should be viewed in relation to the 'herstory approach', not in opposition to it. Poststructuralist feminist research on the Ottoman Empire and Turkey does not necessarily address women's visibility (because it is already known that Ottoman and Turkish women existed in different political arenas). However, herstory researchers' analysis following women's visibility creates space for poststructuralist thinking on subjectivities, meanings, and normativities in relation to

the production of power, while criticising a pre-established woman subject that the herstory approach might assume.

2.2.3 Defining early women's movements in non-Western contexts

Many of the 'herstory' studies mentioned above defined the Ottoman women's movements as 'first-wave feminism' in Turkey (Çakır, 2016; Demirdirek, 2011; Zihnioğlu, 2013). The 'wave metaphor' has been very important to feminist scholars and activists worldwide, not just in Turkey. Using the 'wave' metaphor to periodise feminist and women's movements has helped researchers identify similarities and differences among various feminist/women's movement's temporalities (der Tuin, 2009; Hewitt, 2012). Seen from this perspective, the first wave referred mainly to suffragettes, suffragists, and right-to-vote protests organised during the final decades of the 19th century, along with 'equal access to education, peace, equal pay, temperance, and social welfare issues' (Charles, 2015, p. 41)[17]. However, some poststructuralist feminist scholars questioned these linear wave models[18] for presenting hegemonic models of some Western European and North American feminisms as if the same shifts and patterns were applicable across different time periods and contexts (Browne, 2014). Given the increase in new research on feminist and queer time and history (Amin, 2017; Halberstam, 2005; Herbert, 2019; Köksal & Falierou, 2013; Vivo de *et al.*, 2016), some feminist scholars, such as Clare Hemmings (2011), have pointed out that dominant narratives of the recent past, used to 'tell Western feminist theory', tend to oversimplify different strands of feminist thought, homogenize periods of time, and

[17] For a rich analysis of discussions about the wave metaphor and a new feminist organisation in Britain, see: Charles*, et al.* (2018).

[18] This does not mean that the only criticism of the linear wave model came from poststructuralist feminism. Postcolonial feminist theories have also made an important contribution to this debate. Poststructuralist feminist theories are mentioned here to follow on from the problematic discussed above.

erase different voices from the period. In analysing one narrative/story about feminist thinking, Hemmings says:

> This story has rightfully been critiqued as an Anglo-American trajectory within Western feminist thought, one that forces European and non-Western feminist theorists either to reposition themselves in line with the former's logic, or to depict themselves as critical or transcendent, but nevertheless as *responsive*' [emphasis original] (Hemmings, 2005b, p. 116).

I consider such criticism to be highly relevant to research on Ottoman women, especially as the 'wave' metaphor became a dominant way of defining Ottoman women's movements as Turkey's first wave of feminism. Although the researchers mentioned above associated Ottoman women's movements with first-wave feminism because women's activism in Western and Ottoman contexts took place during similar time periods, I would argue that there are few similarities between the Ottoman women's movements and Western 'first-wave feminisms'.[19] The Ottoman women's movements, for example, did not actively demand the vote (Toska *et al.*, 1993); but I suggest the main dynamics of women's demands were related to by the modernisation and nationalism process, as happened in many non-Western contexts (Najmabadi, 1997). This is the main reason for this thesis' special focus on non-Western contexts.

Moreover, as I will discuss later, I avoid defining Ottoman women's movements as a 'feminist movement', unlike other researchers (Çakır, 2016; Durakbaşa & İlyasoğlu, 2001; Ekmekçioğlu & Bilal, 2006). It is important to note that many Ottoman women avoided using the term 'feminist' to describe themselves. In fact, it was more common to see Ottoman men supporting feminism at the time, as contemporary magazines reveal[20] (Kandiyoti, 1992). Thus, I argue these definitions, demarcations, strategies, and 'avoidances' should be a part of this analysis, rather than taking as given the definition

---

[19] Here, I do not intend to homogenise first-wave feminisms in Western contexts. I want to emphasise the point that what I consider theoretically important is the modernisation and nationalism process.

[20] This topic is explained in Chapter 4.

of Ottoman women's movements as feminists. As I will discuss later, this point is important when thinking about the 'history of the present' and how contemporary researchers relate to historical figures, organisations, and movements of the past through their current understandings of feminism.

To sum up, following such poststructuralist feminist critiques, I do not define the Ottoman women's movement as a part of 'first-wave feminism', avoiding the tendency to associate the Ottoman women's movement with Western women's movements or to 'fit' the Ottoman women's movement into another context. Instead, following definitions, demarcations, contradictions and strategies will be important in relation to multiple femininities and masculinities in this analysis of Ottoman women's movements. Having said that, the research on both women's and feminist movements remains significant for the framework of this research, due to methodological concerns. Debates on historical and contemporary women's *and* feminist movements[21] are crucial for this research due to their emphasis on complexity, the plurality of history and discursive power struggles in that history. Thus, in the following section, I will engage with feminist discussions of the 'complicity' of women's and feminist movements that I consider significant for unpacking the particular power relations in my study.

2.2.4 Layers of complexity: Complicities of feminism

While discussing gender history, I showed that the herstory perspective's questioning of the 'obvious lack of women from history' made a strong intervention in national narratives and historiographies in Turkey, and rendered possible some further poststructuralist feminist questionings. Some of this research on women's movements already helped to question the potential 'complicities' of women's movements with

[21] Moreover, some of the researchers I will refer to in the following section do not have similar concerns to mine about the self-definition of women's movements. Midgley (2007), for example, considers women's movements in Britain in the 19th century as 'feminist' regardless of their self-definition.

ethnic and religious-centric nationalism, such as research on Ottoman Armenian women's movements, as I noted above. Moreover, there is a growing interest in the notion of 'complicities' in relation to dynamic power relations both in Western and non-Western contexts. In Western feminist debates, the complicity of feminism and women's movements has recently been conceptualised in relation to several (not necessarily exclusive) topics; including nationalism (Farris 2017; Weinbaum 2001; Altınay 2004), modernist imperialism (Davin 1978; Brummett 2000; Midgley 2007; Stoler and Cooper 1997), eugenics (Blencowe 2012; Mottier 2008; Repo 2016b; Lake 2018), neoliberalism (Repo 2016a; Fraser 2013; McRobbie 2009), colonial modernity (Burton 1999), the North-South Divides (de Jong 2017), the state (such as state feminism) (Adak 2007) and non-state actors (such as NGOisation) (Roy 2015; Bora A. and Gunal 2007)[22]. I will emphasise the first three in this section: the complicity of women's movements with nationalism, modernist imperialism and eugenics, through work on femonationalism, imperialist feminism and feminist eugenics. I highlight these three because the research on them not only helps to question the complexity of women's movements in the case of the late Ottoman Empire but also makes it possible to trace power relations in the Othering of Ottoman minorities and production of national hegemonies – some central conceptualisations of this thesis. Moreover, I think such questioning provides a framework to think about feminist researchers' relation with the (feminist) past that might have a tendency to analyse 'emancipation' demands, but not necessarily complicities.

Before introducing my three areas of focus (the complicity of women's movements with nationalism, modernist imperialism and eugenics), I want to note that I do not use 'complicity' to accuse or diminish historical and contemporary feminist and women's movements. I value the feminist conceptualisations of complicity because they show different layers of these movements, allowing us to avoid reification of them, and to

[22] I separate different topics in these examples; however, some of the scholars cited here sometimes think these topics together such as modernist imperialism and colonial modernity (Burton 1999) or imperialism and eugenics (Davin 1978).

avoid a 'one dimensional' understanding of challenges to gender inequality. As said, the research on complicity is significant for its potential to understand feminist and women's movements with their complexities and possible articulations with different power relations. The research I am drawing on here mostly appears as feminist criticism from 'the inside' (Blencowe 2012) and makes it possible to reflexively think about the 'methodological nationalism' of feminist research itself (Adak and Altınay 2010).

To start with the first topic, the complicity of feminist and women's movements with nationalism, I want to point to the links between the engagement of nationalism and the production of the Other. In her book *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism,* Sara R. Farris (2017) conceptualises 'femonationalism' with reference to contemporary racism and neoliberal political economy, focusing on the intersections between right wing nationalists, some feminists (mainly femocrats) and neoliberals in the Netherlands, France and Italy[23]. She analyses the contemporary political-economic agenda emphasising women's rights by these three different actors *in order to* advance their own politics. I am interested in Farris' analysis due to her way of showing the complexity of women's movements through the following argument: anti-Muslim rhetoric becomes the dominant anti-Other rhetoric in the contemporary Western anti-Islam agenda – including some feminist groups' perspective[24]. In this framework, gender equality becomes the 'property' of 'Western saviours' through producing male (Muslim) Others as sexual threats and female (Muslim) Others as

[23] For a critique of Farris' book focusing on the notion of 'populism', see: (Emadian 2019).

[24] With a similar perspective, Joan Scott (2018) analyses the usages of the notion 'women's rights' in relation to secularism in Western European nation states. She argues that the claim of equality between sexes is linked to secularism and is used to 'justify claims of white, Western, and Christian racial and religious superiority in the present as well as the past' (Scott 2018, 3-4). Using a feminist genealogy approach, similar to my research, she considers secularism 'as a discursive operation of power whose generative effects need to be examined critically in their historical contexts' (p. 4). Unpacking why secularism is at the centre of arguments against immigrants in Western Europe, specifically France, she analyses how secularism associated with gender equality can also contribute to the process of Othering. I will return to her analysis of Othering with her feminist genealogy approach later in this thesis.

sexual victims. The invocation, according to Farris, 'is intimately informed by a profound fear of the Other' (p. 5). With a similar conceptualisation, Jaspir K. Puar (2007) refers to 'homonationalism', a form of national homonormativity, that also points to a complicity in the case of the US. According to Puar, 'national recognition and inclusion [...] is contingent upon the segregation and disqualification of racial and sexual others from the national imaginary' (Puar 2017, 2). The conceptualisations of femonationalism and homonationalism make me question the complicity of some women's rights agendas with the creation of the Other, through engagement with nationalism. Inspired by their work, it becomes possible for me to ask what was considered a 'property' of a hegemonic group (mainly based on ethnicity, religion and urban context) and how the Othering process was sexualised —two key questions also in the case of the Ottoman Empire. Such questions allow me to analyse the respectability and recognition demands of Ottoman Turkish and Muslim women's movements as complex forms of possible complicities with modernist nationalism in the early 20th century.

A second topic in the questioning of the complicities of women's movement that I will emphasise is imperialism. Some researchers, writing about 'imperialist feminism', covered a wide 'spectrum of Western feminist engagements with imperialism, from complicity to resistance' (Midgley 2007, 3). For example, in the context of Britain during the 19th century, some scholars argued that the emancipation of white British women was prioritised over that of Other women, such as Indian women (Burton 1990; Liddle and Rai 1998). Midgley, who also writes about imperial feminism, unpacks the hegemonic feminist discourse in Britain, within a similar time period, which privileged white middle class women through reproducing the normative womanhood category, and criticised gender oppression by referring to a universal validity[25] (Midgley 2007). According to her, research on imperial feminism in Britain and its Empire allows us to

[25] She suggests the research on Western feminism in relation to the history of racism and imperialism was triggered by the critique of Eurocentrism by women of colour. Her point is similar to the intervention of Armenian feminists about the historiography of Ottoman women's movements during the 1990's feminist movement that I explained earlier in this chapter.

critically investigate the discourses on 'empowerment' of a group of women based on an unequal understanding of race, ethnicity and class. This unequal understanding of race, according to her, gives an assigned right to speak on behalf of the Other – which is a complicity with imperialist racism. The questioning of the constitution of normative womanhood is a concern for this research as well, in the context of Turkish Muslim Ottoman women[26]. As I will show later in Chapter 4, the Ottoman Empire has an ambiguous position, and 'imperialism' is not the best term to refer to late Ottoman period. However, the conceptualisation of imperial feminism allows me to ask some related questions that fit with this ambiguity: While demanding women's rights, whose agenda was prioritised? Which women's empowerment was considered to be more 'beneficial' and more urgent? Finally, who has the right to speak on behalf of Other women? As I suggested, the conceptualisation of femonationalism, asking questions about nationalism and the Othering process, allow me to unpack hegemonic national positions. Questioning normative womanhood and the right to speak on behalf of the Other is a different layer of understanding of such hegemonies as part of a complicity of feminist and women's movements with nationalist and ethnocentric perspectives.

Having said that, I believe it is significant to remember that women's movements do not only reproduce the normative womanhood and 'speak on behalf of the Other'. Even though it is possible to follow the 'complicities' of women's movements with different unequal understandings (imperialism, racism, nationalism, ethnocentrism), movements demanding women's rights also often challenge normative understandings of women and affirm a desire to speak on behalf of 'themselves'. Thus, I suggest an investigation of normative womanhood and its relation to Othering processes, as produced in women's movements, should be undertaken also in relation to this dimension. In other words, the 'normative womanhoods' produced in, and by,

[26] Both Burton (1990) and Midgley (2007) mention that the aim of their research is to understand the 'origin' of contemporary British feminism through researching the 19th century. I do not place an emphasis on an 'origin' of a feminism in Turkey as I mentioned before in relation to Scott's understanding of poststructuralist feminist methodology. The following chapter will explain this point further.

women's movements are also a challenge to other 'normative womanhoods'. Similarly, the Othering processes produced in women's movements should also be analysed in relation to their criticism of being Othered. In my analysis of Ottoman Muslim and Turkish women's movements, I will investigate normativities as part of negotiation of subjectivities and analyse Othering as a part of the production of subjectivities.

The third topic I will emphasise, the complicity of feminism and eugenics, is critically researched by locating these movements in a wider context. Scholars who analyse the ambiguous relationship between feminism and eugenics in mostly Western contexts during 19th and 20th century emphasise how some feminist demands can be linked with biopolitics, the improvement of the population via reproductive sexuality and disciplinary practices, and evolutionary science (Blencowe 2012; Mottier 2008; Lake 2018; Schuller 2012). They consider eugenics as a complex issue that broadly refers to a call for a (Western) scientifically founded state intervention to avoid a 'diseased national body' (Mottier and Geredetti 2007). As Mottier and Gerodetti (2007) suggest in their study of eugenics experiences of some European countries, eugenics should not be associated only with Nazi Germany, as it was also adopted by a wide political spectrum – including some socialists, anarchists and feminists. Blencowe points to the ambiguous relationship between feminism and eugenics, and the ways in which they were intertwined: 'establishing the biopolitical character of early-twentieth-century feminism and demonstrating the positive, "empowering" momentum of biopolitics' (Blencowe 2012, 164). Thus, she argues that it is crucial to think about the 'relationship between contingency, vitality, biological embodiment, knowledge, racism and feminist politics' (2012, 153).

Research on feminist eugenics has analysed the notion of 'motherhood' through this frame in the case of first wave feminism in Western contexts[27]. Some scholars showed that eugenics itself was elitist, racist and misogynist; and it locates motherhood as the

[27] I already shared my concerns about the term 'first wave feminism' in the previous section. I use the same term here because some of the research cited in this paragraph uses this term.

purpose of women's lives (Stoler 2010). On the one hand, this kind of an eugenics was anti-feminist; to illustrate, anti-suffrage was common due to the idea that women who can vote will damage the motherhood duty (Moss, Stam, and Kattevilder 2013). However, the eugenic goal of improving the quality of the race through an emphasis on 'healthy mothers' was sometimes used as a 'part of the *justification for* the emancipation of women' (Blencowe 2012, 167). The idea of good motherhood for racial health and purity pointed to motherhood as a new 'dignity' (Davin 1978); thus, made the justification of women's movements possible. Maternal feminism, intertwined with eugenics in some women's movements, allowed women to insist on some emancipation demands. Moreover, some eugenicists emphasised women's role in the education and reform of society in addition to their role as 'producers of the race'; this 'carve[d] out a niche' for first wave feminism (Moss, Stam, and Kattevilder 2013, 108). Due to this complicity, eugenicist strands of feminism challenged the patriarchal idea that women are inferior to men, but they did not necessarily bring a challenge to biopolitical racism (Blencowe 2012); thus, the Other of white, elite, urban women was pathologized (Jacobs 2009). I will come back to the discussion of 'motherhood' extensively, focusing on the case of Ottoman Empire, in relation to modernisation and nationalism; however, here I want to show the notion of 'motherhood' is crucial for unpacking the complexities of women's movements in a broader context.

Analysing biopolitics and eugenics in relation to modernisation in the Ottoman Empire is not a central aim of this thesis, although there is an emerging interest in the topic (Miller 2007; Evered and Evered 2012). However, what interests me in the literature on feminist eugenics is the analysis of complexity that, by focusing on complicities, does not only show the plurality of history but also traces the power relations in that history. It seems to me that one tendency in the research on Ottoman women's movements is to point out how 'restricted' they were; thus, Ottoman women emphasised motherhood as part of their challenging of these restrictions, in order to justify and demand respectability to women's movements. I agree with this argument to a great extent (and will discuss this issue in Chapter 7); however, as research on feminist eugenics shows, the challenges to some restrictions (such as those experienced by white, elite, urban women) and the justifications put forward by women's movements can produce complicities with other unequal power relations.

This argument fits well with a Foucauldian inspired understanding of power that not only restricts but also produces, in this case, a politics that both includes and excludes (Blencowe 2012, 153; Jacobs 2009; Mottier 2008; Lake 2018; Miller 2007; Evered and Evered 2012; Moss, Stam, and Kattevilder 2013; Davin 1978).

Having discussed three broader topics in relation to the complicities of women's movements which inspired this thesis, I want to return to the specific case of the complicities of Ottoman Muslim women's movements. Some feminist researchers, thinking about the complicity of women's movements with nationalism and modernist ethnocentrism in the case of Turkey, emphasise some silences that show the exclusionary nature of politics based on ethnic and religious difference (Adak and Altınay 2010). For example, Ottoman minorities can be overlooked because they are not 'relatable' enough to be added to feminist historiography (Bilal, Ekmekcioglu, and Mumcu 2006). Some new research argues that the complicity with Turkish nationalism in women's writings in the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey, meant that Turkish women could not form bonds and could not build feminist alliances across ethnic lines (Adak 2019). According to Adak, this was because they refused to accept or to politicise the ethnocentric and modernist violence towards religious and ethnic minorities while demanding women's rights. I take this analysis seriously and investigate further the processes of exclusion, Othering, reproducing normativity, speaking on behalf of the Other, and discursive power struggles – drawing on the literature on 'complicity' that I introduced in this section. I argue that the conceptualisation of complicity allows us to show different layers of complexity and discursive power struggles in women's movements. With a similar aim, I do not reduce women's movements to a group that only produces hegemonies, but analyse how normative womanhood was both reproduced and undermined, and how new forms of subjectivity are claimed – as my research questions indicate.

In this section, I mostly referred to debates on complicity in Western contexts and showed how they help me to shape my own questioning in the case of Ottoman Muslim and Turkish women's movements. In the following section, I will introduce research on modernisation and nationalism in non-Western contexts. It is important to do so, mainly because the Othering process in this context does not only refer to an Other in

the national context but also imagining national identity as an Other of the West (or mainly Europe) in a non-Western context.

2.3 Conceptualising Occidentalism

2.3.1 Clarifying terms: Non-Western modernities

As previously mentioned, this work is located in a 'non-Western' context. What does 'non-Western' mean though? Does it mean the 'Middle East', 'South Asia', 'Latin America', the 'Third World' or anything else? If it means the 'Middle East', which countries does the term 'non-Western' signify? Does it refer to Turkey, Lebanon, or Egypt? If Turkey, does it refer to İstanbul or a small village in Anatolia? These questions seem endless, and the more they increase, the more complex the various usages of the term 'non-Western' become. For this reason, the term needs to be unpacked.

The contemporary questioning in postcolonial perspectives has generated discussion about terms such as 'Third World' and 'developing countries' in relation to the notion of temporality (Asad & Owen, 1983; Dirlik, 1997; Mohanty, 1984; Valldejuli, 2007). Postcolonial feminist writers mention the common usages of the term 'non-Western' in 'Western-centric' academic feminist writing, as well as in non-feminist works. They point that the term 'non-Western' could potentially reflect an othering, generalising, homogenising perspective (Ahmed, 2014b; Mohanty, 1984; Narayan, 1997). I share these concerns and agree that the term non-Western could refer to 'the West and the Rest' in Western and Euro-centric writing (Amin, 2009). Having said that, I believe that the term 'non-Western' also makes it possible to think about the modernisation experience outside hegemonic Western experience. Rather than using 'non-Western' as a homogenising term, it is important to use it analytically to refer to similar experiences, while considering contextual differences, as Jayawardena advised in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter. In this thesis, the concept retains its multiplicity and fluidity; it does not assume a universal 'non-Western modernity' set within a binary of Western and non-Western. Scholars who actively use this term, whose writings this thesis frequently engage with, base their works on a criticism of Western-centric

understandings of the term 'non-Western' (Abu-Lughod, 1998b; Kandiyoti, 2010; Najmabadi, 2005; Narayan, 1997). I am very aware that non-Western experiences of modernisation are multiple, differing across countries, socio-geographical contexts, and colonial experiences. As an example, throughout this research, I frequently ask how 'non-Western' people associate themselves with 'non-Western' identity, in a strategic use of the term.

The introduction of this thesis has already referred to the notion of 'modernisation'. Defining 'modernisations' and the diversity of modernisations has become an important discussion, similar to debates about the term 'non-Western'. For example, the term 'multiple modernities' is commonly used by many researchers (Dirlik, 2003; Göle, 2000; Göle, 2012). According to Gurminder Bhambra (2011; 2015), the term 'multiple modernities' emerged in response to two criticisms. The first criticised the assumption that modernity had a single path, while the second criticised the assumed Euro-centric perspective, which looked to the 'East' from the 'West'. However, Bhambra is still critical of the concept of 'multiple modernities', noting that: 'simply pluralizing the cultural forms of modernity, or recognizing the histories of others, does nothing to address the fundamental problems with the conceptualisation of modernity itself' (Bhambra, 2011, p. 655). The term 'alternative modernities' derives from a similar criticism of Eurocentrism and has been used by many researchers, including Alev Çınar (2005), to decentralise modernisation, especially in the Islamic context. However, this approach has been criticised for continuing to assume an alternative to 'Europe' (Balasescu, 2005).

The present thesis treats 'modernisations in non-Western contexts' as a more productive phrase and constantly unpacks the complicated and contradictory usages of the term 'non-Western'. To return to Bhambra's criticism of the term 'multiple modernities', I agree it is not enough to simply pluralise forms of modernisation because power dynamics can only be understood by rethinking structures of knowledge (rather than adding more examples) (Bhambra 2007). However, pointing out 'pluralities' is a very important strategy, which can help to avoid homogenisation and generalisation. Having said that, in the context of this thesis, what I would consider to be the 'fundamental problem' for the case of the conceptualisation of modernisation

would be the lack of a complex analysis of the constitution of gender and production of subjectivities in relation to power regimes, as well as notions of the 'Other' (here I point to some Ottoman modernists referring to the Ottoman Empire as Other of 'Europe') in late Ottoman modernisation. I would argue that the concept of Occidentalism is very productive to unpack 'non-Western modernisations'. Before explaining this point in detail, I will discuss the complicated relations between 'nationalisms' and 'modernisations' that will be important for the concept of Occidentalism.

2.3.2 Entanglements between non-Western nationalisms and modernisations

Postcolonial theories problematise non-Western modernisations in relation to nationalist movements and their relationship with colonialism (Chakrabarty, 2000; Chatterjee, 2004; Fanon, 2008; Narayan, 1997; Spivak, 2000). Partha Chatterjee, an influential scholar who writes about modernisation and nationalism in the context of India, is commonly referred to in the research on the Ottoman Empire and Turkey (Berktay, 2012; Bora T., 2017; Sancar, 2012; Sirman, 2011; Yeğenoğlu, 1998). In his famous book, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Chatterjee, 1993a), he unpacks Benedict Anderson's (2006) influential conceptualisation of 'Imagined Communities' among theories of nationalism; this book claimed that nationalisms were shaped in Europe and that non-Western countries 'copied' Western nationalisms[28]. According to Chatterjee, Anderson locates postcolonial nations as 'consumers of modernity', while making Europe and the Americas the 'true subjects' of history. Arising from this criticism, Chatterjee argues, anticolonial nationalisms tend to create a modern 'inner domain' of national culture while retaining an 'imagined essence', without being 'Western', during the process of modernisation (Chatterjee, 1993a, p. 3). While explaining non-Western nationalisms and their relations with modernisation, he points to the concept, 'discourse of power', that makes

[28] For a feminist criticism of Anderson's book, also see the book *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (Parker, *et al.*, 1992).

it possible to question the universality and givenness of a colonial understanding of modernity (1993b). Following Foucault, Chatterjee (1993a) invites us to think about the modern regime of power as one that does not only prohibit but also facilitates and produces. I will clarify this point with his concepts of 'outer' and 'inner' domains.

According to Chatterjee, (1993a) the 'outer' or 'material' domain refers to Western superiority in areas such as the economy, state craft, science and technology, and rational forms of economic organisation (mainly industrialisation). Moreover, in the 'inner' or 'spiritual' domain[29] the aim is to keep essential marks of cultural identity during periods of intense change throughout the process of modernisation. He argues that the main tendency in this context was for colonised people to engage with the outer domain, while also keeping an inner domain with 'imagination' of their own cultures. He explains that the relationship between the 'inner' and 'outer' domains should be a 'balanced one' that avoids the 'imitation of the West' in some non-Western nationalisms. In short, the 'balance' between 'inner' and 'outer' domains is a constant negotiation. The nationalism of the colonised against the colonial power meant displaying the 'essential cultural difference' in the inner domain in the case of India. However, in the 'outer' domain, difference could not be justified as outer domain was supposed to refer to a 'universality of the modern regime of power' (such as science and technology). This 'selective appropriation of Western modernity', based on 'useful knowledges' of the West and the 'national essence' of the East (p. 120), is a special focus of this research. Nationalism locates subjectivity in the inner domain of culture, where 'national essences' are negotiated.

Some countries, such as Iran and Ottoman Empire/Turkey, were never colonised by European powers (Abu-Lughod, 1998b) but did experience forms of modernisation that were influenced by nationalism in ways that reflected the experience of colonised

[29] The term 'spiritual' is mainly derived from the context of Indian nationalism. In Turkey, the 'spirit' is less emphasised (Sirman, 2008). Thus, I will be using the concepts of 'inner' and 'outer' domains during this thesis.

countries. This happened because the 'European hegemony and the perceived "backwardness" of their respective societies created an ideological context in which notions of "catching up", imitation of the West, and cultural corruption and authenticity' (Kandiyoti, 2002, p. 3) became part of the political discourse.[30] As mentioned above, the concepts of 'inner' and 'outer' domains are very influential in modernisation studies in Turkey (Bora T., 2017; Mutman, 2012; Sirman, 2005), especially in discussions of 'Westernisation' in the late Ottoman Empire and early Republic of Turkey. 'Westernisation' is a popular term in non-Western contexts, where it signifies being 'too similar' to the West (Balslev, 2014; Belge, 2012; Narayan, 1997; Yavuz, 2012). In Chatterjee's conceptualisation, it refers to an imbalance between the inner and outer domains – mainly caused by the loss of the 'inner domain' of the 'national essence', according to nationalist narratives. In this way, the term 'Westernisation' has acquired a mainly negative meaning for nationalist perspectives in non-Western contexts. Having said that, the connotations of the 'West' and 'Europe' were rather complicated in political and intellectual discussions in the late Ottoman Empire, including discussions related to early women's movements. Against this backdrop, the following section introduces the theory of Occidentalism.

2.3.3 Occidentalism: a form of non-Western modernity

Ahıska developed her concept of Occidentalism in relation to the theories of Orientalism introduced by Edward Said. In his book, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, Said defined Orientalism as 'a style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'' (Said, 1995, p. 2). Accordingly, Orientalism was 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority of the Orient' (Said, 1995, p. 3).

[30] Some researchers assign coloniser status to the Ottoman Empire (Erçel, 2016; Yelsalı-Parmaksız, 2017). Because the main discourse about modernisation and nationalism was based on economic dependence on Europe during the late Ottoman Empire period, postcolonial theories can help to critically analyse the context of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A more detailed analysis is provided in Chapter 4.

Theories of Orientalism have been developed by feminist theorists, who argue that it is impossible to understand and criticise the production of Orientalism without analysing the gendered constructions of Orientalism (Lewis, 2003; Yeğenoğlu, 1998) and who provided a special focus on 'Western conceptions' in relation to 'democracy' and women's rights[31] (Lewis, 2002). Feminist researchers have also contributed to problematising representations and objects, chiefly associated with the Orient, which contributes to the productions of discourses on Orientalism and Western hegemony, such as harems, veiling, and erotic representations (Akşit, 2010b; Kandiyoti, 2007b; Lewis, 2004; Yeğenoğlu, 1998). Inspired by works on Orientalism, I would like to introduce Ahıska's concept of Occidentalism, which is focused on in this thesis.

The concept of 'Occidentalism' was developed by Meltem Ahıska (2010) in her book *Occidentalism in Turkey: Questions of Modernity and National Identity in Turkish Radio Broadcasting,* which investigates radio broadcasting in relation to conceptions of the nation and modernity in Turkey. In this book, Ahıska points out the need for new ways of theorising about Western constructions of modernity in relation to history of Turkey. She argues that the subjectivity of the Turkish elite and national identity can be analysed using the concept of Occidentalism, a hegemonic 'episteme' that constructs the concept of 'modern' in a non-Western field, along with its influence on modernisation processes in Turkey (Ahıska, 2010).

In conceptualising Occidentalism, Ahıska separates her understanding of the term from two other usages of the same concept (Ahıska, 2010). Firstly, and most commonly, 'Occidentalism' can refer to defensive actions against the West, also known as anti-Westernism. She notes that the term 'Occidentalism' was popularised by a book called *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies* published by Buruma and Margalit, who use it to mean 'the historical context of Western modernity and its hateful

[31] For an interesting analysis of this issue in war studies linked to Orientalism, see: Al-Ali*, et al.* (2009). For another feminist analysis asks the question: how do 'Muslim women's rights' produce the contemporary world, see: (Abu-Lughod, 2010).

caricature' (2004, p. 6). However, the same term can also refer to Westernism as a positive concept, as in Chen's book on China (Chen, 1995). Thus, Ahıska argues that 'the discourse on modernity inevitably includes the entangled representations of Western definitions of the East, or the East reacting to the Western gaze (in which the East and West have changing contents and locations, of course)' (Ahıska, 2010, p. 5) in several non-Western contexts. 'Western definitions of the East and the 'East reacting to the Western gaze' are key terms needed to understand the concept of Occidentalism.

Ahıska analyses the way in which Orientalism casts the East as the 'Other', arguing that the role of the Other 'has also been produced by the Other itself, aspiring to fill in the subject position' (Ahıska, 2010, p. 7). I entirely support her argument that researchers should investigate the subject constitution of the non-West at an analytical level. As Ahıska makes clear, the Other as the East is not merely constructed by the West, as Said demonstrated, but also by the Other itself. According to Ahıska:

> The Other's inhabiting the space of the Other and speaking for itself produces an Occidentalism of the non-West, in which the locus of the enunciation of modernity shifts from West to non-West, with dramatic differences in its content and performance (Ahıska, 2010, p. 7).

She points out the term's ambiguity, arguing that Occidentalism is Westernism and anti-Westernism simultaneously; it is a way of performing Western modernity, as well as a gesture of resistance against some forms of colonisation. And at the same time, Occidentalism 'utilises the status of the victim to build a certain regime of power and to constitute itself as a hegemonic discourse' (Ahıska, 2010, p. 7). Thus, Occidentalism also means the interpellation of the Other through a nativism. Building upon this invitation, this thesis analyses these 'shifts' and 'differences', focusing on the process of modernisation in the case of women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire.

One of the strongest elements in Ahıska's theory is her emphasis on 'subjectivity'. Based on a study of Kemalist state radio broadcasts, she argues that the strategies and tactics employed by 'Orientals' in response to the West is a part of producing their subject status (Ahıska, 2000). Thus, they constitute a 'double reflection' of 'how the non-Western imagines the West sees itself' (Ahıska, 2003, p. 365), shaping subject status through an imagined 'Western gaze'. Although the Other as the East may appear to be

a legitimate 'victim' of colonisation, Ahıska separates Occidentalism from a victim's discourse. Rather, she argues that:

> Occidentalism utilises the status of the victim to build a certain regime of power and to constitute itself as a hegemonic discourse. The category of the Other is interpellated within Occidentalism to produce a nativism by which other Others are produced, judged, and marginalised (Ahıska, 2010, p. 7).

This process of subjectification (and identification) differs from internalised Orientalism due to the resignification of the terms 'Orient' and 'Occident' in multiple non-Western contexts. In other words, while 'Orientals' employ their subject status, they negotiate the meaning of 'Otherness' itself. This opens 'a space for the positivity of the Other' that does not simply replicate an Orientalist understanding of the Other (Ahıska, 2003). In this way, Occidentalism does not signify non-Western accepting of Western conceptualisations of Orientalism, but the production and negotiation of Otherness in multiple ways.

It is important to point out that, in using the terms 'Occident' and 'Orient', I do not aim to promote a binary understanding of the world. A similar discussion has been held using other concepts, such as East/West, South/North, and Third World/First World (Abu-Lughod, 1998b; Mohanty, 1984; Said, 1995; de Jong, 2017). These discussions showed that discourses on some concepts such as 'Orientalised Other', 'definitions of the West', and the 'imagined gaze' are heterogeneous (Lowe, 1991) and the terms 'Orient' and 'Occident' have no intrinsic meanings or geographical borders. In fact, this research sets out to analyse the way in which this binary has been established, reproduced, and transformed through discourses. This perspective also applies to the notions 'woman' and 'man' or 'feminine' and 'masculine'. As in the case of 'Orient' and 'Occident' and other binaries, the aim is to analyse the meanings of these categories and their interrelations, instead of accepting them as binary categories and using them as fixed categories.

To sum up, Ahıska's concept of Occidentalism refers to a discourse of power, constituted through statements and practices that enable the boundaries of what can be said. She explains this point 'Occidentalism as a performative discourse addresses both the desire for and denigration of what is essentialised and reified as the West'

(Ahıska, 2010, p. 41). This thesis will expand the analysis of subject status constituted by the Western gaze, conceptualised through Occidentalism, and based on its gendered formation. I have already argued that modernisation and gender should be analysed together, not in isolation. This thesis aims to prove that the same argument is valid for Occidentalism. To unpack gendered occurrences of Occidentalism, it is necessary to explore different and plural forms of femininities and masculinities in association with modernisation and nationalism, as in the following section.

2.4 Femininities, masculinities, sexualities, and subjectivities in the nation-building process

Nagel (1998) notes that genders have been assigned to certain socio-geographical contexts; one example is the binary association of the masculine West and the feminine East from Western-centric perspectives. This association is actually quite diverse and easily changed in different fields (such as public and private domains); it can also produce contradictory associations. For example, in anti-Western nationalistic writings, this binary can be reversed (Gaitskell & Unterhalter, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 1997), producing, for example, feminine Western colonisers and masculine patriotic Eastern nationalists[32]. These gender associations also work with the sexual implications developed by feminist researchers, focused on different contexts (Balslev, 2018; Durakbaşa, 2017; İlkkaracan, 2008a; İlkkaracan, 2008b; Najmabadi, 1997; Sinha, 1995). This section explains that gendered and sexual meanings are plural, and femininities and masculinities must be unpacked so that researchers can critically evaluate discourses of modernisation in non-Western contexts. It includes research on the normative forms of Muslim femininities and masculinities at the beginning of the 20th century in the urban Ottoman Empire and how these forms became aspects of

[32] The novel *Sodom ve Gomore* (Sodom and Gomorrah) by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (2017) [1928] is one example. In this novel, some British soldiers are represented as feminised and homosexual while the Ottoman Muslim men are 'honest' strong men at risk of becoming feminised, during the occupation of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War. The image of an 'ideal' Ottoman Muslim man was constructed as heterosexual and eager to get married and maintain family life or to join the national struggle.

national honour through modernisation in non-Western contexts; it also examines the circulation of the 'new woman' narrative. Later, I will argue that affect theories are significant for the analysis of articulations of modernisation and gender.

2.4.1 Desired changes, *iffet* and *namus* in modernisation

Deniz Kandiyoti, one of the most influential feminist scholars in the field of Middle Eastern Studies, has rightfully argued that modern states and variations of Islam associated with different nationalisms were shaped in relation to 'an understanding of the condition of women' (Kandiyoti, 1991b, p. 2) and their 'sexual purity' (Kandiyoti, 1992). The ways in which women were represented by state narratives during the process of nation-state formation and the discourses on 'emancipation' that women intellectuals did or could potentially engage in were inseparable dimensions (Kandiyoti, 1991b). Discourses around the notion of the 'new woman' were very common during state formations; this 'new woman' was supposed to have 'modern but virtuous' femininities (Bilal *et al.*, 2006; Durakbaşa & İlyasoğlu, 2001; Sirman, 2008; Tuncer, 2014). The concept of the 'new woman' will be explained in the following subsection; first, however, it is important to examine the 'modern but virtuous' label, which was negotiated during the changes and continuations of modernisation and nationalism. Why was the notion that women were 'modern but virtuous' of interest to the whole nation, both men and women? In what ways have contradictions between the notions of 'modern' and 'virtuous' produced non-Western modernisations? Some feminist researchers have been considering these questions, as discussed below.

I find Durakbaşa and İlyasoğlu's phrase 'modern but virtuous' very interesting, especially because they choose to insert the word 'but' between 'modern' and 'virtuous' when explaining the late Ottoman Empire and Turkey's modernisation process. Having said that, this issue is not limited to the Ottoman Empire or Turkey. Najmabadi

mentions a 'modern-yet-modest' transformation during the modernisation of Iran[33] (Najmabadi, 1991). These terms imply that some risk to women's virtue, purity, chastity, or sexual honour was associated with being 'modern'; thus, 'virtue' had to be emphasised. Given that 'but' emphasises the contradictory conditions of women's participation in modernisation, 'modern but virtuous' is a more useful phrase than 'modern and virtuous'. Here is the contradiction: full modernisation had to include the nation's 'uneducated' or 'backward' women; at the same time, women who modernised 'too much' could lose their virtue or sexual purity (Bora T., 2017). According to Kandiyoti, late Ottoman-period novels are full of stories of women who could not achieve a balance between being modern and virtuous, and who therefore either died or ended up in brothels (Kandiyoti, 2007a).

Feminist research on the relationship between modernisation and sexual purity in Muslim contexts has shown that the contradiction of 'modern but virtuous' is not a 'danger' to women only[34]. The potential 'damage' to women's sexual purity during modernisation is of interest to the whole nation (Bora T., 2017; Chatterjee, 2010). In this framework, women's participation in modernisation, undermined by the contradiction between 'modernity' and 'modesty', which makes it difficult for women to achieve the correct balance, became a 'threat' to the nation as well. In using the notion of 'Westernisation', introduced in the subsection above (2.3.2. Entanglements of Non-Western nationalisms and modernisations), discourses on Westernisation or 'false modernisation' have gendered meanings. Being 'too Westernised' by imitating the West and failing to 'keep the essence of the nation' can be a 'funny' issue for men, but a 'tragedy' for women, from a nationalist perspective, in the Ottoman novels that Kandiyoti studies (2007a). Some researchers have explained this notion by using the

[33] In the quoted article, Najmabadi analyses the transformation of the 'modern-yet-modest' discourse to an 'Islamic-thus-modest' discourse in the context of Iran.

[34] Jaschok and Jingjun (2012) refer to similarities with Muslim notions of women's purity in the context of modernisation in China.

concept of honour, pointing out the masculine associations in research on Turkey (Arat, 2010a; Berktay, 2003; Çınar, 2005; Sirman, 2014). However, it is useful to separate women's sexual honour (*iffet*) from men's sexual honour (*namus*) during modernisation, in relation to Islamic understandings.

Nagel's research inspired me to create an analysis that separated women's honour (*iffet*) from men's honour (*namus*). In her work, Nagel refers to cases in which a Muslim woman's shame was shared by her family, nation, and men[35] (Nagel, 1998). She believes that women's sexuality is often a part of national interest for two reasons. Firstly, a representation of 'women as mothers' is linked to the 'nation's heart' and home in both Western and non-Western contexts[36]. Secondly, the representation of 'women as wives and daughters' places women in the role of bearers of masculine honour (Nagel, 1998, pp. 255–256). Thus, discourses about women hold the honour of families, men, and the nation.

In this context, the association between various forms of sexual honour and femininities and/or masculinities is significant (Abouelnaga, 2015). To use Najmabadi's terms, it is necessary to explain how the notion of 'honour' as a national concern changed during modernisation by investigating transforming femininities and/or masculinities, rather than fixed meanings. Najmabadi focuses on the case of Iran, arguing that:

> '…its [male honour's – *namus*] meaning embraces the idea of a woman's purity [*iffet*] and the integrity of the nation, male honour was constituted as subject to male possession and protection in both domains; gender honour and national honour intimately informed each other' (Najmabadi, 2005, p. 1–2).

[35] However, Nagel (1998) points out that non-Western masculinities (third-world in her conceptual framework) are not the only gendered concepts associated with honour. Female fecundity, in particular, can be linked to honour in Western contexts.

[36] She makes this point by pointing to both France and South Africa.

In common with other researchers (Arat, 1999a; Durakbaşa, 2017), I believe that the concept of 'modern but virtuous', with its links to femininities and masculinities, can be unpacked in relation to the 'new woman' image and motherhood; the following section will develop this idea further.

2.4.2 Plural forms of femininities and masculinities: the 'new woman' of new nations

The social conditions of women in the family constitute one of the most discussed topics in relation to nationalist movements undergoing modernisation processes in non-Western contexts (Altınay, 2013; Amin, 2008; Bier, 2011; Bose, 1995; Fanon, 2008). It is important to understand the 'new woman', generally attached to a 'new family', as desired categories linked to the 'representation' of changing and modernising nations[37] (Abu-Lughod, 1998b). The 'new woman' had to be 'modern' as previously mentioned. However, the 'essence' of the nation had to be protected (Chatterjee, 1993a) and the position of women in the family was important for the circulation of 'new woman' discourses. Those who occupied the 'new modern women of the modernising nation' category were expected to dedicate themselves to their families and the nation; they had to be educated and to use their educations to advance their families and the nation (Bora A., 2010; Çakır, 2007; Sirman, 2008). In other words, 'new women' were associated with domesticity and femininity in the public space through education and employment, but associated with 'nurturing and reproduction' in the private sphere (Tuncer, 2014). One of the most important characteristics of the 'new woman' in the 'new family' was 'motherhood', a topic investigated below.

The 'new family' structure was of interest to the nation because reproduction and newly emerging capitalism were important in non-Western contexts (Akşit, 2010a;

[37] The notion of the 'new woman' also appears in Western contexts. For a significant analysis of the 'new woman' in Britain and the US in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see: Hennessy (1993). For an analysis of the ways in which the 'new woman' were discussed in the non-Western case in relation to the production of Western Orientalism, see: Lewis (2004).

Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989; Bier, 2011; Boehmer, 2005a). Many nationalist movements imagined the nation as a continuation of the extended family (Chatterjee, 1993a; Kaplan, 1997; Tavakoli-Targhi, 2002). This perspective involved positioning women as 'mothers', 'sisters', and 'wives' of the nation through an imaginary kinship relationship among citizens (Bora A., 2010, p. 54). These categorisations, representations, and positions produced a new patriarchy that was different from the traditional one; likewise, the non-Western family had to be different from the Western family (Chatterjee, 1993a). Researchers like Kandiyoti (1998) have argued that, on the one hand, women's position in the 'modern family' helped them to engage with education in schools and universities and to enter the public sphere more actively. On the other hand, the modern knowledge available to women generally involved housework or motherhood responsibilities (Çakır, 2007). Najmabadi (2005) developed the concept of 'scientific housewives' to suggest that women's involvement in education was intended to create 'modern wives and daughters' by developing home economics for the nation[38].

Inspired by Najmabadi, my research develops the concept of 'scientific motherhood', arguing that motherhood is a more important role than housewifery in the context of Ottoman women's movements[39]. This reflects the issue that the representation of women as mothers in emerging non-Western nationalism and modernisation was negotiated by women themselves to demand emancipation. Referring to 'motherhood' was also a strategic move in response to the sexual regulations that were transforming society during modernisation, including the 'danger' of losing women's sexual honour and purity (*iffet*). On the one hand, motherhood was a very normative category for

[38] As a similar concept, Jayawardena (1986) uses the term 'civilised housewives'.

[39] Rima D. Apple uses the term 'scientific motherhood' for the context of US since the mid-19th century, in order to explore the 'transformation of women's roles and the development of modern motherhood' (Apple, 2006, p. 3). The way I use and develop the term 'scientific motherhood' was inspired by Najmabadi's usage, looking to adaptations of European/Western 'modern scientific and technological knowledge' in non-Western contexts. I consider this conceptualisation to be different from Apple's understanding.

demarcating 'inner domains', to use Chatterjee's term, as mothers were the bearers of 'national culture' (Boehmer, 2005a). On the other hand, motherhood needed to be 'modernised' through 'scientific' knowledge, in relation to the 'modern nation' and 'new family'. Linking back to the discussion provided in section '2.2.4 Layers of Complexity: Complicities of Feminism', the demands of emancipation and recognition of women's movements include a negotiation of the normative understanding of 'modern but virtuous', but also might be complicit with a normative nationalistic understanding of motherhood. In other word, this strategic move can be analysed both as a justification of the demands of women's movements; but also as a production of an exclusionary politics, based on an Occidentalist perspective. The following section shows how focusing on 'emotions', from the perspective of affect theories, can develop research on modernisations and nationalisms.

2.4.3 Affect theory, modernities and nationalisms

In studies of modernities and nationalisms, some researchers have mentioned the following feelings, emotions, and affects (Anderson, 2006; Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997; Gellner, 1995; Jacob, 2011; Mosse, 1982; Nagel, 1998; Özkırımlı, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 1997; Farris, 2017): fear (of being occupied or of Other), danger (caused by war), anger (with internal and external groups of people), love (of the nation, flag, progress), and hatred (of the enemy), to name a few. The previous section referred to the binary associations of masculinity with the West and femininity with the East. Nagel (1998), the researcher who unpacked this binary, also questions concepts linked to these associations: Honour, patriotism, cowardice, bravery and duty. How did cowardice become associated with masculinity? How did the concept of self-sacrifice work – and how was it used by women's movements in the Ottoman Empire during the modernisation and nationalism process?

Both modernism and nationalism are 'passionate' movements that grow stronger when there is tension between the categories of 'us' and 'them'. It is therefore unsurprising that these 'passions' have been of interest to researchers. Affect theories have created a new form of engagement for analysing emotions (Gregory & Ahall,

2015)[40]. The growing interest in affect theories is commonly referred to as an 'affective turn' in interdisciplinary fields due to the newly emerging and growing questions around the notion of 'affect' (Beatty, 2019). Pedwell and Whitehead also refer to the 'affective turn' (2012) to which feminist scholars actively contributed by thinking about 'the critical links between affect and gendered, sexualised, racialized and classed relations of power' (2012, p. 116). Including political, cultural and psychoanalytic conceptualisations of capitalism, there has been a specific emphasis on biopolitics, subject formation and governmentality in affect theories. Moreover, they suggest 'affective frameworks also figure centrally in feminist and postcolonial analyses of the embodied and psychical legacies of colonialism and slavery, as well as the emotional politics of contemporary forms of nation building, migration and multiculturalism' (2012, p. 116). In my research, I will be focusing on articulations of gender, modernisation and nationalism, analysing the circulation of power through the kind of affective relations and discourses problematised by affect theories.

Having said that, some researchers have argued that analysing 'affects' is not a new approach, but that many earlier scholars thought about the relationship between affect, emotion, body and discourse (Sirman, 2006; Staiger *et al.*, 2010). In feminist studies, the very emphasis on 'the personal is political' was an invitation to think about these issues alongside the questions of historical trauma and cultural memory. However, with the 'affective turn', it is possible to refer to new emerging questions, if not a new field. This interest in emotions and affects, as objects of analysis, has opened the way for new engagements (Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012). Greco and Stenner, thinking about the 'affective turn' in relation to the 'textual turn' say:

> The move from 'text' to 'affect' thus parallels a shift in emphasis from *epistemological* questions as to the nature, sources and limits of knowledge, to *ontological* questions as to the nature of (pre-discursive) realities. [...] The constructivist notions of power, performativity and activity which gave value to

[40] Affect theories cannot be reduced to a theory of emotion; rather they provide a lively discussion about the body, emotions, feelings, and so on (Hemmings, 2005a; Pedwell, 2014). This is a very complicated thought process; this thesis focuses specifically on the concept of 'emotion'.

> the concept of *discourse* in the textual turn have been extended beyond the socio-cultural domain to include pre-conscious and pre-discursive forms of existence, and the concept of 'affect' has become a marker of this extension (Greco and Stenner 2008, 10).

I have reservations about introducing affect only as a 'move from text' because 'text' still stands as important in affect theories. However, it might be redefined as 'moving' that both names and performs emotions (Ahmed 2014). On the other hand, Greco and Stenner's focus on the pre-discursive and pre-conscious is important. According to Pedwell, affect 'cannot be reducible to "discourse" or "emotion", but rather exceeds these categories; it is a material intensity that emerges via the "in-between" encounters' (Pedwell and Whitehead 2012). Hemmings defines affect as a 'key to understanding the relationship between the epistemological and the ontological' (2011, 25). She states that affect allows feminist scholars to rethink the relationship between gendered epistemology and ontological experience within feminist politics and research. Through Elspeth Probyn's work, Hemmings suggests that questioning this relationship can be a reflexive process. For me, this reflexive process indicates such questions as: What knowledges are 'valuable' to analyse? What kind of inclusions and exclusions are produced through an investigation of discourses and affect? How is it possible to analyse the existence of experiences?

Here, I suggest moving the momentum of affect theories toward modernisation and nationalism theories, as some scholars have already started to do (Ahmed, 2000; Gunew, 2003; Puar, 2007), to analyse the early history of women's movements. Sara Ahmed is one of the most important researchers to have made a significant contribution to the field of affect theories. She agrees with many scholars, who argue that emotions are not simply individual constructions, but social constructions (Ahmed, 2014b; Beatty, 2019; Cifor, 2016; Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012). In my research, I have adopted Ahmed's way of analysing emotions and affect due to her way of retheorising emotions that 'involve bodily processes of affecting and being affected' (2014b, p. 208). She herself points out that sometimes she is described as an 'affect theorist' and sometimes she is presented as working on emotion rather than affect (2014b). Her conceptualisation of emotion does not include a separation from affect, to avoid a possible assumption that emotion and affect point to different aspects of

experience, and I will follow that conceptualisation here[41]. However, it is important to note that, in line with Ahmed's conceptualisation, my use of emotion does not presuppose an intentional model of emotion or of consciousness of things.

Ahmed is critical of what she calls the 'inside out' model. This model assumes that emotions belong to individuals and emerge inside; *'then* move outwards towards objects and others' (Ahmed, 2014b, p. 9). Moreover, she is also critical of the 'outside in' model, that understands emotion as holding the social body together while still accepting a separation of inside and outside (or individual and social). This approach, according to Ahmed, considers emotions as something 'we have' and tends to consider structures as reified frameworks. Rather, emotions are not 'within' or 'without' of any given but 'they create the very effect of the surfaces or boundaries of bodies and worlds' (Ahmed 2004, 117). Affect and emotion include both human and non-human bodies; thus, they are 'energies transmitted through bodily encounters' (Ahall 2018, 40). Ahall links this definition with the concepts of 'mood' and 'atmosphere'. The concept of 'mood', in particular, is very significant for this thesis; thus, it needs further unpacking.

As Ahmed says, 'we might have a feeling, but be in a mood' (2014a, p. 13). A mood is an 'affective lens', 'affecting how we are affected' (p. 14). Moods allow and change one's relation with objects and situations. Rethinking Heidegger's conceptualisation of attunement, Ahmed reiterates the example of atmosphere, much like other researchers (Highmore and Taylor 2014). To appreciate this point, it is necessary to understand the analogy of 'atmosphere' explained below:

> We can take the example of atmosphere. We might describe an 'atmosphere' as a feeling of what is around, which might be affective in its murkiness or fuzziness, as a surrounding influence which does not quite generate its own form. At the same time, in describing an atmosphere, we give this influence some form. We might say the atmosphere was tense, which would mean that the body that arrives into the room will 'pick up' tension and become tense, as

[41] She uses an interesting analogy for this separation: 'The activity of separating affect from emotion could be understood as rather like breaking an egg in order to separate the yolk from the white' (Ahmed, 2014b, p. 210).

> a way of being influenced. When feelings become atmospheric, we can catch the feeling simply by walking into a room, from a crowd or the collective body, or from being proximate to another' (Ahmed, 2010, p. 40).

Thus, Ahmed links mood and atmosphere. In her definition, as an 'affective lens' that allows us to focus on particular issues closely. Like atmosphere, a shared mood involves an affective valuation and allows a certain rhythm. Feelings are not something to catch from another person, but we are caught up in them (2014a, p. 15). An atmosphere is something that is with bodies; and emphasising 'withness', 'moods become almost like companions; what we carry with us is how we are carried' (2014a, p.15). Highmore, also conceptualising mood and inspired by Heidegger's attunement, refers to the phrase 'how is it going' and suggests that mood belongs to the 'it' of this phrase; 'it points to the situation in which the subject finds itself' (Highmore 2013, 434). Thus, mood is a 'pervasive atmosphere' (Highmore 2013, 434).

Returning to gender, modernisation and nationalism, Ahmed suggests that a national mood might refer to a body through feelings. In this thesis, I suggest Occidentalism has its own 'tense' atmosphere and includes a national mood. I can point here to some key discourses that circulated through Occidentalism: it is tense to think that 'the nation' is under threat and Othered by (reified and homogenised) 'growing powers', by 'Europe'. It is tense to try to discover what is the 'essence' of the nation that will allow it to fight these economic and political powers, while demanding women's rights. On the one hand, emotions relating to being under threat, being Othered, and searching for an 'essence' include a shared national mood and an affective sense of 'us'. On the other hand, they require a certain rhythm of the collective body towards modernisation in order to defeat the threat, not be Othered and find the essence. This rhythm is not given; rather many Ottoman intellectuals and politicians, adopting an Occidentalist perspective, invited others to create a rhythm, as a national body, in order to 'achieve' modernisation. Having said that, some members of the nation were not included in this invitation or they were the ones considered to be 'disrupters of the rhythm' itself – such as the Others in the national context (minorities, the rural population, non-elite classes). I suggest that early women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire did 'pick up' this national mood of Occidentalism. This thesis proposes the concept of 'mood of commitment', as a mood that a collective body, such

as a nation, can be caught up in, through linking Occidentalism and affect theories. The following section links this point to the larger conceptual background.

2.5 The conceptual framework of this research

Prior to this point, I have introduced some of the theoretical discussions that have guided this research, prompted questions about my focus on women's movements of the early 20th-century Ottoman Empire, and provided an analytical foundation for this research. I have referred mainly to poststructuralist, postcolonial, and affect theories in relation to feminist theories. This section delineates a conceptual framework that creates space for my research by referring to three main points: the discursive articulation of gender modernisation and nationalism, new forms of subjectivity, and negotiations of normative constructions.

To start with the first: discursive articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism are discussed in relation to Ahıska's concept of Occidentalism, adopting usages of the term 'Europe' proposed by the women-only magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World), which was part of the Ottoman women's movement. I link negotiations over the term 'Europe', its contradictory meanings of 'progress' and 'threat', and its normative influence on femininities and masculinities. Occidentalism necessarily includes a certain form of nationalism (through the inner domain); however, I will investigate the gendered and affective forms of this nationalism, in accordance with Occidentalist nationalism.

Secondly, new forms of subjectivity are another conceptual area of interest in this research. One difference between this thesis and herstory approaches, as explained above, is the focus on investigating the productions of subjectivities, rather than arguing that 'women were subjects'. This inquiry into 'subjectivities' is based on the poststructuralist theories of Foucault, Ahıska, Chatterjee, and Ahmed. The affective negotiations of positions, the nuanced layers of categories, both the Ottoman Empire as an 'Other' and production of national 'Others', and the demarcations of 'us' and 'them' are ways of analysing subjectivities. Although women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire demanded changes to strengthen women's rights during

modernisation, some continuities were also needed. I will consider these 'changes and continuities' when analysing new forms of subjectivities.

A final conceptual focus involves the negotiation of normativities related to femininity during the modernisation process. This research analyses the demands for recognition and respectability through proving the devotion and loyalty in the Ottoman Muslim and Turkish women's movement in relation to some focal positions, such as motherhood, with its strategic usages and complicities. Such emphases can be strategies for engaging with 'modern knowledge', a condition that I conceptualise as 'scientific motherhood'. Positions such as motherhood can and should be linked to the normative regulation of women's sexual purity (such as *iffet*), which seemed to be 'in danger' during the process of modernisation in the 'mood of commitment'. This normativity is a part of the production of Occidentalism, new forms of subjectivities, and exclusion of national Others as well. The ways in which movements that try to change the status quo and disrupt gender inequalities may position themselves, or be positioned, might reinforce the status quo and reproduce other inequalities.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a reading of women's history (a herstory perspective), not to oppose poststructural feminist theories, but to emphasise the relationship between them. I have argued that feminist research based on of women's visibility has opened new avenues of feminist thinking and new critical approaches towards state narratives, the intersections of gender, ethnicity and religion, and different forms of femininities and masculinities. Considering the different layers of women's movements, I have pointed to 'complicities' both to unpack complexities and to trace power relations. Building on this research, I have introduced non-Western modernisations and nationalisms, as well as Occidentalist theories, to explain some forms of non-Western modernisation. The case of the Ottoman Empire provides a special focus, as this thesis explores the involvement of Ottoman Muslim women in Ottoman modernisation. The very process of modernisation is affectively articulated through gendered constructions and sexual regulations.

As previously mentioned, I do not intend to 'fill a gap' through this research because I do not see it as a 'part' of a given 'whole'. Instead, this thesis provides a poststructuralist feminist analysis of Ottoman Muslim women's movements, building on feminist questions and inquiries introduced through herstory approaches. The 'existence' of Ottoman women's movements is not in question; it has been confirmed by earlier studies (Çakır, 2016). However, I am interested in women's ways of legitimising their demands, frequently, and with many complications, through Occidentalism. Women's participation in nationalism from an Occidentalist perspective is closely linked to the production of women's subjectivities. Occidentalism, as a power regime, makes it possible for some women to demand a subject position. This process also includes the negotiation of the 'sexual purity of women' across continuities and changes in the modernisation process. This point will be a key focus; various different layers of negotiation will be discussed, considering both how they challenge normativities and how they produce complicities. The strategies used by women during these negotiations are closely linked to their recognised role as mothers and maintained through their commitment to the nation.

Chapter 7 explores how such strategies were used to support demands for women's liberation. The present chapter explains the academic and theoretical conceptualisations and debates that shaped this research. It also investigates the theoretical and empirical discussions that prompted the research questions and underpinned problematisations in this research. To recap, the research questions are as follows:

1. How are gender, modernisation, and nationalism discursively articulated in the women's movements of the late Ottoman period?
2. In *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) Magazine, how do debates enable urban Ottoman Muslim women to negotiate new forms of subjectivity?
3. How do urban Ottoman Muslim women engage with, reproduce, and undermine normative expectations about women?

To answer these research questions, discursive articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism will be analysed in relation to Ahıska's theory of Occidentalism, with

a focus on gendered constructions and sexual normativities. The concept of 'Europe' was important to the ways in which Ottoman Muslim urban women negotiated new forms of subjectivity; the term appears contradictory – associated with both 'progress' and 'backwardness'. However, 'progress' and 'backwardness' were also associated with femininities and masculinities; negotiations of new forms of subjectivity are further investigated through a discussion of dress. I will argue that these new subjectivities were produced by Ottoman Turkish Muslim urban women who negotiated normative expectations about women, while demanding changes and considering continuities of modernisation.

In a study of this type, it is essential to historicise the relevant academic literature. For instance, linking the academic and political agenda in Turkey to the publication dates of books and journal articles was an important consideration, both during the literature review chapter and across the entire thesis. To take one example, this thesis engages with Ahıska's concept of Occidentalism, developed when Turkey was 'about to' enter the European Union; this was a time when Turkey was 'catching the train' (an analogy used by Ahıska) (2003). Likewise, concepts such as 'neo-Ottomanism', 'democracy', the 'secular state', and 'political Islam' have changed dramatically and quite radically, in relation to political agenda of Turkey; as a consequence, each new 'politically charged' meaning of every concept must be historicised by the researcher. As they underpin a key argument in this thesis, the changing meanings of gender constructions underpin relations and must always be taken into account. This chapter has introduced and problematised relevant studies and concepts, in part to historicise key academic texts. In relation to this final point, I have already mentioned my own position and perspective as the researcher. The next chapter discusses my methodology that I used during this research, including my role as a researcher.

Chapter 3 -
POSTSTRUCTURAL ENQUIRIES INTO OTTOMAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS: FEMINIST GENEALOGY, THE ARCHIVAL TURN, AND *KADINLAR DÜNYASI*

3.1 Introduction

> How can feminism draw productively on its own history, without passively conforming to expectations of the past, or elevating the past as a nostalgic ideal against which to measure and compare the present? Conversely, how can we usher in *new* ideas and approaches without simply 'burying' feminisms of the past? And how can we speak of 'feminist history' without instating or reproducing a singular master narrative? (Browne, 2014, p. 1) [emphasis original]

What Browne questions is a significant problematic for many of us who work on gender history: analysing the past(s) of multiple feminist or women's movements without reifying them. The epistemological, ontological, and methodological implications of this approach will be discussed in this chapter, which will also explain the research methodology used to address research questions revisited from the previous chapter. This thesis asks questions about discursive articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism, as well as about negotiations of new forms of subjectivities and normativities. In accordance with such an aim, this chapter presents a feminist genealogy prompted by Foucauldian and feminist perspectives, while avoiding 'reifying' the past. Using such approach, I will move on to a discussion of the 'archival turn', particularly in the context of the feminist perspectives that have guided this research. The feminist genealogy and 'archival turn' have provided a basis for this analysis of *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) (KD) Magazine and these responses to the research questions. The chapter will include information about KD, including when the magazine was published, and which groups of themes are included in and excluded from this empirical study. As I follow the feminist emphasis on including the researcher's role as a part of the analysis, I will self-reflexively analyse my own

positionality in this research, based on a 'fieldwork diary' that details my work as a researcher. As ethical considerations were also an important part of this research process, they will be explained at the end of this chapter.

3.2 Feminist Genealogy: Untangling the past

Poststructuralist feminist methodologies have focused on Michel Foucault's works and, in particular, on his three-volume book, *History of Sexuality* (Butler, 2002; Fraser & Nicholson, 1990; Hartsock, 1990; Najmabadi, 2006; Puar, 2007; Riley, 1992). It is difficult to associate Foucault's work with a single social science discipline, such as sociology, history, political science, or philosophy (Rabinow, 1986); similar to interdisciplinary engagements with feminist theories and research. Foucault himself analysed a wide range of research areas, including knowledge, power, self, and problematisations involving sexuality, medicine, prisons, and other topics. I would argue that many different social science disciplines have been able to engage with his theories through the field of poststructuralist methodology, which made his works engageable, through his criticism of positivist research. His critical approach to the linear understanding of history and society (associated with positivism) introduced a ground-breaking perspective and developed the concept of *genealogy*.

Genealogy is a specific methodology developed by Foucault and inspired by Nietzschean thinking; it also is crucial for my research. The genealogical approach opposes the use of a linear, positivist understanding of the past-present-future chronological line to analyse social and historical relations[42]. Foucault's genealogical methodology is based on his concept of the 'history of the present', which is critical of the goal of discovering 'origins' (Garland, 2014), which he defines as the 'metahistorical

[42] Some scholars, such as Dunn prefer the term 'memory' to 'history' for GLBTQ [his usage of the term] pasts. He explains his reason for selecting 'memory' as follows: 'history is a past-oriented practice that attempts to account for memory's loss', while memory is a lived and embodied experience in his usage (Dunn, 2016, p. 6). 'Genealogy' is not a past-oriented history; thus, I consider Dunn's criticism important; however, terms such as 'genealogy' do not adopt a traditional understanding of history.

deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies' (Foucault, 1986, p. 77). Instead, Foucault questions how 'origin narratives' occur and work (Foucault, 1972; Foucault, 1990). Joan Scott, who has used and developed a poststructuralist genealogy inspired by Foucault, defines the 'history of the present' as 'a history that critically examines terms we take for granted and whose meanings seem beyond question because we treat them as a matter of common sense' (2018, p. 7). Hesford, referring to the Foucauldian understanding of genealogy, argues that the aim 'is not simply an act of remembrance, but also a way of resisting the hegemony in the present: the past becomes a resource for the possibility of a different future' (2005, p. 230). Thus, genealogy is considered to be a political intervention in the present, as well as a historical methodology (Eichhorn, 2013).

Such an understanding of genealogy does not examine origins (Butler 2002); instead, it traces accidents, complexities, dilemmas, contradictions, and disparities of social relations (Sondergaard, 2002, p. 199) and also investigates discursive power relations (Eichhorn 2013). Following this idea, my research explores the multiple and contradictory meanings of discourses on modernisation, nationalism, and gender. The aim is not to 'discover' the reality of the past (as genealogical history is not interested in positivist understandings of what actually happened in the past), but to unpack the 'truth claims' in texts, an important dimension of genealogy (Sondergaard, 2002). The 'truth claims' or 'truth of the past' of Ottoman women's movements, used as a technique of normativity, will be examined in this thesis by analysing discourses. This is a good moment to explain how I understand the concept of 'discourse'. Baxter explains poststructuralist feminist perspectives in her work and broadly defines 'discourses' as follows:

> [...] discourses are forms of knowledge or powerful sets of assumptions, expectations and explanations, governing mainstream social and cultural practices. They are systematic ways of making sense of the world by inscribing and shaping power relations within all texts, including spoken interactions. Discourses are in turn closely associated with 'discursive practices': social practices that are produced by/through discourses (2003, p. 7)

In accordance with this definition, assumptions such as truth claims, expectations such as normativities, and explanations such as meanings become a part of the group of

'discourses' analysed in this research. This kind of an inquiry analyses the production of power and how 'power is established, refused, or maintained' (Scott 1999, 26). By investigating the 'history of the present' from a genealogical perspective, I will analyse the discursive practises of women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire, which were produced by and through discourses. It is worth asking, however, why this research is considered feminist. The complicated links between Foucault and feminism have been discussed by many researchers over a long period of time (Butler, 2002; Hartsock, 1990; Riley, 1997; Scott, 1986; Scott, 2018). When the links between Foucauldian and feminist thinking are investigated in relation to Middle Eastern feminism or women's movements, they become more complicated. For example, the relationship between Foucault and feminism in the context of the Middle East has been problematised by Afary and Anderson (2005), who focused on the case of Iran, a country that Foucault had a particular interest in. Their book, *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and Seductions of Islamism*, argues that 'Foucault remained insensitive toward the diverse ways in which power affected women, as against men' (2005, p. 5). This book uses the case of Iran to discuss Foucault's Orientalist understandings of the Middle East, explaining that Foucauldian thinkers ignore Foucault's analysis of Iran, considering it a rare 'failure' within his thinking. I agree with the criticism that Foucault reproduced an Orientalist perspective, reaching conclusions about gender in the Middle East that were very problematic and not comprehensive. However, what I am interested in Foucault's conceptualisations and methodology, rather than his views of and conclusions about feminism or the Middle East[43]. Foucault's own concept of 'problematisation' makes this point clearer. He defines problematisation as follows:

> [Problematisation] develops the conditions in which possible responses can be given; it defines the elements that will constitute what the different solutions attempt to respond to. This development of a given into a question, this transformation of a group of obstacles and difficulties into problems to which

[43] This point can be made about many significant thinkers. Karl Marx, for example, had a very limited understanding of non-Western productions when he wrote about China. The feminist critics of these significant theorists are great contributions in this field (Ngai, 2005).

> diverse solutions will attempt to produce a response, this is what constitutes the point of problematization and specific work of thought (Foucault, 1984, p. 389).

In short, I draw on Foucault's conceptualisations and methodology to find ways of transforming a given into a question as the definition of problematisation indicates. Here, Foucault invites us to question given conditions, possible answers, and their multiplicities, rather than causalities. At this point, I return to Scott's understanding of poststructuralist methodology as a contribution to her feminist thinking, as quoted in Chapter 2:

> Perhaps the most dramatic shift in my own thinking [through poststructuralism] came through asking questions about *how* hierarchies such as gender are constructed and legitimized. The emphasis on 'how' suggests a study of processes, not of origins, of multiple rather than single causes, of rhetoric or discourse rather than ideology or consciousness. It [poststructuralist feminism] does not abandon attention to structures and institutions, but it does insist that we need to understand what these organizations mean in order to understand how they work (Scott, 1999, p. 4)

Scott emphasises the constructions and legitimations of gender by looking at multiple discourses and processes, rather than origins; this is the previously mentioned genealogical approach. The shorter version of this quotation in Chapter 2 emphasises Scott's criticism of the search for 'proof' or 'evidence' from the past. Judith Butler and Elizabeth Weed, writing about Joan Scott's work, explain her contribution to feminist genealogy:

> We cannot take gender, or gendered meanings, for granted, since gender is precisely that which is being produced and organised over time, differently and differentially, and this ongoing production and mode of differentiation has to be understood as part of the very operation of power, or in Scott's words, 'a primary way of signifying power' (Butler and Weed 2011, 3).

As Butler and Weed suggest through Scott's work, feminist genealogy includes a historical understanding of gender, and questioning of the 'given' and 'signifying power'. My study adopts a similar stance, using feminist genealogy to critically understand Ottoman women's movements. The question still remains, however, what makes this research feminist? I will start by explaining what does not. This is not feminist research because it is for, about, or conducted by women. Additionally, it is not about all Ottoman or Muslim or Turkish women. For a long time, feminist thinkers

have criticised the tendency to conflate feminist research with research on 'women' (Stanley & Wise, 1993; Erdoğan and Gündoğdu, 2020). The problem with the 'for/about/by women' approach is its claimed representational universality, even though only some women are included (Ahmed, 2014b); relations between the genders are not considered (Connell, 2005); and categories of women tend to be generalised, without considering the meanings of the categories (Riley, 1988; Scott, 1986), among other issues[44].

However, my reasons for defining this research as feminist can be broadly explained as follows: my theoretical and empirical thinking adopts a critical perspective within feminist research, which unpacks, questions, and engages with politics, focusing on the various meanings of gender, with its relational, fluid, and multiple existence, as well as the aims of political intervention. As a feminist myself and the author of this work, my own agenda and priorities and the big discussions and smaller details that I focus on have been shaped by and through my political and sociological engagement with feminist theories. There are many different ways to engage with feminist research since there is no single feminist 'methodological cookbook' (Stanley & Wise, 1993) or poststructuralist feminist empirical technique (Sondergaard, 2002). The critical perspectives mentioned above provide 'feminist pathways' that make it possible to think about the ontological, epistemological, and methodological insights that guide my questions. The 'herstory' and poststructuralist feminism section of the previous chapter illustrate this point. My interest in critically understanding women's movements with its potentials and complicities is another example. Asking questions about a similar interest (women's movements) that occurs within a feminist culture (the feminist academy and activism), with some feminist ethical considerations

[44] Although I find this criticism valuable, complex, and productive, I do not wish to undermine the 'for/about/by women' approach, which made further thinking about the categories of women and gender possible, as discussed in relation to the 'herstory approach' in Chapter 2.

(problematising rather than a creating a polemic or undermining other feminist research) can be framed as my 'feminist pathways'.

If I am not looking for the 'hidden truth' of history but discourses with a feminist genealogical methodology, this methodology will change my relationship with the 'archive' that oriented me to the main focus of this thesis, *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) (KD) Magazine. The following section examines the links between feminist genealogical methodology and the 'archival turn', a crucial theme in this analysis.

3.3 The 'archival turn' and feminism

Recently, the term 'archival turn' has been used to refer to a change in the understanding of archival research, a tool used in qualitative research (Tamboukou, 2014). Researchers considering an archival turn argue that an archive is not a 'neutral place', created from an 'objective perspective' to hold a collection of documents and information (Chiang, 2014; Robertson, 2004), but a social construct produced by and producing power relations (Schwartz & Cook, 2002; Vivo de *et al.*, 2016). Questioning the inclusion and exclusion of certain types of knowledge in the archive, produced through power and knowledge, has become an important dimension of this turn from the poststructuralist perspective (Steedman, 2001). Many scholars who engage with the 'archival turn' have argued that production of archiving and categorising need special theoretical attention (Abu-Lughod, 2018).

The 'archival turn' has been developed by researchers in relation to two important works: Foucault's book '*Archaeology of Knowledge*' (1972) and Derrida's book, '*Archive Fever*' (1995). Both of these works criticise the assumption that an archive is a place to collect data reflecting a pre-set reality. Instead, the archive is seen as a complex negotiation between the things and the theory (Freshwater, 2007). This passage describes Foucault's widely cited ideas about the archive in *Archaeology is Knowledge*:

> By this term [archive] I do not mean the sum of all the texts that a culture has kept upon its person as documents attesting to its own past, or as evidence of a continuing identity; nor do I mean the institutions, which, in a given society, make it possible to record and preserve those discourses that one wishes to remember and keep in circulation. [...] It is *the general system of the formation and*

> *transformation of statements*. [...] The description of the archive deploys its possibilities (and the mastery of its possibilities) on the basis of the very discourses that have just ceased to be ours; its threshold of existence is established by the discontinuity that separates us from what we can no longer say (Foucault, 1972, pp. 128–130) [emphasis original].

This is a 'new' understanding of the archive – not as a place where researchers can go to 'discover' new data. Rather, as the quotation above suggests, the archive becomes a space in which to problematise the formation and transformation of statements. In *Archaeology of Knowledge,* Foucault argues that the very notion of an archival 'document' has been already questioned in the traditional discipline of history, with scholars asking what 'documents' mean, whether they are telling the 'truth', whether they are 'sincere' or 'misleading', and so on. However, according to Foucault, such an understanding of the 'document' or 'archive' refers to 'the reconstitution, on the basis of what documents say, and sometimes merely hint at, of the past from which they emanate and which has now disappeared far behind them'[45] (Foucault, 1972, p. 6).

Derrida's work, *Archive Fever* (1995), has also had a significant impact on the 'archival turn'. Derrida based his book on psychoanalytical analysis, especially the works of Sigmund Freud, as a way of understanding 'the history of the formation of a *concept in general* [emphasis original]' (Derrida, 1995, p. 5), rather than simply thinking about the role of the archive. He achieved this by conceptualising the archive:

> It is thus the first figure of an archive, because *every* archive, we will draw some inferences from this, is at once *institutive* and *conservative.* Revolutionary and traditional. An *eco-nomic*[46] archive in this double sense: it keeps, it puts in reserve, it saves, but in an unnatural fashion, that is to say in making the law (*nomos*) or in making people respect the law (Derrida, 1995, p. 7).

---

[45] He refers to the discipline of history as follows: 'History now organizes the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders it, arranges it in levels, establishes series, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines unities, describe relations' (Foucault, 1972, pp. 6–7).

[46] He separates 'eco' and 'nomic' to emphasise the concept of *nomos*.

Although the present research follows research influenced by Derrida's work, such as Eichhorn (2013), it is not based directly on Derrida, as his psychoanalytical approach is not a key focus of my research. However, I find Derrida's deconstruction of the archive's 'institutive' and 'conservative' fields significant and useful. Kate Eichhorn, in her book, *The Archival Turn in Feminism: Outrage in Order,* brings together Foucault and Derrida through Foucault's emphasis on archive as a historiographic value and Derrida's emphasis on archive as a form of recording[47]. According to Eichhorn, the 'current archival turn reflects a desire to take control of the present through a reorientation to the past' (Eichhorn, 2013, p. 7). Eichhorn links her own work to the archival turn and genealogical methodology, arguing that genealogy is about the 'tracing of accidents, disparities, conflicts, and haphazard conditions' (Eichhorn, 2013, p. 8) in the investigation of archives and archiving in feminist activism after the rise of second-wave feminism.

Some researchers inspired by the archival turn mention an 'archive fetish', whereby the originality and contribution of empirical research depends on 'finding new data' (Freshwater, 2007). Freshwater (2007) thinks that 'new material and undiscovered textual territory' are highly internalised in some streams of archival research, as the main available avenues for 'originality'. I would argue that the approach of producing or finding 'new data' might constitute a significant contribution if the data can be closely linked to research questions and theoretical inquiries. However, the argument that it might be a 'fetish' is significant because it highlights the so-called necessary link between research originality and 'new data' that Freshwater mentioned. The 'archival fetish' idea derives from a positivist tradition, which implies that when every document

[47] In addition to Foucault and Derrida, whose works are seen as initiating the archival turn, other perspectives, such as New Materialism, have focused on the material, corporeal, and affective character of the archive (Cifor, 2017). Cultural Materialism has contributed to the 'archival turn' particularly through its criticism of positivism and the role of contextualisation (Freshwater, 2007). The archival turn has also led to new research on feminist art studies, with a focus on archives and museums (Cantillon*, et al.*, 2017; Holling, 2015.), queer temporality and spatiality as an aspect of archives (Pavlounis, 2016), and queer and intimacy debates (Herbert, 2019).

('new data') has been found, there will be a completed understanding of the reality of the past. Adopting a similar perspective, Arondekar says:

> I propose a reading practice that redirects attention from the frenzied 'finding' of new archival sources to an understanding of the processes of subjectification made possible (and desirable) through the very idiom of the archive. Such an archival turn, I will demonstrate, mandates a theory of reading that moves away, not from the nature of the object, but from the notion of an object that would somehow lead to a formulation of subjectivity: the presumption that if a body is found, then a subject can be recovered (Arondekar, 2009, p. 3).

Arondekar finishes this quotation by citing the relationship between the 'archive fetish' and the positivistic given assumption that a 'body' exists to complete[48]. 'Processes of subjectification made possible' through the archive are the focus of this thesis, arising from the Foucauldian-inspired concept of the 'archival turn'. Thus, my focus on the discursive articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism – as well as my negotiations of subjectivities – arise from this interest. I view the focus of this research, *Kadınlar Dünyası* Magazine, not as a 'discovery' made in the archive, but as an object of interest, shaped through an archival experience. In the following section, I will explain and investigate 'the archival turn' and KD, bringing together my feminist genealogy approach and relationship with the magazine. The following section introduces KD and reflects on my research process.

3.4 Finding Ottoman women, returning to KD: Entanglements of the archive

3.4.1 The 'archive fetish' and Ottoman women's movements

The case study examined in this research is the Ottoman Turkish, Muslim women-only magazine, *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World), abbreviated as 'KD'. As the

[48] This 'new data' can be a fetish in other empirical research in several disciplines as well. Especially in the cases of 'doing fieldwork that no one has done before' or 'conducting interviews with someone that no one has talked to before'. Associating originality and the contribution made by research with this kind of 'new data' understanding can be easily defined as a 'fetish' as well.

Introduction noted, this is the most famous and referred-to magazine in feminist studies of the Ottoman women's movement (Akşit, 2008; Berktay, 2003; Biçer-Deveci, 2015; Çakır, 2016; Demirdirek, 2011; Kandiyoti, 2007a; Özdemir, 2017; Toprak, 2014)[49]. When I began this project, I wanted to rethink the links between modernisation and gender through women's activism; my first action was to consult the *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkce Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası* (Bibliography of Ottoman Turkish Women Magazines in İstanbul Libraries) published by the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation in İstanbul (Toska *et al.*, 1993). This excellent bibliography, prepared by a group of feminist researchers, brings together transliterated versions of article titles and author names from 38 women's magazines. Although the bibliography includes titles only, rather than entire magazine articles, it provided a general picture of the main topics discussed, advancing my questioning of modernisation and gender.

'Transliteration' is transferring a text from one alphabet to another, in this case from the Arabic-Ottoman alphabet to the Latin Turkish Alphabet[50]. The Arabic-Ottoman script was replaced with Latin Turkish script when the Ottoman Empire collapsed and the Republic of Turkey was founded (Lewis, 2004); this presents a particular challenge for Turkish speaking researchers. After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the formal alphabet changed to a Turkish alphabet and a 'reformed' Turkish language was developed. Commonly used Arabic and Persian words began to be replaced with 'Turkish ones' in 1928, as part of 'Turkish Language Reform' (Toska *et al.*, 1993). Contemporary Turkish readers and speakers do not know the Arabic-Ottoman script, and cannot read any Ottoman material. Due to the Kemalist reaction to Turkey's Ottoman past, explained in Chapter 4, the Ottoman language is not taught in Turkey's contemporary education system; thus, an 'ordinary' contemporary Turkish speaker

[49] Some of the works quoted focus directly on KD, while others refer to it as a source of supplementary information.

[50] This alphabet is known as the 'Roman Alphabet' in the US and UK.

cannot read the Ottoman language without specific training via a university history department or private course (Çakır, 2016; Parla, 2008). In other words, most Turkish speakers cannot read any document published before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. The reason I use the word 'read' is because the main challenge here is the change of alphabet (script) rather than grammatical changes or later-invented Turkish words[51]. This is another reason why researchers were largely unaware of the Ottoman women's movement, prior to the advent of second-wave feminism in Turkey in the 1980s. Only researchers who could read Ottoman Turkish were able to access and understand the texts[52].

While familiarising myself with the 38 women's magazines and searching for one that was 'not researched' (I guess that was my own 'archive fetish' at the time!), I examined several women's magazines transliterated and published by the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation. In addition to KD, the key journals were: *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Gazette for Ladies) (1895–1908), *Kadın Yolu/Türk Kadın Yolu* (Road of Woman/Road of Turkish Woman) (1925–1927), *Kadın* (Woman) (1908–1909), *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Woman) (1918–1919), *Genç Kadın* (Young Woman) (1918), *Aile* (Family) (1880), and *Hanım* (Lady) (1921). I developed an interest in KD magazine for the reasons detailed below and learned how to read printed Ottoman script[53] during this period[54].

---

[51] The grammar and choice of words also present some challenges, as explained below.

[52] There were some exceptions, such as Zafer Toprak's early research on Ottoman women before the advent of second-wave feminism (Toprak, 2014). His book, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm* (Women's emancipation and feminism in Turkey), is a compilation of articles written between 1988 and 2014. Also, for significant research that focuses on Kemalist feminism, also see: Çağatay (2017).

[53] Reading 'printed Ottoman' means being able to read Ottoman letters in printed material. Manuscript Ottoman is much harder to read, due to handwriting differences. I learned printed Ottoman only, as I had no need to engage with manuscript Ottoman.

[54] Recently, the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation published a new series that transliterated some new journals. For a review of this publication, see: Özdemir (2020).

I went to the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation in İstanbul to further investigate KD.

It was interesting and very productive to be a 'sociologist in the archive' (Adkins, 2017). Although my previous research had explored the history of the feminist movement in Turkey, with a focus on second-wave feminism in the 1980s (Gülçiçek, 2015), I did not engage with the archive but instead conducted interviews with feminist women to talk about 'the past'. My first 'proper' experience of the archive was a visit that I had for this research to the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation in İstanbul in April 2017. This library is a 'happy place' for feminists, as the walls are decorated with pictures of important feminists from Turkey; 'women's agendas' that cover important events for women are on sale; and many women's magazines, published in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, can be found in the library, alongside feminist research produced in Turkey.

This was not my first time in this library; I conducted an interview with a second-wave feminist in this library in 2014. The comfortable 'familiarity' was broken when I spoke to the librarian about this research. She was not very happy when I asked for KD magazine, telling me that 'KD was already researched' and implying I should focus on an 'unresearched' magazine. I was already haunted by my own 'archive fetish' and I remember gabbling, something like: 'Well… I am a sociologist, not a historian… Also, poststructuralism… But of course, the previous research is great…' Although I felt at home in this feminist archive, this experience evoked Tamboukou's description of the feeling of 'loneliness particularly experienced in the archive' (2014, p. 619).

The more I engaged with KD, the more critical I became of the 'archive fetish' in academic research. I found KD seductive precisely because it was already researched. Its prominence prompted many questions, and I wanted to problematise the claim of 'women as subjects', as emphasised by the herstory approach. Returning to Foucault's notion of 'problematisation', I wanted to question the multiple conditions and responses of Ottoman women's movements and their various solutions to the 'woman question'. Rather than taking as pre-given subjects some Ottoman women supporting the women's movements by publishing magazines, I became interested in asking *how*

(in accordance with Scott's feminist poststructuralist perspective) these women claimed the subject position in relation to their normativities and negotiations. To clarify, this research does not aim to 'correct' any mistakes that I assumed the herstory approach made; rather, it attempts to offer an analysis of subjectivities from a feminist genealogy perspective. The following section provides some practical information about the magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) (KD), followed by a comment on my own self-reflexive position as a feminist researcher.

3.5 Practical information about KD

3.5.1 Key issues about the KD magazine

There were 194 issues of KD published between 1913 and 1921. The first 100 issues were published daily, while the rest were weekly. Publication stopped three times during these years: for three months after issue 153 because of a paper shortage; for four years because of World War I; and for three years on account of the 'Turkish Liberation War' (Çakır, 2016). My research focuses on the first 100 issues (all published in 1913) for two reasons. First, they are more accessible; more importantly, the daily magazine format produced more productive content for an investigation of articulations of gender, nationalism, and modernisation. For the most part, I have used the transliterated version of KD magazine, published by the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation, as I am much more used to working on Turkish letters, categorising them, and engaging with the text. These versions are not translations – they are just transliteration; as the content is not changed in any way. However, during my April 2017 visit to the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation in İstanbul, I also looked at copies of the original magazine. In my opinion, the transliteration committee did an impressive job of transforming the original Arabic lettering into modern Turkish letters. Although using transliterations might have made it difficult to analyse the design and non-textual content of the magazine, the first 100 issues of KD

did not include any photos or distinct designs, apart from the title of the magazine[55]. The following is one of a very limited number of remarkable designs that appeared in these early issues:

Figure 1: The title of *Kadınlar Dünyası*

One other reason I chose to focus on the first 100 issues in addition to availability was because the content of the daily issues was richer than that of the weekly issues. For the first 15–20 issues (covering 15–20 days), most of the articles were written by KD editors and regular writers; after some time, most articles were written by women who sent in their articles by post and were not part of the KD team (Çakır, 2016). These articles included a wide range of opinions about many topics related to the position of mostly Muslim women in the Ottoman Empire. This group of discussions revealed conflicts between different women, multiplicity, and contradictions. When a particularly 'heated' topic was introduced, the response appeared within 2–3 issues

[55] Starting from issue 101, KD changed its design and began to include some pictures, as Çakır (2016) shows in her analysis.

(days), making it possible to carry out a detailed and complex analysis in a short time period. Picture the following scenario: an Ottoman woman bought and read an issue of the magazine, wrote a response, and sent it to the KD office via the post office of the time; at the office, the article was selected and edited by KD, and was then sent to be printed and published. The fact that responses were published within 2–3 days shows how engaged the community was with the topics discussed[56]. Comparing this format with that of the later weekly issues, which had longer articles and pictures, shows that the first 100 issues enable a research to follow quicker responses to discussions.

The first 100 issues cover the time period from 4 April 1913 to 14 July 1913; this period of 100 days is the focus of my research. Nearly every issue of the daily magazine included an editorial, articles written by regular KD writers, and articles sent to KD from women in various parts of the Ottoman empire. The editorials were signed 'KD'; articles by regular authors also appeared quite frequently. When necessary, I will link articles written by regular authors. Finally, KD included advertisements, mainly about new clothing shops, tailors, and dentists, as well as theatre announcements. As these advertisements are unrelated to my research questions, they will not be analysed here.

However, it is worth noting that the advertisements show that the magazine was designed for an urban, middle- and upper-class audience[57]. The Ottoman Muslim women who wrote for KD (both as regular and responding writers) had no formal surnames at the time in the Ottoman Empire[58]. A woman's first name was followed by a second name which was generally the name of her father or husband. For example,

---

[56] 'KD's speed' is interesting, in the context of the argument that social media has 'speeded up' debates. In fact, KD's speed could be an important research topic, in light of the so-called 'fast' new digital forms of communication. For a very interesting analysis of the 'death of the letter argument', see: Stanley (2015b).

[57] Chapter 4 will provide more information about the class dimension.

[58] The 1934 Surname Law required citizens to have 'acceptable' Turkish surnames; it replaced the system described here (Yılmaz, 2013).

in the signature 'Mediha İsmail', Mediha is the woman's name and İsmail is either her father's or husband's name, which would change through marriage. In most cases, KD articles list the author's location, name, and father's or husband's name. For example, a writer's name would typically be presented in this format: 'Sultanahmet: Mediha İsmail'. Here, Sultanahmet is the place where the letter was sent from and Mediha is the woman's name, followed by her father's or husband's name (İsmail). In direct quotations from KD, this thesis uses the women's names, issue numbers, page numbers from the transliterated collection, followed by the original article title and my translation of it. Commentaries always use their first names (for example, 'Mediha points out that'), as I find this approach more 'personalising' than using a husband's or father's name. References to KD in this thesis always refer to the first 100 transliterated issues published by the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation[59].

Having compared the originals with the transliterations, I do not consider transliteration to be a restriction in this research. However, it is important to explain how Ottoman Turkish is translated into English. As a native Turkish speaker, I can understand the Ottoman Turkish language (and I learned how to read the script for this research). Although the vocabulary used in some KD articles is relatively complex (ranging from complex to ordinary/everyday language), most articles include some unfamiliar words[60], which I have looked up in an online Ottoman-Turkish dictionary known as 'kubbealtı'. All KD translations from Turkish into English are my own. According to the special issue *Lost (and Found) in Translation,* this kind of a translation issue is not a problem that needs to be solved to achieve 'better quality' research. Instead, it is 'a valuable starting point for the production of knowledge about theories and concepts, as well as about the social practices and relations' (Pereira *et al.*, 2009, p.

[59] Transliterated versions that I used can be found in the two-volume collection prepared by Büyükkarcı Yılmaz and Gençtürk Demircioğlu (2009a; 2009b).

[60] This is another effect of the 'language revolution' launched by the Kemalist Republic in 1936. As a part of modernisation during the early Kemalist Republic, *Türk Dil Kurumu* (the Turkish Language Institution) was founded and a committee was set up to develop a 'modern' and 'purified' Turkish language (with Persian and Arabic words removed) (Parla, 2008).

4). In this special issue, the editors argue that the difference between the researchers' first language and translation (generally to English) is commonly presented as 'loss, disappearance and lack' where 'nuance gets lost in interpretation' (Pereira *et al.*, 2009, p. 4). However, what 'can be found' during translation is significant. The words are associated with certain concepts that change in different cultures, creating interesting questions during the translation process (Alvanoudi, 2009). In the present thesis, translating Ottoman Turkish into English evoked the 'nostalgic feeling' that Ottoman Turkish texts often induce in Turkish speakers. Moreover, it allowed me to take a step back from the politically charged words that is mentioned in the conclusion of the previous chapter, translating quotations from KD articles also allowed me to have a more 'equal' relationship with the KD writers. I will return to this point in the following section when I discuss my relationship with the KD writers. Here, I would like to explain further the themes I have included and excluded during the analysis of KD magazine.

3.5.2 Inclusions and exclusions from KD Magazine

As previously mentioned, this research adopts a feminist genealogical methodology that is based on the discourses produced in KD magazine followed here. Two issues have been intentionally excluded from this research: details of the writer's identity and an analysis of the audience[61]. First, this thesis does not explore the writers' lives or biographies, or provide broader knowledge of KD editors or contributors[62]. However, information about individual writers is included when it relates to my problematisation or the writer's positionality (especially in relation to the motherhood position). The second issue that is not a focal point in this thesis is the KD audience. It

[61] I emphasise these two points because I was frequently asked about them when I presented early versions of this research at conferences.

[62] Many significant feminist studies focus on this type of enquiry. For a very impressive biography of Olive Schreiner, see: Stanley (2015a; 2015b). A similar work on the Ottoman women's movements would be a good contribution, but it is not one of the aims of this research.

is difficult to be sure who was reading the magazine or how readers reacted to it, except via articles published in the KD. Beyond the practical limitations, 'the perception of the audience' does not fit the specific poststructuralist approach of this thesis. In other words, 'how people perceived KD's articles' is not relevant here. As in the case of writers' information, the audience is only included when it relates to this research, for example, when the 'imagined audience' or the 'potential gaze of an audience' play a role in this analysis.

Although KD magazine is the main focus of this research, I occasionally include Ottoman novels published during the same period. Although novels of the late Ottoman Empire period have become a very important tool for feminist analyses (Akşit, 2010b; Berktay, 2009; Kandiyoti, 2007a; Parla, 2003), they are not focus of this case study, mainly because they require a different methodological and epistemological focus. Having said that, I do refer to significant Ottoman-Turkish novels to provide context, introduce a concept, or make links. I include these novels as supportive material because, as Sirman points out, they are not simply novels but important materials that show 'how a "new society" was thought about' (Sirman, 2011, p. 89). Ottoman novels are useful for introducing some concepts – especially when they involve Turkish words that have no exact English translation (such as the concepts of *ilim* and *iffet*).

Given this context, how did I select which discussions and debates to analyse through discourses? In KD, many topics involving Muslim women were discussed: women's education and work; women's conditions in different historical periods and other countries; women's organisations and rights; men's family responsibilities; healthy diets; young women's lives; literature; women's participation in the public sphere; women's relationship with the government; the effects of the recent Balkan War; women's relationship with modernising men; and European women's movements, among other topics. The pages of notes, quotations, and draft themes I prepared include a very limited group of KD discussions. Based on a thematic analysis, this thesis focuses on three main discussions, involving Europe, dress, and motherhood. These three themes provide very productive content, which can be used to analyse new forms of subjectivity among urban, Muslim, Turkish, Ottoman women. I will reflect on the

theoretical significance of these topics in the beginning of analysis chapters (Chapter 5, 6 and 7); at this point, I want to emphasise that I consider these three topics to be important fields, in which KD writers negotiate normativities and demand changes in quite heated debates. The following section considers my own affective engagement with KD women, as the researcher.

3.6 My relationship with the Ottoman Turkish-Muslim women

In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* Sara Ahmed explains her relationship with the texts that she analyses. Describing the combinations of texts that she analyses as an 'archive', she makes following declaration:

> An archive is an effect of multiple forms of contact, including institutional forms of contact (with libraries, books, websites), as well as everyday forms of contact (with friends, with families, others). Some forms of contact are presented and authorised through writing (and listed in the references), whilst other forms of contact will be missing, will be erased, even though they may leave their trace. Some everyday forms of contact do appear in my writing: stories which might seem personal, and even about 'my feelings'. As a 'contact writing', or a writing about contact, I do not simply interweave the personal and the public, the individual and the social, but show the ways in which they take shape through each other, or even how they shape each other (Ahmed, 2014b, p. 14).

Previously, I explained some of the contexts that Ahmed would consider 'institutional' (such as the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation and my relationship with previous research). I also referred to everyday forms of contact, such as 'feminist culture' and the questions I was asked in Turkey (one 'feminist pathway'); occasionally, I will refer to everyday forms of contact with people and emotions later on. However, this is a good moment to examine my own relationship with the KD writers. What Ahmed refers to is a form of 'self-reflexivity', which has become a very important part of feminist research (Ryan-flood & Gill, 2010). Self-reflexivity involves researchers thinking about the research process and situating themselves as researchers (Harding & Hintikka, 2003; Speer, 2002; Tamboukou, 2014). As Stanley says, researchers are not separate from the research process; thus, 'researcher-reflexivity, including "thinking back" and "thinking hard about un/comfortable things"' (2013, p. 5) are needed.

I wrote above that I wanted to question the links between gender and modernisation in Turkey. There are many ways to question these links, using different focal points, such as hegemonic masculinities and censorship. I wanted to focus on women's movements both because they make it possible to ask these questions, and also because it was easy for me to build a relationship with these women who asked questions about womanhood. There was potential to become friends or comrades, even though they existed at a textual level. However, my friendship with the KD women has been rather complicated. When I started reading KD, I was optimistic about achieving a quick bonding. These women were familiar; before starting this research, I read pioneering herstory research about the Ottoman women's movements. When I began reading KD itself (rather than research about it), the image I had was of feminist women who created their own agenda and demanded their rights: they were somehow heroic to me.

However, during this research, I struggled to be comfortable with my new-old friends. During the process of reading, categorising, forming, and reforming the themes of KD, which lasted around a year (from November 2016 to December 2017), I wrote a fieldwork diary that included my thoughts and feelings about the writers. It was written in Turkish, which I translated into English as usual. The first point I would like to highlight includes my identity trouble as a migrant, as mentioned in the Introduction:

> They [KD editors] say: 'Yes, our men are careless. They look to everything with a simple/careless perspective, they do not even read the newspapers carefully, and then they even try to teach others as if they understood everything' (issue 33, p. 332, KD). These women from 106 years ago wrote this in 1913 and they give an explanation of mansplaining! It's fascinating! But just after that, they start saying how Europe is great at equality! They also say Turkishness is a great feeling! Someone told me yesterday that I am too white to be Turkish [in the UK]; he kept comparing his darker British skin with my whiter skin. I asked him, 'how were you imagining Turkish people'. But, how am I imagining Turkish people? [...] After all of these troubles, it becomes harder to be friends with KD women when they say Europe and Turkishness are great.

Here, I compare my own identity troubles with the Ottoman women's demands. When I look back at what I wrote, I see a theoretical problem: I was impressed by the KD writers talking about mansplaining as if they had foreseen something more progressive

or more feminist. This is a form of progressive and chronological historical understanding, which I have used the genealogy approach to criticise during this chapter. However, what I want to emphasise here is my approach: expecting to encounter friends or comrades and feeling frustrated when they are not in the same page with me. In any way, I developed an intimacy with the writers, especially because the feeling I describe above was frustration, rather than anger. People might be more likely to feel frustrated with closer friends. I was frustrated as I picked up what I later conceptualised as forms of 'complicity', which clashed with the potentially heroic position that I had assumed about Ottoman women's movements before engaging more closely and critically with them. Having said that, frustration is not the only emotion I can reflect. For example:

> When I share some KD articles with people around me, they develop an approach of 'awww' – as if KD writers are doing something 'cute' like a baby or a sweet cat. That included my feminist friends, academic friends, and even my mother, we all see the 'dead' women from an earlier generation like that. Sometimes I catch myself having that approach as well, but it should be questioned because this [approach] is hierarchical.

Here, the approach threatens KD writers as 'naïve' women who tried to resist inequalities, but could not do so because of the 'power' of Ottoman society. I see a theoretical issue here that resembles the previous quotation: considering the present as more progressive and feminist and diminishing the women of the past as childish. To put this in a better way, I intended to question this kind of an approach because I found it hierarchical and a form of victimisation.

Although I did not become friends or develop comradeship with the KD writers in the way I expected, I did develop a more complicated relationship through my own feminist culture. I started with Browne's quotation in this chapter, where she asks: 'How can feminism draw productively on its own history, without passively conforming to expectations of the past, or elevating the past as a nostalgic ideal against which to measure and compare the present?' (Browne, 2014, p.1). One way to avoid reifying the past is to be critical of both creating heroic images and also victimisation. This is another feminist pathway questioned by postcolonial feminist theoreticians. Browne's second question was: 'How can we usher in new ideas and approaches

without simply "burying" feminisms of the past' (Browne, 2014, p.1)? This chapter has introduced the feminist genealogical perspective, as an approach that avoids such reification.

3.7 Ethical access

Ethical concerns about the archival turn have mainly related to digitalisations of archival materials. Budgetary priorities and material about types of groups seem more important in these discussions; the topics discussed include who would carry out archival labour (Dever, 2017). Feminist and queer researchers have also asked questions about privacy, labour practices, and silences in the archive (Moravec, 2017). As previously explained, rather than using digitalised material, I mainly engaged with transliterated versions of KD, prepared and published by a committee supported by the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation in İstanbul. Although anonymity could have been a dimension of historical research (Moore, 2012), it does not apply to my research because KD is a public magazine. I also used the writers' own names because KD was a public magazine. For these reasons, I see no ethical dilemmas about using the names of KD writers or any conflict of interest with myself.

3.8 Conclusion

To explain the methodology used in this thesis, this chapter introduced Foucault's genealogical understanding of history, inspired by a history of the present. Linking genealogical methodology with feminist perspectives was a significant task. Scott, for example, emphasised genealogy as a way to ask questions about processes through discourses, rather than causalities and origins. As this poststructuralist perspective also affected the discussion of the archival turn, it was important for this chapter. I saw the archive as a social construct produced through power relations critical of the archive fetish, rather than as an objective place to pick up data from. Explaining feminist genealogy, the archival turn, and the archive fetish allowed me to explain my own archival experience with KD magazine, the ways I included and excluded some knowledge from KD, and my engagement with KD writers, based on my fieldwork diary. This was significant because content such as KD is 'full of people's

understanding of themselves and of each other, of interactions, of interpretations of what is going on in and around them, of the structures and the materiality of everyday life, as well as their ways of practicing these understandings' (Sondergaard, 2002, pp. 190-191).

In short, I was inspired by a methodological framework derived from a feminist genealogy. Returning to the concept of problematisation in Foucault, I aim to investigate the debate surrounding the 'woman question' in the late Ottoman Empire and multiple discourses produced through responses and solutions to this question, by focusing on KD magazine as a part of the Ottoman women's movements. Turning the given: 'Ottoman women were subjects' into questions about discursive articulations, negotiations of new forms of subjectivity, and normativities is the aim of this research and its research questions. However, the researcher, archive, and research strategies are not separate, pre-existing issues that come together at the end of research, but 'multifarious entanglements between "the researcher", "research object", and "research context" (Tamboukou, 2014)'. The next section explains the research context around the 'woman question' debate in the late Ottoman Empire, clarifying the analysis of multiple discourses, responses, and KD solutions in this research.

Chapter 4 -
CONTEXT: 'THE SICK MAN OF EUROPE': GENDERED MODERNISATION DEBATES IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

4.1 Introduction

> When talking to a foreigner about one's own troubled, ill-fated and perplexing country, one tends to feel ethically disinclined – as one should: to avoid betraying not just one's country but also the truth and the integrity of truth, to avoid offence. I feel anxious that the things I am about to disclose will paint a picture of Turkey as one enormous pathology. It isn't. This quaint country has a constitution of its own. [...] To describe a house 'from the outside' should not be a privilege exclusive to those who are not in it (Temelkuran, 2015, p. 25).

Ece Temelkuran describes a two-fold dilemma that I also face (to some extent) in writing about Turkey and the Ottoman Empire even though mine is in different ways. On the one hand, I have to make my analysis clear for an 'outsider audience' to make my arguments clear while I analyse my 'own picture' of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire in this thesis; on the other hand, I have to reconsider this picture to make the analysis clear to that outsider audience. By 'outsider audience' I simply mean any group that did not undergo the sort of socialisation experienced by Turkish citizens. In other words, I experienced twelve years of school before university, where I learnt about nationalist narratives: stories that seem individual but are products of Turkish state power, religious negotiations, popular media, alternative lifestyles, and similar sources. The experience of hearing these stories does not make me an expert on the Ottoman Empire or Turkey, not only because this is a historical study, but also because such common-sense knowledge is only significant when unpacked, resisted, or reproduced in a critical study such as this one. The common-sense knowledge that I gained in Turkey can only be useful if it is evaluated critically, with self-reflexivity. In that sense, Temelkuran's reference to 'one's own troubled, ill-fated and perplexing country' is not how I relate to the Ottoman Empire or Turkey. The nuanced nationalist

tone that appears in her narrative is not the issue that confronts me. Instead, this chapter provides a context for modernisation, nationalism, and women's movements in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, enabling me to analyse their articulations, negotiations of subjectivity, and normative expectations about femininities, as my research questions require.

This thesis uses a poststructuralist feminist methodology, with a special focus on genealogy, to analyse the complex relations between modernisation, nationalism, and gender. To achieve this, it is necessary to explain the socio-political context in which KD magazine was produced in the late Ottoman Empire. As previously mentioned, the first 100 issues of KD were published in 1913 in İstanbul; a deeper understanding of key events, debates, and organisations is needed to investigate relevant discourses and to analyse KD. This chapter begins by explaining some important political events that took place around this period, involving political regimes, intellectual perspectives, and Kemalist modernisations; these events influenced the debates on the woman question as a set of discourses produced in Muslim-Turkish environments during the late Ottoman Empire. One of the main feminist arguments used in this research that gender is not an additional category is significant in this point to relate gender with both political developments and everyday life. In that sense, I will introduce the debates around the woman question as one important dimension for this analysis of modernisation and nationalism. They will be followed by two key socio-political conditions that impacted the demands made by KD writers: the Balkan wars and the Ottoman Empire's economic dependence on Europe. Women's organisations and magazines also deserve a closer look, not because they were separate from political developments, but because the condition of women's organisations and magazines is a crucial factor when locating KD in relation to other contemporary organisations.

Writing a context chapter is a hard task in poststructuralist research, especially here, as my aim is not to provide a description of 'what actually happened' in the late Ottoman Empire in relation to gender. First, it is not practically possible to explain every piece of information about the country in relation to gender, modernisation, and nationalism. The transformations that took place during the late Ottoman Empire had endless dimensions, which influenced many different aspects of life, including class,

urban-rural issues, religion, ethnicity, and political developments. It would be impossible to draw 'my own picture of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire' that would include 'all related information'. Secondly, and more importantly, a description of the context of the late Ottoman Empire would not be desirable. Instead, this chapter introduces some debates that produce, negotiate, and legitimise discourses that produces and produced by normativities and contradictions. I introduce the woman question debate and link it to several dimensions, including ethnicity, religion, wars, and economic and political protests. These relate to the Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women's movements and specifically to KD because they allow me to analyse the discourses on Europe, dress, and motherhood in the following three analysis chapters.

4.2 Institutional and Regime Changes during Modernisation

In the 19th century, the once-powerful Ottoman Empire was referred to as 'the sick man of Europe' (Ahıska, 2010; Alloul *et al.*, 2018; Atabaki & Brockett, 2009; Bora T., 2017; Deringil, 1998; Lewis, 2004). During its 500 years of existence (from its foundation in the 13th century to the end of World War I), the Ottoman Empire expanded from Northwest Anatolia and gradually occupied territories in Southeast Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa. This kind of territorial expansion, in addition to administrative and political governance, gave it Empire status. After a significant loss of land and political and military power, it came to be known as the 'sick man of Europe' during the late Ottoman Empire period – the 19th and early 20th centuries[63] (Altınbaş, 2014; Fortna, 2010; Keyder, 1997; Özdalga, 2005; Pamuk, 1986). During this time, the Ottoman Empire became dependent on Western economic powers and lost a significant amount of territory. Growing nationalist movements demanded political change, leading to political instability (Deringil, 1998). After the Empire joined the First World War with

[63] 'The late Ottoman Empire period' is also referred to as 'the decline of the Ottoman Empire'; however, this linear name has been criticised for its teleological implications. I therefore prefer the term 'late Ottoman Empire period'.

Germany in 1914, it lost the war in 1918, and eventually collapsed after a War of Independence, which ended in 1923. Ultimately, the Republic of Turkey was founded (Hanioğlu, 2008).

Motives for naming the Ottoman Empire the 'sick man of Europe' may have differed, depending on whether the term was used in Western countries or the Ottoman Empire itself. However, the implication always was that the Ottoman Empire had lost its power and could not catch up with European modernisation, particularly in the area of scientific and technological knowledge (Ahıska, 2003). 'Sick' referred to both physical and mental 'problems' and researchers also would later refer to the late Ottoman Empire using other affective terms, such as 'tired' (Berktay, 2012), 'melancholic' (Çelik, 2011), 'in turbulence' (Arat, 1999b), 'schizophrenic' (Brummett, 1999), and 'paranoiac' (Berktay, 2012). 'Man' is an interesting term, in the sense that nations can be associated with both feminine and masculine characteristics (Ahmed, 2014b), as this thesis will show. The loss of a man's power, suggested by the masculine association with the Empire in this specific case, creates a dramatic effect: the Ottoman Empire is losing its masculinity[64]. Finally, 'Europe' stands in the phrase for a comparison. The Ottoman Empire cannot be part of Europe, the phrase suggests, because it is on its deathbed and dying, while Europe itself is healthy and young. In other words, the Ottoman Empire is defined as sick, in contrast to Europe, which is not sick. Overall, I find the phrase 'sick man of Europe' very important because the Ottoman Empire's 'sickness' was taken into account by politicians, intellectuals, and activists living in the late Ottoman Empire. This section discusses the political changes that occurred, at both administrative and legal levels, as well as intellectual perspectives on the woman-question debate; in every arena, the woman question was seen as part of the sickness, although in different ways.

[64] By this I do not mean that the Ottoman Empire was imagined only as a masculine being. My analysis shows that it had both masculine and feminine associations, which themselves were plural.

4.2.1 Modernisation in Law and Parliament: The Young Turks and CUP

Ortaylı (1983) described the 19th century as the 'longest century of the Empire' on account of the intense social and political transformations of modernisation. However, many researchers have argued that the Ottoman Empire's modernisation process began long before the 19th century, especially in military and administrative areas (Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997; Mardin, 2017). When I refer to the modernisation of the later Ottoman period, I am not suggesting that modernisation began at that point. Instead, I am focusing on a specific period – from *Tanzimat* (which literally means 'reform'), a set of legal, administrative, economic, and social changes – to the end of World War I, when the empire collapsed (1839–1918). During the process of modernisation, the 'woman question' was a central issue; it can be followed through legal changes in the period and intense discussions on the social position on women and modernisation (Kandiyoti, 1992; Sirman, 2008).

In defining the 'late Ottoman Empire process', researchers generally include three periods of regime change (Arat, 1999b; Brummett, 2007; Deringil, 1998; Kandiyoti, 1991a): the declaration of the First Constitution in 1876–1878; the prorogation of Sultan Abdulhamid II and the return to absolute monarchy (1878–1908); and the declaration of the Second Constitution that limited the power of Sultan Abdulhamid II, through the military intervention of a group called the Young Turks (1908–1918). Some important actors in state governance at the time included Sultans, parliament members (all men), political party members (including women) and intellectuals. There were different understandings of modernisation and nationalism; in other words, different sets of selective labelling – and a different negotiation of the balance between inner and outer domains, to use Chatterjee's terms. Although 'modern' and 'nation' had different meanings, various groups agreed that some form of modernisation was needed to 'save the Ottoman Empire' or to help it 'catch up' with European modernity, especially in the sense of technological and scientific knowledge (Ahıska, 2010). The discussions around the 'woman question' were based on the argument that neither saving the Ottoman Empire nor catching up with European modernity would be possible unless Ottoman women modernised (Bora T., 2017).

Having said that, this research does not aim to homogenise the social and political contexts of the First Constitution, the absolute monarchy of Sultan Abdulhamid II, and the Second Constitution processes. The Second Constitution process and governance had special significance for women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire, in common with other modernising and nationalist movements (Çakır, 2007). The organisation known as the 'Young Turks' circulated a new narrative about the 'liberty' of Ottoman people. The Young Turks dethroned Sultan Abdulhamid II using military power and announced the Second Constitution[65] in 1908. Following this, a diverse group of Young Turks established CUP (the Committee of Union and Progress) to govern the empire, limiting the authority of the Sultan. The Second Constitution established a constitutional parliament to which male Muslim and male non-Muslim members were elected and were allowed to vote, although women were still excluded[66] (Hanioğlu, 2008). Thus, in 1908, the monarchy was abolished and the Sultan's political power was limited. The Second Constitution period, also known as the 1908 Revolution or the Young Turk Revolution, presented the new regime as providers of liberty, *in opposition to* the previous Sultan's absolute monarchy; this posture deeply influenced discussions of the woman question (Georgeon, 2013).

Before the Second Constitution declaration in 1908, some legal changes had already been introduced during modernisation in response to the woman question, changing the situation of Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women. Most involved education and opportunities for women to obtain middle-class jobs. For example, a midwifery programme opened in 1842; a secondary school for girls opened in 1858; and a teachertraining college for women (*Darülmuallimat*) opened in 1870 in İstanbul (Arat, 1999b). Some organisations and magazines that discussed the woman question in

[65] As one might expect, it was called the 'Second' Constitution because there was a failed short constitutional reform in 1876, which lasted for just two years.

[66] Thus, this regime is considered a constitutional monarchy. The first parliamentary election was held in 1908 and tax-paying males over the age of 25 were eligible to vote. After this election, there were 275 deputies in Parliament (Hanioğlu, 2008).

relation to modernisation, Islam, and nationalism were set up by Ottoman men. However, many researchers have emphasised the significance of the Second Constitution for women in the Ottoman Empire, as a period when Ottoman women were able to join the public sphere, in contrast to the censorship and control of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1878–1908) (Berktay, 2009; Çakır, 2016; Çetinkaya, 2014; Karakışla, 2014). According to Arat, the 'liberal aura that emerged after the revolution [Second Constitution] allowed women to enter public life as professionals, writers, and activists' (1999b, p. 8). I will rephrase Arat's argument to suggest that some very politically charged notions, such as 'liberty' used by the Young Turks and the CUP government, prompted discussions about the woman question including Ottoman women themselves.

The Young Turks were organised under the banner of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice' (Hanioğlu, 2008). These concepts were inspired by the French Revolution, with the addition of the concept of Justice. The promise of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice' was produced in contrast and opposition to the absolute monarchy of Abdulhamid II as said, which was based on censorship. This study does not necessarily construct the notion of liberty as simple opposition to the Sultan's monarchy; however, it is interested in the issue of the Young Turks who circulated a narrative of liberty by pointing to this opposition in order to legitimise their own power. The narrative of overcoming oppression, supporting liberty, and aiming for a revolution was adopted, discussed, and negotiated by the Ottoman women's movements (Çakır, 2016; Ekmekçioğlu & Bilal, 2006). Some Ottoman Muslim women linked the 'woman question' to demands for liberty, arguing that Ottoman women did not benefit as much as men from the new regime. Some KD writers criticised the CUP regime for overlooking women, even though they supported the Second Constitution.

To sum up, the woman question and modernisation were linked in the Second Constitution, while discourses about liberty and the promises of the Second Constitution allowed some Ottoman women to engage with modernisation themselves (Sancar, 2012). I would argue, however, that the woman question should also be analysed in relation to the national and religious context of the late Ottoman Empire. Some categories, such as Ottoman, Turkish, Muslim, and non-Muslim were very

unstable and used strategically. In this sense, national and religious contexts are significant, because the woman question only refers to 'some' women, mostly Turkish and Muslim, but not to others. Thus, the Young Turks' initial attempt to create a united 'fraternal Ottoman identity' during the early period of the Second Constitution (the general ideology, Ottomanism, will be discussed further below) should be analysed in relation to the categories of ethnicity and religion (Özkırımlı & Sofos, 2008).

The Ottoman Empire was a multi-language, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious empire, particularly after it occupied a growing range of territories after the fifteenth century (Zihnioğlu, 2013). To govern these diverse groups, a '*millet*' system was introduced in the fifteenth century, which was based on religious demarcation[67]. In the second half of the 19th century, the concept of *millet* began to be used to signify a separate ethnoreligious, non-Muslim entity and to distinguish it from the mainly hegemonic Turkish Muslim entity[68] (Cagaptay, 2006). To be more specific, the fraternal Ottoman identity desired by the new Second Constitution in 1908 transformed into a Turkified Islam, especially after the Balkan Wars around 1913 (Hanioğlu, 2011). This thesis focuses on constructions of 'Turkish', 'Muslim', and 'Ottoman', in relation to the woman question, as KD negotiations of these terms. However, they are sometimes produced through other categories, in particular, 'non-Muslim'. In other words, the woman question included hidden parentheses, including 'Turkish', 'Muslim', and 'Ottoman', as hegemonic categories constructed in relation to 'Other' categories such as 'nonMuslim'. This thesis will show that the hegemonic categories did not have consistent meanings, but were complex and contradictory. For example, in the case of KD, they could be easily used interchangeably. In the following subsection, I will

[67] This initial separation of different groups was based on religion. There were three *millet*s: Greek Orthodox (or Rum), Armenian, and Jewish. This initial system was blind to ethnolinguistic differences. To illustrate, Kurdish and Arab communities were all part of the Muslim millet. Serbians, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Albanians were part of the Greek millet, while Eastern Christians, Syrians, Georgians, and Ethiopians fell under the jurisdiction of the Armenian millet (Özkırımlı, *et al.*, 2008).

[68] In a 1914 census, İstanbul had 560,434 Muslims, 205,375 Greeks, 72,962 Armenians, and 52,125 Jews. According to this census, İstanbul's population totalled 909, 978 (Karpat, 1985).

introduce some Turkish and Muslim intellectuals who thought about these identities in relation to the woman question.

4.2.2 Intellectual perspectives on Turkish and Muslim womanhoods

Different actors had different perspectives on the issue of Turkishness or Muslimness and the woman question. This section shows how this link was constructed in relation to Europe or modern knowledge by three intellectuals writing at roughly the same time: Yusuf Akçura, Ziya Gökalp, and Fatma Aliye. One of the most significant intellectuals and rare sociologists of the Ottoman Empire, Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935) categorized the intellectual and political tendencies of the time as Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism in his book, *Three Ways of Politics* (Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset) (Akçura, 2016) [1904]. Ottomanism refers to the argument that the Ottoman Empire should follow Europe, based on its 'superior' scientific and technological knowledge, but should also create a nation-state around 'Ottoman citizenship'. The empire, according to this perspective, should be open and offer equal rights to both Muslim and non-Muslim communities, which should adopt a shared national identity as Ottoman citizens, rather than identifying as Turkish, Armenian, Greek, or any other group. Thus, this political discourse attracted followers from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Second, Islamism refers to the view that Islam should be the founding identity of the Ottoman Empire, and that European scientific and technological developments should be adopted, when necessary, to fight with other state powers. Finally, Turkism is an early form of Turkish nationalism that imagines a Turkish-dominant modern nation state similar to a European state; this tendency was inspired by other nationalities' desire for an ethnic-based nation-state. Akçura's separation of these three perspectives and his focus on the categories of 'Ottoman', 'Islam', and 'Turk' was, in various ways, imagined in relation to 'Europe' or 'modern knowledge'.

As these three political discourses made an analytical separation in 1904, it seems helpful to understand the distinctions between these different perspectives. As this thesis will make clear, they were very intertwined and nearly impossible to separate. My research indicates that KD writers fit all three perspectives and none of them at the same time. I do not mean to suggest that Akçura's separation was wrong or failed to

represent a 'true' social division; rather, I want to point out how these different perspectives, each imagining a different future for the Empire, could overlap. As noted, 'imagining different futures' and exploring 'how to save the Ottoman Empire' were related to notions of Europe and modern knowledge. At this point, it is worth reconsidering the concept of Occidentalism and the importance of the 'Western gaze' in producing subjectivities.

Akçura's separation of these three perspectives and their links to the concepts of Europe and modern knowledge were also important for political movements. Modern knowledge appeared in these discussions as an 'objective condition of progress' and a means of creating a modern and powerful state. As a political group, the Young Turks produced ideological perspectives based on the idea of 'European superior knowledge'. This perspective was greatly influenced by 'popular notions of materialism, scientism, and Darwinism into a simplistic creed that upheld the role of science in society' (Hanioğlu, 2011, p. 48-49). According to Hanioğlu, the Young Turks were transformed in different ways after the group was established in 1889 (mainly in accordance with the tendencies of Ottomanism and Turkism), but retained their scientism and rationalism as a 'focal tenet' (2011, p. 51). The woman question was crucial in these discussions in relation to this type of modern knowledge.

At this point, I should revisit the discussion in Chapter 2 of the new-woman image, which served as a marker of cultural authenticity and of being a 'civilised' nation (Durakbaşa, 1999). Although the woman question was discussed as an aspect of modern knowledge, it was also a way to develop, with use Chatterjee's concept, the 'inner domain' of the Ottoman Empire. This inner domain potentially made it possible to 'preserve' an Ottoman, Muslim, or Turkish 'essence'. From all of these perspectives, the new-woman image was associated with the 'inner domain'. By analysing Ziya Gökalp's perspective (below), this study will show that the new woman of the modern state was often discussed in relation to the family question (Berktay, 2012; Kandiyoti, 1992). In other words, according to Gökalp, the woman question would be solved by resolving problems in Ottoman family structure.

Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924), an important sociologist in the Ottoman Empire, wrote about the woman question and feminism in relation to the family. Gökalp combined Islam and Turkish nationalism and was inspired by Emile Durkheim; his thinking contributed to the ideology of Kemalist Turkish nationalism (Altınay, 2004). Fleming (1999) argues that Gökalp's nationalism, when discussing the woman question, was based on 'discovering Turkey's ancient past'. According to Gökalp, women were 'guardians and transmitters of civilisation' (Fleming, 1999, p. 130) and the family was the main structure in society. Fleming quotes from Ziya Gökalp:

> Society has three foundations, of which the first is the family. Oh woman! It is you who organize this domain of adoration; it is you who first took in your hands the cloak of civilisation. In letters of gold, your name should there be written (Fleming, 1999, p. 130).

Locating women as the potential source of civilisation, Gökalp argues that democracy and feminism were two bases of ancient Turkish life. He thinks these two notions already existed in ancient Turkish life and were originally Turkish, before Turkish culture changed, under the influence of Arab culture. While some European countries needed to 'invent' feminism, all needed in the Ottoman Empire for democracy and feminism was a 'return to origin', which were already present in Turkish culture previously[69] (Fleming, 1999). The previous chapter emphasised the importance of analysing 'truth claims' and 'origin narratives'. At this point, they must be investigated: Gökalp argues that feminism originated from ancient Turkish cultures, comparing the position of women in ancient Turkey with his own conception of women's position in Europe. He implies that the values desired in Europe (feminism, democracy, and modernity) already existed in Turkish culture, making the latter superior. Using this formulation, Gökalp argues that, although modern knowledge is generally associated

[69] As said, I do not define KD as a feminist magazine because it did not define itself as feminist. Baha Tevfik's book *Feminism* justifies feminism in relation to Islam (Açıkgöz, 2018).

with Europe or Western cultures, neither modern knowledge nor feminism are reducible to Europe[70] (Ahıska, 2010).

In comparison to the number of modernist Ottoman Muslim men, such as Ziya Gökalp and Baha Tevfik[71], who clearly defended feminism, there were far fewer women who defined themselves as feminists. Although there were many women writers, in Ottoman intellectual circles, who wrote about the woman question, they rarely referred to feminism or defined themselves as feminists. Fatma Aliye (1862–1936)[72], for example, was a well-known intellectual figure who wrote about the woman question in articles and novels (Adak, 2007; Arat, 2010a). Instead of focusing on feminism, however, she aimed to prove that Islam need not be an obstacle to women's involvement with modernity. Giving two examples, she argued that Islam did not approve of polygamy, and did allow women to get divorced. She also argued that women's clothing should be modern and practical, and that Ottoman Muslim women's clothing at the time was neither modern nor practical. It was important to Aliye not to associate women's progress simply with Western modernity (Akşit, 2010b; Sancar, 2012). Tanıl Bora (2017) notes that women Ottoman intellectuals were 'careful' when discussing the woman question. This study will investigate this carefulness further, as a potentially necessary stance, rather than evidence that intellectual women were less radical or less feminist than men, as other researchers have implied (Bora T., 2017; Kandiyoti, 2007a). I would argue that negotiations of change and continuity, in relation to modernisation, should be understood within the context of women's contemporary 'position'. Fatma Aliye, for example, has argued that women's motherhood role was

---

[70] Ahıska (2010) sees Gökalp as a sociologist who provided a 'scientific' basis for Occidentalism.

[71] Examples include: Halit Hamit's book, *İslamiyette Feminizm Yahut Alem-i Nisvanda Musavatı Tamm*e (Feminism and Islam, or Complete Equality for the World of Womanhood) and Abdullah Cevdet, Tevfik Fikret and Salahaddin Asım (Arat, 1999b).

[72] She was a regular writer at *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper for Ladies) (1895–1908) for thirteenth years. This was one of the most important women's magazines (the format is closer to a magazine than a newspaper) published before the Second Constitution.

essential for the 'nation's civilisation'. In common with other Ottoman Turkish-Muslim women intellectuals, she argued that women's education was essential to the modernisation of the nation (Çakır, 2006). I will come back to this point through the later discussion of 'scientific housewives' and develop my concept 'scientific motherhood' later in this thesis.

To sum up, the woman question was discussed as a main element of modernisation and nationalism, in relation to notions of Europe and family, by Ottoman Turkish and Muslim intellectuals. Kandiyoti argues that 'women made an irreversible entry into political discourse as symbolic pawns in a complex ideological battleground' during this period (Kandiyoti, 1992, p. 220). Although women were previously part of political discourse, imagining the 'new woman' in relation to a discourse on the modern nation was their irreversible entry. Kemalist modernisation became active after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 and produced its own political discourses, associated with state feminism, as the following section will explain.

4.2.3 Kemalism: A form of modernism

It could be argued that the 20th century was even longer than the 19th century for the Ottoman Empire and later for the Republic of Turkey. The Second Constitution regime ended with the end of World War I. One year after KD began publication, the Ottoman Empire became involved in World War I on the side of Germany. During this period, some Ottoman women were encouraged to take on war-related work, as happened in many countries (Gregory & Ahall, 2015; Karakışla, 2015; Metinsoy, 2013; Özdalga, 2005). By the end of the war, the Ottoman Empire had lost an enormous amount of territory[73]. The end of World War I in 1918 was followed by the War of Independence (1919–1923) against Britain, France, Italy, and Greece, all of which occupied land formerly held by the Ottoman Empire. In 1923, the Republic of Turkey

[73] As mentioned in the methodology chapter, KD stopped publication during these years. At this point, the first 100 issues were already published.

became one of several nation-states founded in the Middle East; later, Kemalist ideology imposed a Turkish hegemony over institutional and everyday life levels (Atabaki & Brockett, 2009). Taking its name from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk[74], Kemalist ideology combined secularism, Western modernity, and Turkish nationalism[75] (Yeğenoğlu, 2011); it also excluded other nationalities (Altınay, 2004). Kemalism had a particular narrative about the woman question.

The modernisation process at the state level in the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey was described as a 'rupture' in the Kemalist national history narrative (Durakbaşa, 1999; Yeğenoğlu, 2011). According to this Kemalist narrative, the Ottoman Empire was old, religious, and irrational; its women were passive and uneducated. The Kemalist state claimed to be the provider of everything good about modernisation, including women's modernisation (Arat, 2001). The cartoon below, published in 1934, exemplifies this perspective. Feminist researchers have shown that the woman question became a key component of this narrative, as in the Ottoman Empire. The Kemalist modernisation argued that Turkish women, before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, had been 'oppressed' by religion and the traditional family structure; the new Kemalist state 'emancipated' Turkish women by 'giving them their rights' through family laws and suffrage (Kandiyoti, 1987). Much feminist research has criticised this perspective, arguing either that this narrative was incorrect because some Ottoman women demanded their rights (Çakır, 2016; Demirdirek, 2011) or explaining how this narrative was shaped to prove that the Kemalist state was actually democratic, in response to criticism that Kemalism was a dictatorship.

---

[74] He took the surname 'Atatürk' (meaning Father of the Turks) after the 1934 Surname Law (Adak, 2003).

[75] After the Ottoman Empire lost the First World War, Atatürk initiated a 'War of Independence' against the British, French, Italians, and Greeks in 1919, in addition to opposing the Ottoman dynasty in İstanbul. Thus, a Grand National Assembly was founded in 1920 in Ankara; in the end, the dynastic rule of the Sultanate of Ottoman was abolished in 1922. The National Assembly became the legislative body and the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed in 1923 (Arat, 1999b).

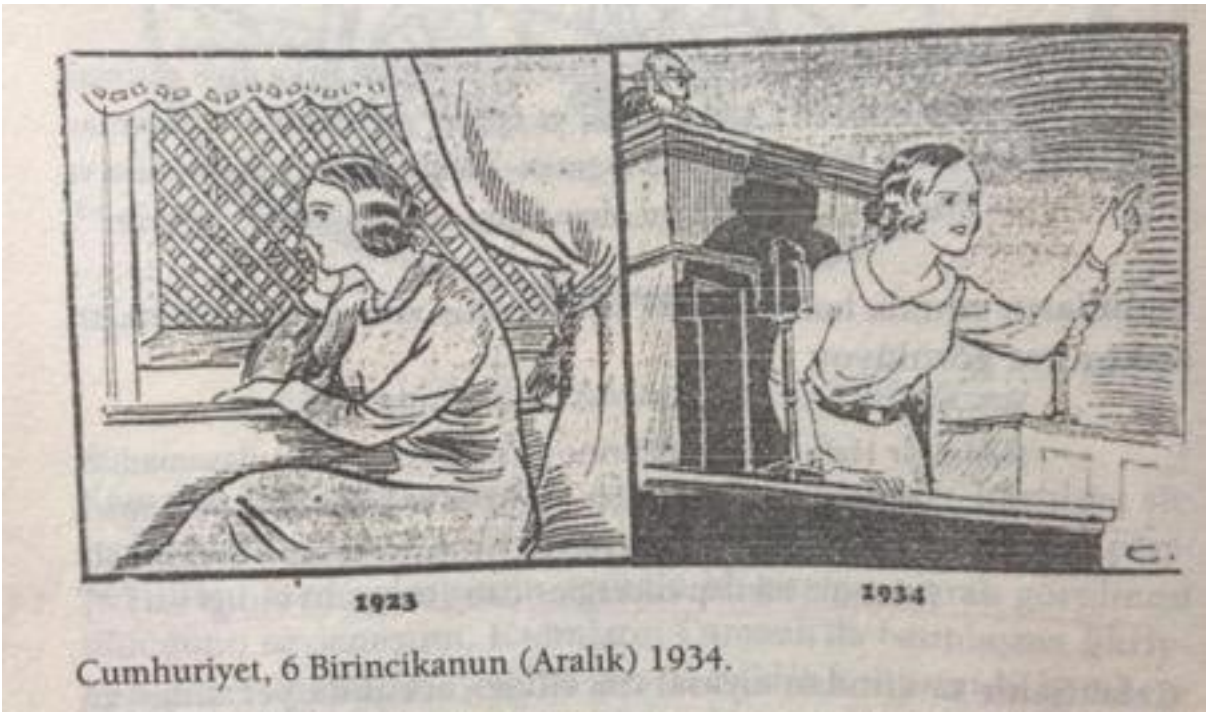

Figure 2: Kemalist narrative on women's suffrage[76]

Kemalist governance introduced some legal changes so that Turkey could claim the status of a modern country in relation to women's rights (Miller, 2007). In the civil code of 1926, women took equal rights in inheritance and marital affairs; this was followed by the granting of full suffrage in 1934 (Arat, 2010a; Çınar, 2005). Polygamy was abolished during the same year (Arat, 2010b). Turkish ideology considers Atatürk to have been the 'emancipator of Turkish women' (Çakır, 2007, p. 62) who 'gave' women the vote earlier than many European countries. Feminist scholars have defined this transformation as 'state feminism' (Tekeli, 1992) with the aim of producing an image of the new Turkish woman or 'Daughter of the Republic' who was loyal to Kemalist-Republican values, dedicated herself to Kemalist values (Durakbaşa, 1999) and could be expected to be obedient. Thus, Yelsalı-Parmaksız (2017) defines modernisation in Turkey as paternalist, emphasising the family metaphor used by the Kemalist state in relation to Turkish women. When I refer to the woman question in the late Ottoman

[76] Yelsalı-Parmaksız, 2017, p. 58.

Empire, prior to the Kemalist state, this type of state feminism did not yet exist. Ottoman Muslim women's movements did not actively make demands at the state level. In the case of KD, the state-related demands that featured in the writers' agenda related to the Balkan Wars and economic dependency, issues that were pressing when KD began publication. The following section will explain these two points.

It is important to note that some researchers point to strong links between the modernisations of the late Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, seeing the latter as a 'continuation' of the former[77] (Atabaki & Brockett, 2009; Baykan, 1994; Hanioğlu, 2011; Quataert, 2000) I believe that this argument, which criticises the Kemalist rupture narrative, offers an important critical perspective on the Kemalist narrative and the ways in which it established itself in relation/opposition to the Ottoman past. In the case of the woman question, the Second Constitution political agenda was actually quite similar to the Kemalist agenda, in the sense that Muslim-Turkish intellectuals and actors in the Ottoman women's movements emphasised (albeit making different demands): women's rights, laws relating to the nuclear heteronormative family structure, education and working, motherhood, and women's clothing (especially the veil and headscarf). Across a broader agenda, some other similarities can be referred: constant negotiations between Islam and a 'modern nation', the emphasis on modern education, and the creation of a new national identity were often discussed in the late Ottoman Empire (Yeğenoğlu, 2011)[78].

[77] In referring to 'continuation', I do not suggest the type of causal historical relation criticised by Foucault. Rather, I refer to a criticism of the Kemalist claim to have instigated a 'rupture' from Ottoman modernisation.

[78] The fez was replaced by the European hat, women's veiling was not outlawed but discouraged and associated with backwardness. (Yeğenoğlu, 2011).

4.3 Wars and Dependency

Returning to the late Ottoman Empire, it is necessary to explain two events: the Balkan War and the arguments about Ottoman Empire's economic dependence on European industry. These represent two of the most important socio-political events discussed by KD writers, that will become an interest for the analysis of their subjectivities, normativities, and negotiated changes and continuities. As I will show, both issues were already on the Ottoman Muslim agenda (Quataert, 2000; Toprak, 1995).

4.3.1 Balkan Wars

The conditions of Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women during World War I and the War of Independence (1918–1923) have interested many researchers; this topic has encompassed: nationalist and conservative women's magazines (Metinsoy, 2013); the Ottoman Empire's provision of work for women during the war and attempts to preserve women's sexual purity by encouraging single woman to marry (Karakışla, 2015; Metinsoy, 2017); and gender and military relations (Altınay, 2004). However, the conditions experienced during World War I were not new to the Ottoman Empire. In addition to various social and political factors, the 19th century was very 'long' due to ongoing wars: the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–78; the war with Greece in 1897; the Crimean War of 1853–6, and wars with the French, British, and Italians over Tunis, Egypt, and Massawa between 1881–1885. The great European economic depression of 1873– 96 also affected the Ottoman Empire (Hanioğlu, 2011).

None of these war conditions can be separated from the question of 'how to save the Ottoman Empire' posed by Ottoman people including Turkish and Muslim nationalists (Altınay, 2004). This question was also an interest to Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women's movements. However, no wars were as effective in promoting the rise of Turkish nationalism as the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. Four Balkan states (Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia) defeated the Ottoman Empire and

declared their independence in 1912[79]. As a result, the Ottoman Empire lost 83% of its European lands; nearly 250,000 Muslim/Turkish refuges came to the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans (Aktar, 2010). The map below shows the areas lost by the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan Wars[80]:

[79] The Second Balkan War in 1913 happened because these countries could not agree about the distribution of land. In this research, references to the Balkan War always refer to the First Balkan War.

[80] Salonica was a very important loss for the Ottomans, as it was known as the 'intellectual centre of the Young Turks'.

Figure 3: European provinces of the Ottoman Empire after Balkan Wars[81]

The Balkan Wars came as a shock to Ottoman Muslim-Turkish communities and are seen as a turning point, marking a shift from the insistence on Ottomanism, which aimed to create an Ottoman citizenship, to a Muslim-Turkish nationalism (Altınay, 2004). Because Muslim-Turkish hegemonic governance tried to prevent nationalist movements of minorities (especially Greek and Armenian) from emerging within the Ottoman Empire, an inclusive nationalist identity based on Ottoman citizenship was imagined (Ottomanism). However, the Balkan Wars were a trigger for the emergence

[81] Hanioğlu, 2011, p. 58.

of Turkish nationalism. Turkishness was the last identity to create a popular, ethnicity-based nationalism in the Ottoman Empire (Kandiyoti, 1992). The Balkan Wars began in October 1912 and ended in May 1913; the first issue of KD was published in April 2013. Thus, KD was produced in İstanbul at a time when the Balkan Wars had lasted for some time and were coming to an end. Some KD writers sent poems that reflects patriotism, wrote that the 'Balkans smell of Turkish blood', and mentioned that their husbands and sons had died in the Balkan Wars. Tanıl Bora (2017) argues that the Balkan Wars were a very important catalyst, encouraging Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women to engage with women's movements in the context of nationalist movements.

4.3.2 Economic dependency and the national economy

One other topic on the late Ottoman agenda that KD women frequently discussed was the economic dependency of the Ottoman Empire. Kandiyoti explains the background as follows:

> There is little doubt that the Ottoman Empire had suffered serious peripheralization *vis-à-vis* European powers since the sixteenth century, so that the Tanzimat reforms [started in 1839] can be seen as being primarily aimed at creating a central bureaucracy which could become an instrument of the smooth integration of the Ottoman state into the world economy. Already the trend of capitalising upon Ottoman military misadventures to wrest trade concessions and force the lifting of tariff barriers was well established. (Kandiyoti, 1992, p. 223)

According to Ottoman Muslim-Turkish nationalists, the central bureaucracy that engaged with the world economy, while challenging trade concessions and tariff barriers, was one of the most important factors influencing the so-called Ottoman Empire's economic dependence on Western powers. Turkish-Muslim nationalists in the late Ottoman Empire often considered bureaucratic 'capitulations' to be a central reason for the 'decline' of the Ottoman Empire into the 'sick man of Europe', starting from the 17th and 18th centuries (Eldem, 2006). These capitulations were a set of commercial privileges given to the French, English, Venetians, Genoese, and Dutch from the 16th century onwards to encourage them to enter the Ottoman market. By the 19th century, according to many Muslim and Turkish Ottoman intellectuals, the capitulations had created an equal power balance between European and Ottoman

(mainly Muslim and Turkish) states; European traders had subdued the Ottoman economy (Eldem, 2006). As a solution to the economic dependency of the Ottoman Empire, they developed the discourse of a national economy, which would develop industries based in the Ottoman Empire (Toprak, 1995) and promote the production and consumption of Ottoman goods[82] (Çetinkaya, 2014). One key success of European modern knowledge was considered to be its industry[83]. In the case of KD, this narrative was one of the issues that writers engaged with, generally as a solution to the problem of 'how to save the Ottoman Empire'. Various KD writers demanded industry-related middle-class jobs for urban women or education that enabled women to create or contribute to a national economy to break this economic dependency. These examples show the articulations of the economic-dependency narrative (approached via nationalism in the following chapter) and women's demands (needed for modernisation).

To sum up, both the Balkan Wars and economic dependency contributed to the nationalist atmosphere of the Turkish and Muslim environment in the late Ottoman Empire. Both issues refer to an urgent need for the Ottoman nation to find a solution. With the Balkan Wars, 'mothers' were important because they raised soldiers for the nation (Akşit, 2009); the importance of women's work and education was discussed in relation to the economic-dependency narrative.

4.4 Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women's movements and magazines

When this thesis cites Ottoman women's movements, it refers broadly to a group of people who initiated and participated in discussions of the woman question and demanded legal and social changes in Ottoman society. Although some of the aims of

[82] For an evaluation of economic growth based on the Middle East, see: Pamuk (2006). Cotton and textiles were one of the most important sectors (Pamuk, 1986), but there were also tobacco and fez factories (Atabaki, *et al.*, 2009; Balsoy, 2009).

[83] For a significant analysis of the association between industry and Europe, see: Bhambra (2016).

organisations around the woman question related to women's rights, the Ottoman women's movements cannot be analysed by only defining them as women's right's movements. This is partly because different actors within the Ottoman women's movements did not consider women's rights to be individual rights (Çakır, 2007), but saw them as an aspect of modernisation and nationalism. In analysing the late Ottoman Empire period, Brummett refers to a rearticulation of gender norms:[84]

> That rearticulation is demonstrated by, among other things, new and more forms of female education; the evolution of newspaper advertising appealing specifically to women; the beginnings of a taking for granted of female 'readership'; new technologies, like the automobile, telephone, and airplane, which were associated with new types of gendered entertainment and dress; a direct confrontation with the issue of mixed-sex social activities (like skating and going to the theatre); a heightened consciousness of feminist and women's rights movements abroad, and a willingness, especially toward the end of the period, directly to confront issues of female sexuality in the form of public dress and behaviour (Brummett, 2007, p. 285).

What Brummett emphasises here also refers to the agenda of Ottoman women's movements: women's education, an interest in producing publications for women, a modernised mixed-gender social life, interest in European women's rights movements, and public dress. Although various ethnic and religious groups were interested in this agenda, including Greek, Armenian, Caucasian, Kurdish, and Muslim-Turkish women (Ekmekçioğlu & Bilal, 2006; Khalapyan, 2013), they should not be seen as the same[85]. This research uses KD magazine to investigate on Ottoman Muslim women's movements. Demirdirek (2014) argues that the relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim women involved in women's movements was quite limited. KD, despite being

[84] Brummett specifically refers to 1876–1914 here.

[85] The Ottoman administration wanted to keep ethnic groups separate. Muslims, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians were the main groups and they almost never intermarried (Keyder, 1999).

an organisation that defines itself as 'open to all women coming from all ethnicities and religions', their primarily interested was Muslim groups.

As previously mentioned, Ottoman women's movements are commonly associated with the Second Constitutional Period in the feminist literature (Vardağlı, 2013). After the Second Constitution, organisations/associations and magazines became important political and social actors in the women's movements (Çetinkaya, 2014). Inspired by Çakır's categorisation, I can point to three main Muslim-Turkish associations: women's charities, women's education and work associations, and political and national associations. It is sometimes hard to distinguish between these associations, as their aims overlapped (as in the case of *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* [the Association for Defending Ottoman Women's Rights], discussed below. However, they were focused on different things. For example, woman's charities that aimed to help 'poor women' were different from women's education and work associations, which aimed to create work for women (Çakır, 2016; Sancar, 2012).

Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti [the Association for Defending Ottoman Women's Rights] (OMHNC) is a good example of such organisations (Çakır, 2016; Karakışla, 2014). It was formed by the KD editors themselves on 28 May 1913 and its 'foundation principles' were published in issue 51 of KD. OMHNC declared three aims: creating a new 'national clothing' for Ottoman Muslim women, promoting the education of women and girls, and developing jobs for women. One of OMHNC's most famous activities, organised through KD, was a protest for Muslim women's entrance to job economy. OMHNC and KD organised Muslim women to lobby for middle-class jobs at the Ottoman Phone Company (Toprak, 2014). When the company refused to accept applications from Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women because they did not speak a foreign language (French), KD argued that Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women were being discriminated against and excluded from work positions (by which they meant middle- and upper-class positions) that were open to Ottoman non-Muslim women. In the end, the Ottoman Phone Company had to print an explanation in KD, visit OMHNC and the KD office, and finally hire Muslim women. As I said, this was one of the biggest events of OMHNC, KD, and possibly all of the Second Constitution

women's organisations. This example reveals the three main characteristics of the Ottoman women's movements: class, an urban base, and ethnicity/religion.

Most Ottoman women involved in women's organisations during the late Ottoman Empire period were from elite, Muslim-Turkish, upper-class families and urban backgrounds. Despite being very diverse, they were part of a minority group (Arat, 1999b). Most had been educated at home by private tutors and were able to speak French, at least, and many had travelled[86]. Akşit (2010b), while reminding us of the argument that these Ottoman women had fathers and husbands in significant positions, argues that such connections were important but should not be exaggerated when analysing the Ottoman women's movement. As the above examples show, KD also imagined jobs for middle- and upper-class women; some researchers have pointed out that KD writers were more diverse and not necessarily from elite backgrounds (Bora T., 2017; Çakır, 2016).

This brings me to the second point: although KD writers may not have been as homogeneously elite as women working for other magazines, they all came from urban backgrounds. During this period, at least 80% of the Ottoman Empire was based on agriculture, with rural women working both in the field and at home (Pamuk, 1986). However, the demands for work made by Ottoman women's movements mainly related to modernisation, nationalism, and industrialisation. In the case of KD, for example, although some writers sent articles from cities outside of İstanbul, most describe themselves as outsiders and refer to rural women as an unknown category. Chapter 6 explains how KD constructed the category, 'Other'. The third point relates to ethnicity/religion. In the case of the Ottoman Phone Company, Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women argued, on the one hand, that Muslim women were deliberately excluded from work and deserved employment. On the other hand, they tried to build

[86] Ottoman working-class women are not mentioned here, not because they were not part of the Ottoman women's movements, but because they had minimal relations with Ottoman middle- and upper-class women in the case of KD magazine. However, women's labour, particularly in the textile and tobacco sectors, led to women engaging in strikes (Vardağlı, 2013; Quataert, 1993).

connections between Ottoman women from different ethnic and religious backgrounds (Çakır, 2016). This point is important mainly because contacts between Muslim and non-Muslim women's movements seem to have been very limited. The Ottoman Phone Company is a good example of the instabilities and contradictions within the categories: 'Turkish, Muslim, or Ottoman', pointing to the different, coexisting articulations of Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism.

In referring to the broader Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women's movement, I have previously mentioned women's magazines. According to Sancar (2012), the new magazines, newspapers, and printed materials published during the late Ottoman Empire were very important for 'imagining modernisation'. Thus, women's magazines are one of the most important sources for researchers of Ottoman women's movements (Brummett, 2000; Çakır, 2016; Sancar, 2012; Van Os, 2016). By 'women's magazine', I broadly refer to a set of magazines organised around the 'woman question' and modernisation. Around 40 women's magazines are known to have been published in the late Ottoman Empire, including many published by men. To be more precise, most of these magazines were initiated or published by men, a practice defined by some researchers as 'male feminism' (Demirdirek, 1999) These magazines included Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and Circassian publications[87]. The first known Muslim-Turkish magazine, *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (Progress of Muslim Women) was published in 1869 by men.

Some researchers see the Second Constitution period as an era that allowed women's magazines to flourish. Offering the promise of 'liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice', Sultan Abdulhamid II's censorship of the press was lifted by the CUP regime; this had several important impacts on social life, one of which involved the press (Brummett, 1999). The number of women's magazines increased, along with 'women's visibility',

[87] There was a Kurdish women's manifesto, but not a magazine.

by which I mean women using their own names in magazines, or, in some cases, organising a women-only magazine such as KD[88].

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter began with Temelkuran's dilemma in writing about her 'troubled country'. I want to finish with Abu-Lughod's dilemma:

> We all write in contexts, and when we come to write the history of 'the woman question' in the Middle East, we find ourselves caught: between the contemporary Egyptian or Iranian or Turkish context where Islamists denounce things Western, a label they, like many nationalist men before them, attach to feminism and a Euroamerican context where the presumption is that only Western women could really be feminists. How to get beyond this (Abu-Lughod, 1998b, p. 16)?

This is a question that haunts me as well. There is a need to avoid both an 'imitation' perspective and a Euro-centric or Western-centric perspective that undermines women's movements. That is why, in this chapter, I have traced the different dimensions of the woman question, both at the political/administrative level (through the Young Turks and Kemalism) and through its intellectual manifestations. I have shown that the ideas of modern knowledge and national categories were constructed in relation to the political agenda of the Ottoman Empire, which included war and economic dependency. Ottoman Muslim women's movements, in this framework, produced discourses around ideas of Europe and negotiated normativities of womanhood, situating their position on motherhood in relation to nationalist discourses. Building upon this context, the following analysis will focus on three main

[88] For all the magazines, see the bibliography in Toska *et al.* (1993). Çakır and Demirdirek also refer to some of these magazines such as*: Terakki-ı Muhadderat* (1869), *Vakit yahud Mürebbii Muhadderat* (1875), *İnsaniyet* (1883), *Hanımlar* (1883), *Suküfezar* (1886), *Mürüvvet* (1887), *Parça Bohçası* (1889), *Tercüman* (1906), *Kadın* (1908), *Demet* (1908).

themes: Europe, clothing, and motherhood. The following chapter begins with discussions around Europe.

Chapter 5 -
NEGOTIATIONS IN DISCOURSES ON 'EUROPE': THE PRODUCTION OF OCCIDENTALISM

5.1 Introduction

Orhan Pamuk, a Turkish winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature, has written about some of dilemmas, emphasising their affective dimensions:

> The [Turkish] Westernizer[89] is ashamed first and foremost of not being European. Sometimes (not always) he is ashamed of what he does to become European. He is ashamed that he has lost his identity in his struggle to become European. He is ashamed of who he is and of who he is not. He is ashamed of the shame itself; sometimes he rails against it and sometimes he accepts it with resignation. He is ashamed and angry when his shame is exposed (Pamuk, 2007, p. 213).

'Shame' is an interesting emotion to relate to the dilemmas of modernisation and nationalism in Turkey. Although Pamuk refers to 'he' in the passage above, women who engaged in modernisation had their own affective Europe-related dilemmas, including questions about what 'Europe' was. As Pamuk shows, Europe was both a desired and dangerous category for those engaged in modernisation: both being and not being European can be seen a national identity problem. Herstory approaches to women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire and early Republic of Turkey have shown that some women engaged in modernisation processes through various women's movements (Çakır, 2016; Demirdirek, 2011; Durakbaşa, 2017). The 'woman question' was a key component of modernisation that refers to the discussions of

[89] He uses the term, 'Westerniser'; however, I think this can be broken down into different types: Modernist, Kemalist, liberal conservatist, Muslim or non-Muslim, etc.

women's engagement with modernisation (Kandiyoti, 1992; Sirman, 2008). I therefore propose that national-identity dilemmas associated with 'Europe' should be analysed in relation to the 'woman question', as this chapter will do, following some poststructuralist feminist questions.

During modernisation processes in non-Western contexts, including the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, women who engaged with modernisation have complex relationships with Europe. In many different contexts, 'Europe'-related discourses, as a socio-political category, prompt debates about modernisation, nationalism, women's rights, and types of valuable 'modern' knowledge. Dilemmas about relations with 'Europe' appear in both positive and negative categories and are very significant in any analysis of women's subjectivity (Abu-Lughod, 1998b). 'Selective labelling' of 'good and bad' sides of Europe might appear to be a way of overcoming dilemmas about modernisation and nationalism, including the 'woman question' (Narayan, 1997) as forms of 'boundary making' of a nation. Returning to the case of the late Ottoman Empire, I will analyse negotiations of the engagement with modernisation in relation to discourses on 'Europe' in multiple ways, using articles written by Ottoman Muslim women. These negotiations will be analysed in relation to a discourse of power, focusing on conceptualisation of Occidentalism.

This thesis does not ask whether modernity (in relation to the term 'Europe') was good or bad for women, although this is a common question in the literature on Ottoman and Turkish women's relationship with modernisation (Sancar, 2012). Moreover, I do not aim to 'discover' whether women were a part of the modernisation process in the late Ottoman Empire. Thanks to some very important research, the involvement of women in the modernisation process is well documented (Çakır, 2016; Durakbaşa & İlyasoğlu, 2001; Sancar, 2012; Zihnioğlu, 2013). Instead, following a Foucauldian approach, this thesis asks why the term 'Europe' was widely discussed and what it referred to. What was said about it? What are the links between these discourses on modernisation and gender, and 'power' dynamics? What knowledge and exclusions

were formed as a result of this linkage[90]? In short, what work is 'Europe' doing in discussions of 'modern knowledge'? Following these questions, I will unpack the multiple and contradictory meanings of the term 'Europe', which was associated with progress and threats at the same time, in the case of KD. I will show how KD writers claimed their subjectivity through these complicated negotiations of the discourses on Europe during modernisation in relation to women's participation in nationalism.

With this aim in mind, this chapter begins by returning to Meltem Ahıska's conceptualisation of Occidentalism, which I find crucial in understanding KD's complex relationship with Europe. Secondly, I will analyse the way in which KD writers associated certain forms of knowledge with Europe as the 'progressive modern civilisation' and how they negotiated these 'modern knowledges' that also produced their subjectivity. Analysing the 'modern knowledges' of Europe requires a discussion of the contradictory usages of the term 'Europe'. Thus, thirdly, I will focus on meanings of the term 'Europe' that imply a threat to the 'economy' and 'culture' of the Ottoman Empire, by focusing on the ways in which the threat claim was important to subjectivity. Later, building on this analysis, I will analyse a discussion around non-Muslim Ottomans in order to emphasise the ethnonationalist dimension of Occidentalism. Finally, I will have a closer look at 'ambiguous solidarities' by focusing on KD's mentioning of European women's movements. This discussion will unpack the many forms that Ottoman women's involvement with articulations of modernisation and nationalism took during this period.

5.2 Occidentalism

Constructions of the 'West' or 'Europe', as a hegemonic category in non-Western modernisations, have attracted much scholarly attention (Chatterjee, 2004; Kandiyoti, 2010; Mohanty, 1984; Narayan, 1997; Said, 1995; Young, 2004; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Topics

[90] These questions are derived from Foucault's History of Sexuality vol. 1 (Foucault, 1990), where he questions the repressive hypothesis.

within this theme include the category 'subaltern' (Guha, 1997), the negotiation of religion (Mahmood, 2005; Najmabadi, 2005), multiple formations of nationalisms (Chatterjee, 2012; Fanon, 2001) and the position of women during this process (Abu-Lughod, 1998b; Al-Ali, 2003). As discussed in Chapter 2, Ahıska's comprehensive work has a special place in this research because she focuses on analysing the term 'Europe' to negotiate subjectivities. Before analysing KD's Occidentalism, this section will briefly revisit Ahıska's conceptualisation of Occidentalism.

As previously discussed, Ahıska (2010) has conceptualised Occidentalism differently from some researchers, pointing out that her usage of the concept does not refer to either a 'dangerous anti-Westernism' or a 'positive' Westernism. Building on the ambiguity of the term, she argues that the 'Other' as the East is produced not only through Orientalism, as Said (1995) argued, but 'also ... by the Other itself, aspiring to fill in the subject position' (Ahıska, 2010, p. 7). A claim to fill in the subject position is constructed through a negotiation process. Moreover, Occidentalism is a set of discourses that builds a regime of power and produces hegemonic discourse(s). Thus, Occidentalism does not refer to an internalised Orientalism, but is a resignification of the terms 'Orient' and 'Occident' in multiple non-Western contexts. While 'Orientals' employ their subject status, they negotiate the 'Otherness'. This means that 'a space for the positivity of the Other' opens up that is not simply a replica of an Orientalist understanding of the Other (Ahıska, 2003). In this way, Occidentalism does not mean the production of Orientalism in non-Western contexts, but the production and negotiation of Otherness in multiple ways.

Using the concept of Occidentalism, Ahıska analyses political subjectivities by following 'both discursive and non-discursive strategies[91] and tactics that "Orientals" employ in order to answer to the West' (Ahıska, 2010, p. 41). At the same time, a 'double

[91] Ahıska mentions 'non-discursive strategies' in reference to the psychoanalytic dimensions of Occidentalism. Psychoanalytic theories will not be used intensely in this thesis. For a psychoanalytic analysis of Turkish modernisation see: Ercel (2016).

reflection' of 'how the non-Western imagines the West sees itself' (Ahıska, 2003, p. 365) constitutes this subject status through an imagined 'Western gaze'. As can be seen, contradictions, complexities, negotiations and power regimes are very important in the concept of Occidentalism. I will follow these as well, analysing the strategies and tactics used by KD writers during the process of producing Occidentalism through discourses on the term 'Europe'.

Why refer to a binary of Orient and Occident in research based on a poststructuralist feminist perspective? The binaries between Orient and Occident, women and men, and modernity and religion have been criticised by many very important studies (Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997; Göle, 2012; Mohanty, 1984) with the aim of multiplying categories, which is one of the aims of this research as well[92]. As discussed in Chapter 2; however, Bhambra (2011) refers to the limitations of simply pluralising categories. Thus, in addition to emphasising 'multiplicities', I aim to analyse how the binary itself is constructed, negotiated, produced, and reproduced in hegemonic power regimes in order to understand the subjectivities. In other words, focusing on this binary should show how it produces new forms of knowledge, demarcates changing identities, subverts some binaries, and reproduces other normative binaries. My aim in unpacking the binary of 'Occident' and 'Orient' is similar to my usages of the categories women and men; I also analyse multiple constructions of femininities and masculinities throughout this thesis. Instead of accepting the binary, I identify multiple usages of these terms and locate the power relations between them. In the case of Ottoman modernisation, 'Occident' and 'Orient' generally appear in the binary of 'Europe' and 'Ottoman'; I investigate discourses on Europe because KD writers used this binary.

As previously mentioned, the modernisation process was underway in the Ottoman Empire when the women-only magazine KD appeared in 1913 (Demirdirek, 2011). KD developed a complicated, and sometimes conflictual, perspective on Europe, a topic

[92] For contemporary research on binary categories and Occidentalism see: Zeybek (2012).

that is somehow always present in its discussions of Ottoman women's 'progress and rights'. In the very first issue of KD, published on 17 April 1913, the opening article says:

> Women from Europe and America are producing books and booklets on the women's condition. They give very important speeches about women's law [...]. We Ottoman women want to join this effort of our kind [women] with our own social conditions, morals, and customs (KD, issue 1, p. 3).

This passage continues by declaring an intention to fight for women's rights as Ottoman women. Why and how did KD women refer to Europe (and rarely to America, implying North America) to claim women's rights in the Ottoman Empire? How did Europe appear as a term signifying both progress and threats at the same time? How was it used to claim subjectivity for women? The following section starts with the association between Europe and progress in scientific and technological knowledge, and the KD writers' relations with such knowledge, by investigating the concept of Occidentalism.

5.3 For Progress: truth claims, realities, and imitations

5.3.1 New directions for truth and knowledge: to Europe

In any state building, school, or hospital in contemporary Turkey, one is very likely to see a quotation signed by Atatürk, written in gold lettering: 'The best guide in one's life is *ilim*'[93]. *'İlim'* in Turkish means technological and scientific knowledge[94]. It refers to a specific form of 'modern' knowledge, which was strongly associated with European technological and scientific knowledge in the 20th century. *İlim*[95] as the 'guide' and

---

[93] '*Hayatta en hakiki mürşit ilimdir'* in Turkish.

[94] The word '*ilim'* is used in differently in some Islamic contexts; however, I refer to a usage in the context of modernisation, reflecting Atatürk's statement.

[95] In the case of Iran, the word ilim becomes elm (the same etymological root), with both words following the same word route. According to Balslev (2014), the word *elm* was replaced with another word, '*Danesh'*, during Iranian modernisation to refer specifically to Western technical and scientific knowledge. Changing of the meaning of a word or inventing a new word with a new

'means' for achieving progress was very much emphasised during the Ottoman process of modernisation, as well as by the Kemalist state. This section unpacks the usages of *ilim,* specific modern knowledge, and shows how it was associated with progress and argued about through 'truth claims' by KD writers claiming subjectivity.

The following is believed to be an Islamic hadith:[96] 'Even if *ilim* is in China, go and find it'. Here, China represents a 'faraway land', rather than a specific source of knowledge. This religious hadith means that, even though it is hard to reach and grasp 'knowledge', one should make an effort to find it. In one KD issue, the opening article modifies this hadith, writing: 'Everyone knows that today, *ilim* is not in China but in Europe' (issue 42, p. 422, '*Avrupa'dan Osmanlı Kızlarımızın Sedası*' [The Voice of Ottoman Girls from Europe]). This editorial argues that the 'source' that must be grasped is now in Europe. The term 'Europe' is complicated in this sentence. I want to unpack three important dimensions of this short but complex sentence: truth claims ('everyone knows that'), a temporal dimension ('today') and negotiation with religion (modifying a hadith).

I argue that the emphasis on 'everyone knows that' at the beginning of the hadith works as a truth claim. Truth claims 'normalize' arguments, working as norms to organise and distribute individuals in a certain way. The practice of repeating a 'truth claim' is a 'coherent reflective technique with definite goals' (Rabinow, 1986) and discourses can emerge from the techniques of truth claims (Sondergaard, 2002). 'Everyone knows that' is an example of the truth claims used in the late Ottoman Empire. These 'truth claims' were very frequently used by Ottoman intellectuals (Adak, 2019; Bora T., 2017), including KD writers[97]. Saying 'everyone knows that' aims

---

meaning are multiple strategies used in modernisation processes. In this case, the modernisation of Ottoman/Turkey provides an example of the former, while Iran represents the latter.

[96] Islamic sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad.

[97] Ottoman modernist ideology was very much influenced by 'scientism' and social Darwinism. This perspective claims 'objectivity' for social changes, making it easier to make 'truth claims'. For

to close down any suspicion that *ilim* might not be produced in Europe, presenting an 'unquestionable' argument that seems self-explanatory. KD editors use such phrases very often, stating: 'We *cannot question* the progress of [Western] European countries'; '*It is certain that* European women have been fighting for their rights and progress for a long time'; and 'We are not in a position to fight with European power, we should all *accept* that' (all emphases mine). At the same time, however, truth claims exist to convince. They are responses to the idea that something is 'not known for sure' or that it is questionable. The reason this KD article claims that 'everyone knows' is because the writer thinks 'not everyone knows' but 'everyone should know'. In other words, even though truth claims work as a norm to organise and distribute, they do not necessarily appear as a norm. In this way, truth claims are contradictory, being also a negotiation. As this example shows, the truth claim above is both a negotiation and an argument that *ilim* is in Europe.

Another important dimension to unpack in the sentence, 'Everyone knows that today, *ilim* is not in China but in Europe', is the emphasis on temporality: 'today'. The present itself is constructed socially and politically through geographical-temporal representations (Ahıska, 2003). Both space and temporality are constructed by global and local social dynamics and are 'a product of differential movements initiated and controlled by power structures that make and represent both space and time' (Ahıska, 2014, p. 164). Thus, emphasising 'today' implies a change in the global dynamics by pointing out a so-called new centre of *ilim* (in Europe); it asks for a change in the local dynamics by inviting readers to 'go and find' the new knowledge, *ilim.* This kind of homogenized temporality produced around the term 'Europe' aims to create an urge with the truth claim.

The third dimension I would like to emphasise is the modification in this truth claim: a negotiation between *ilim* and Islamic knowledge. I would argue that it is extremely

---

further research, this point can be analysed in relation to the aspects of eugenics discussed in Chapter 2.

important that this truth claim is a 'remaking' of a popular religious hadith. The importance of *ilim* could have been claimed by referring to a state official, proverb, or quotation from a European author; instead, a hadith as a religious sentence was 'resignified' in this case. By focusing on a non-Western context, Göle (2000) says that the discourse and practice of religion is appropriated and reinterpreted during modernisation[98]. Changes in women's lives had to be justified through their conformity with Islam in some Muslim contexts (Abu-Lughod, 1998b). Also, Bhabha explains Foucault's description of a process that 'one statement from one institution can be transcribed in the discourse of another' (1994, p. 33). Any change in a given meaning, usage, reinvestment, or alteration can lead to a new statement, or 'the difference of the same'[99] (Bhabha, 1994). I suggest that the very repetition of a hadith with a new argument creates a 'difference of the same' as a part of the negotiation. This is an example of how Europe is associated with 'progress' in a non-Western context, as part of a negotiation.

In conclusion, a sentence such as 'Everyone knows that today, *ilim* is not in China but in Europe' presents a truth claim, located in a temporal change, which negotiates knowledge in reference to both 'modern' knowledge and 'Islamic knowledge'. Tanıl Bora (2017) refers to two tendencies in these negotiations in Ottoman intellectual political thinking: commentators who wanted to return to the 'Islamic essence' (or Sharia law) and those who argued that Islam should be reinterpreted, based on contemporary conditions. The remake of a hadith by KD editors fits the second hermeneutic perspective, which aims to reinterpret knowledge. From a foundation of accepting the 'progressiveness' of European scientific and technological knowledge,

[98] This argument does not claim a binary between religion and modernity. Understanding modernisation through this binary has been very significantly criticised by many researchers (Bozdoğan*, et al.*, 1997; Kandiyoti, 2002; Scott, 2018; Yeğenoğlu, 2011).

[99] This term is very close to Judith Butler's (2002) concept of 'resignification'.

KD writers discussed why this kind of knowledge was important for women, as discussed in the following section.

5.3.2 'Stories told to children for the nation': necessary knowledges

What kind of knowledge of 'progress' did Europe hold, according to KD? Why would it be good to 'go and find *ilim*' there? What does *ilim* do? To follow these questions, it is necessary to explain the demarcations between Europe (them) and the Ottomans (us), according to KD. The constructed binary between the 'Occident' and the 'Orient', referring to a 'gap' between them, is one of the most important demarcations (Ahıska, 2003). The following striking quotation is from Emine Seher Ali's[100] article, published in KD:

> Let's set aside our men and work on our [women's] progress. [...] It is certain that there is a difference between a German mother who teaches her little but intelligent children about their ancestors, nation, Fredericks, Charlemagnes, and our mothers who put their dear children in fear and who transfer lazy feelings through ghost and *Carşamba karısı* [an evil female fairy tale character that kidnaps children] stories (Emine Seher Ali, issue 1. p. 5, *Kadınlıkta Seviye-i Irfan* [The Knowledge Level of Women]).

In this article, Emine creates a very visible dichotomy between a rational German (European-them) mother with *ilim* and an irrational Ottoman (us) mother without *ilim*. She implies that, through their *ilim,* European mothers contribute to nation building, while Ottoman mothers produce fear and laziness, due to the lack of *ilim* (simply telling ghost stories). In other words, Emine implies that ghosts do not exist, but nations do. From her perspective, the existence or lack of *ilim* among women determines whether the nation has a future.

[100] Emine Seher Ali was one of the core KD writers, publishing an article in nearly every issue from the launch of the magazine. I refer to her articles frequently in this chapter because she was one of the most active writers who mentioned Europe.

The 'gap' produced through the binary between (European-them) and Ottoman (us) is presented as enormous in the quotation above: the promise of progress and the fear of collapse of a nation. On the one hand, one might argue that Emine is saying that Ottoman women are simply ignorant and have no subject position because she insults 'Ottoman women'. However, I would not agree with this reading of 'no subjectivity'. Rather, I think that Emine is presenting Ottoman women as potential *ilim* holders and making the case that their position is important for the nation itself, rather than for individual women. In other words, she claims that women should engage with *ilim* instead of traditional forms of knowledge as part of their 'womanly responsibilities' such as motherhood.[101] Such a claim is strategically legitimised through women's significance for nation building. This is one of the common strategies of Ottoman women's movements: adopting nationalist positions, while demanding women's rights and their engagement with modernisation.

In a number of non-Western modernisation contexts, such as Iran, traditional forms of knowledge were feminised, while Western knowledge (or, in the Ottoman case, specifically *ilim*) was associated with elite masculinity (Balslev 2014). I suggest this kind of an association was very strong in the case of the Ottoman Empire as well. Consider, in the example above, the representation of the 'superstitious Ottoman woman' using traditional forms of mothering, versus the 'European woman with *ilim*'. Does Emine simply reproduce a representation of masculine Western knowledge and feminine non-Western knowledge? I suggest that she implies that European motherhood, performed through *ilim*, is still a form of femininity that Ottoman women can potentially hold, or indeed a form of femininity that they have to hold to inhabit the subject position 'correctly' during the nation-building process, once they too have *ilim*. In other words, by referring to the binary of European modern knowledge versus Ottoman traditional knowledge, Emine argues that Ottoman women should have *ilim*,

[101] I am very aware of the usage of 'motherhood' for the nation in Emine's article during the production of Occidentalism. I point to this dimension to be able to show the normative construction of the changes in relation to binary categories; this dimension will be further analysed in Chapter 7 as a strategy. Here, I specifically want to point out the *ilim* dimension.

undermining its masculine association. However, at the same time, she does this through referring to women's position as mothers, reproducing the normative association between womanhood and motherhood. The implication in her claim is that as 'mothers of the nation', they should engage with *ilim* for the sake of women's progress. Thus, the significance of women's progress appears in relation to women's 'capacity' to educate their children which can be seen as a contribution to the modernisation of the nation.

I argue that the Occident-Orient binary (or a reified usage of 'European modern knowledge') might undermine another binary, femininity and masculinity, through the emphasis on *ilim*, while still reproducing normative understandings of womanhood. Emine does not simply adopt an Orientalist understanding of 'lazy' Orientals by referring to the 'fear and lazy feelings' inspired by ghost stories, but negotiates the very subject position of women, who need to be 'active' for knowledge engagement with nation building. To sum up, she claims women's subjectivity, based on an Occidentalist perspective, both deviates from the association of *ilim* with masculinity and reproduces the norm of women as mothers. Does this suggest that Ottoman women wanted to 'imitate' European women's *ilim*? In the following section, I will discuss this complex question.

5.3.3 'Imitating' European *ilim?*

If 'Europe' was associated with desired progress and scientific and technological knowledge (*ilim)* and the Ottoman Empire was associated with 'backwardness' and ghost stories, how would the Ottoman Empire 'progress'? This evokes another significant question debated by Ottoman intellectuals and politicians: 'How to save the Ottoman Empire?' A desired position, for the Ottoman Empire to be informed by *ilim,*

is mentioned by Pakize Nihat,[102] in common with other KD writers. Her article refers to the 'success of Europe' and offers a way for the Ottoman Empire to progress:

> If women have the capacity to work like to men, why would we stop? We will work too[103]! [...] Why would not we work like *ecnebi*[104] [Europeans] women? In Europe, women want to be a part of social and work life. [...] For example, were Europeans who seem magnificent to us always like this? Because they liked to work, they worked together as men and women, they established industry, business, schools [...]. For example, England, France, and Germany built industry, business, schools for girls. The government assigns millions of Francs [French currency at the time] for these schools. [...] However, in our land we have neither industrial schools/education [for women] [...] nor industry. If all individuals, both men and women, work in our country, everyone would know their personality, and our nation would become strong (Pakize Nihat, issue 30. pp. 307–8, *Sanayi-i Nisvan* [Women's Industry]).

Here, Pakize cites a reified usage of Europe with its 'magnificence'. She thinks that Europe is magnificent because 'Europeans' work together as men and women, have established industry, business, and schools (all forms of *ilim*) for girls, and have governments that are invested in education. Like Emine, Pakize associates Europe with *ilim,* as a superior form of knowledge. In pointing to the Ottoman Empire's lack of characteristics that make Europe 'magnificent', she implies that the state needs to promote industrial development and financial investment in education. Associating European progress with armies, government, and 'control over modern technologies' was relatively common in non-Western contexts (Balslev, 2014, p. 548), as Pakize reiterates. Technology in the broader sense was considered part of being modern (Ahıska, 2010; Çelik, 2011); without it, the Ottoman Empire could not be strong. She

---

[102] She was not a regular writer; this article was written in response to an earlier one. Her written language is relatively hard to understand because she uses relatively complex language.

[103] Chapter 7 will conceptualise the specific usage of the term 'work' in the context of Ottoman modernisation. Here, as is clear from the context of the article, Pakize refers to occupation rather than a broader meaning.

[104] *Ecnebi* broadly means a citizen of another country; however, it generally refers to Europe, as in this quotation.

solves the question of 'how the Ottoman Empire will progress' by applying the *ilim* obtained through industry and education for girls to the Ottoman Empire. Does this assume an imitation of Europe?

The 'imitation problematic' is one of the most important discussions in the postcolonial literatures (Bhabha, 1994; Chakrabarty, 2000; Narayan, 1997). In these discussions, the notion of 'imitation' has been criticised for its implication that the East is a 'failed copy' of the West - 'failures of secular democracy, failures of nationalism, failures of enlightened modernity, failures due to the pull of tradition, travesties of modernity' (Abu-Lughod, 1998b, p. 18). Some scholars have suggested other concepts to replace concept 'imitation': 'translation and hybridization and even dislocation' (Abu-Lughod, 1998b, p. 18). This study uses 'imitation', mainly because it was frequently used by KD writers. I do not criticise or condone the use of 'imitation'; instead, I simply unpack ways of using the concept, which I enclose in quotation marks for the reasons mentioned by Abu-Lughod.

'Imitation' has two usages and functions in KD articles. One refers to an uncritical application of European culture to the Ottoman Empire, threatening the national identity of the Ottoman Empire. This is a mostly critical usage and carries potential danger according to KD writers, as I will demonstrate below. At this point, a different version of 'imitation' appears: the imitation of *ilim.* To promote paid jobs for women, education for girls, and state investment in education and industrialisation, do Pakize offer the imitation of Europe? From her perspective, *ilim* appears as a form of knowledge and mode of society that does not threaten the Ottoman Empire but, instead, incurs an obligation. Thus, Pakize mentions the superiority of the Occident, locating the Orient within a 'lack'. Using this lack, she suggests that women's participation in work would change Ottoman society, thereby expressing an Occidentalist point of view.

Pakize's suggestion about the Ottoman Empire has another interesting dimension. She thinks that Europeans, a homogenised and reified category, have *ilim* (education and industry). By contrast, the Ottoman Empire needs to encourage women and men to work together to 'know' themselves and make their nations strong; however, the

empire is *not there yet.* Chakrabarty unpacks the coloniser idea of considering many non-Western contexts underdeveloped or 'Third World'. From this coloniser perspective, some nations that are '*not yet*' civilized wait in an 'imaginary waiting room of history' (Chakrabarty, 2000, p. 8). He thinks that, from a coloniser perspective, this is 'a recommendation to the colonised to wait (p. 8)' as a depoliticisation project. However, in many anti-colonial contexts, some people insist that action be taken immediately or 'now' (p. 8). Pakize emphasises 'now' as well; her article begins with the words 'we will not stop' and 'we will work'. The modified hadith analysed above and its emphasis on 'today' points a similar invitation to take action immediately and to engage with *ilim.*

This is another way of claiming subjectivity in the late Ottoman Empire through the production of Occidentalism. I argue that here the dynamic is somewhat different to that of a coloniser's 'imaginary waiting room' that symbolically further renders the Other passive. Rather than a coloniser's 'imaginary waiting room', the '*not yet*' approach produces movement and demands, precisely because the Ottoman Empire is 'not there yet'. In other words, Pakize argues that there is a need for women to participate in 'social and work life', for girls to be educated, and for the country to industrialise *because* the Ottoman Empire is *'not there yet'.* By starting from a reified Europe and positioning the Ottoman Empire as the 'not there' Other, she gives women a subject position as the group that could enable the Ottoman Empire to 'get there'. Thus, the 'imaginary waiting room' becomes a 'panic room', where changes related to *ilim* must be made 'now' (otherwise, the nation will collapse), as a part of modernisation. The urgency of the panic room was crucial to an Occidentalist perspective, like the one advanced by KD, in order to claim subjectivity for women. Ahıska also argues that Occidentalist perspectives involve the idea of 'catching the train' of modernity (Ahıska, 2003), as shown here, in relation to women's subjectivity.

Section 3.1. analysed a KD editorial that referred to going and taking *ilim* from Europe. In 3.2., the importance of *ilim* for the nation is explained. In 3.3., a solution for the Ottoman Empire is unpacked. All of these points show that the production of Occidentalism was possible through a negotiation of religion in a temporal dimension, from a hermeneutic perspective. The binary of Occident and Orient occasionally

works to break another binary about femininities and masculinities of knowledge. According to the KD writers, desiring the 'superiority of Europe' in the form of *ilim* creates a space to claim subjectivity in the process of modernisation; this is urgent in their perspective, given the enormous 'gap' between progress and backwardness. Does this mean that the term 'Europe' was only associated with progress from an Occidentalist perspective? What other associations did 'Europe' have? The following section unpacks the danger of a Europe that 'enables and limits' (Ahıska, 2010) new subjectivities for Ottoman Muslim women, as investigated through KD magazine.

5.4 Against threat: Economy and culture

The *ilim* of Europe refers to an idea of progress, but what about 'non-*ilim* knowledges' of Europe? As previously explained, a selective understanding of the 'good' and 'bad' sides of Europe is a very common strategy in non-Western modernisation contexts (Bora T., 2005; Chakrabarty, 2000; Chatterjee, 1993a; Sancar, 2012) and during the production of Occidentalism (Ahıska, 2006). The 'dangers' of Europe, as well as the 'benefits' of modernisation, were extensively discussed in discourses on 'Europe' and the 'West' (Balslev, 2014; Bora T., 2017; Ercel, 2016). As Ahıska (2003) points out, the category of 'the West' was celebrated as a structure to follow, from the accepted backward position of the 'Orient', while, at the same time, being seen as a threat to the 'national values' and the very existence of a specific nation by many non-Western actors. This was particularly important for women because the demarcations of the 'nation' were produced in association with the 'woman question' (Amin, 2008; Chatterjee, 2013) and 'ideal national womanhoods' (Durakbaşa, 1999). I will show that ideas about the 'threats of Europe' had a significant influence on the way in which KD magazine claimed subjectivity in the production of Occidentalism. I will also argue that the 'threat' itself was gendered and that Ottoman Muslim women used this 'threat' strategically to support their claim on women's engagement with modernisation. Two specific European threats claimed by KD will be discussed below: economic and cultural threats.

5.4.1 'Europe in the Ottoman bread': Europe as an economic threat

The Ottoman Empire's economic dependence on European industry put it in an ambiguous position during the late Ottoman period (Deringil, 1998; Karakışla, 2014; Yelsalı-Parmaksız, 2017). Although this thesis will not attempt an economic analysis, I am very interested in the way in which this discourse on dependency' was discussed and circulated. Various Ottoman intellectual positions explain it in different ways; here, I will here focus on how the discourse of 'economic dependency' was produced through Occidentalism in relation to the debate on women's participation in the modernisation processes. Discussions about the Ottoman Empire's economic dependence on Europe indicate that this was one of the most important 'threats of Europe', especially in relation to production and consumption in the Ottoman Empire (Frierson, 2000). KD presented its own perspectives on this 'threat'. This section starts to unpack the discourses on the economic threat, showing how it was discussed as an aspect of the danger of being 'imperialised' and losing national power at the same time.

The Ottoman Empire's industrial investment was underway in the 19th century. It included women's employment in the manufacturing sector (Quataert, 2000). In 1913, the year KD's first 100 issues were published, Ottoman factories employed around 36,000 people; this figure included state and private factories across the entire Ottoman territory. Unfortunately, there are no data on how many of these workers were women (Quataert, 1993). The previous chapter showed how ongoing Balkan Wars prompted a transformation from Ottoman nationalism to Muslim and Turkish nationalism in Muslim and Turkish circles. In this context, Ottoman consumption practices changed to 'anti-Western, buy-local, and ultimately buy-Turk imperatives[105]' (Frierson, 2000, p. 246) on the way to a 'modern state' (Abou-El-Haj, 2005). Emine

[105] Some Ottoman intellectuals who wrote about the nationalist economy such as Ziya Gökalp (Gökalp, 1959) and Prens Sabahaddin (Bora T., 2017).

Seher Ali[106] was one of the women who backed this position. In a KD article, she explains that she wanted to investigate Turkish production in her daily shops:

> We[107] have visited many different shops, but we could not even find a matchstick that we produce. [...] In our land, there is nothing that is not imported from Europe. All of our own richness is flowing to Europe with a dazzling speed. [...] We are a rural country; however, even the flour of our bread is coming from Europe, even America. What happens to the wheat of Anatolia [referring to Asian part of current Turkey]? Why is wheat coming from America cheaper than wheat that comes from Ankara? (Emine Seher Ali, issue 8. pp. 74–5, *İstihlake Doğru* [Towards Consumption])

The Ottoman Empire did produce some goods in its own factories; the main product was cotton (Quataert, 1993). Emine may not have had access to shops selling this product; alternatively, she may have avoided mentioning them for the sake of her argument. In any case, it is impossible to know 'the facts' and irrelevant to this research in any case. However, the way in which she claims that she cannot find even basic products (matchsticks) produced in the Ottoman Empire presents European and American imports as a threat, and is therefore important. She questions why rural-based Ottoman people cannot produce food for the Ottoman Empire, and considers this situation a 'betrayal'. The wheat should be produced by 'us' and improve the economy, 'richness' should not 'flow to Europe'. Referring to the 'richness' of the land is one of the most common characteristics of banal nationalism (Özkırımlı, 2017); it too is visible here. The mystery that Emine adds is a part of this banal nationalism: the national product (wheat) exists, but Europe or 'even America' somehow makes it disappear to an even more distant place. In these words, Emine points out that 'we', the Ottoman Empire, can and should produce and consume 'our' own products as a part of the 'national economy'.

---

[106] A regular KD writer.

[107] She does not specify what she means by 'we' but it is likely she refers to KD editorial.

Who is responsible for Europe's 'unfair' economic access to the Ottoman Empire, according to KD writers? In some cases, as the quotation below shows, the actors responsible for Europe being an economic threat are visible:

> Even our children's food is sent by Europe. Europe thinks about whether our children are robust [strong enough to do physical work] or not. In the future, they should be able to carry loads, should be good porters, they imply. [I saw] another advertisement from Europe: Nestle milks. They write with capital letters: 'Pure Swiss milk. The best food for your children'. Then in lower case: 'All of the doctors and paediatricians in the world prove that Nestle milk is good for children'. [...] This milk is produced by cows in Switzerland. The producers are Swiss women and the advisors are the company called Nestle. [...] Don't we have any doctors who love their nation and the children of our nation and cannot they establish a small company even it is different? (Atiye Şükran, issue 26. 264–5, *İşimiz Hep Buna Benzer* [Common Characteristics of Our Way])

Atiye[108] is critical of Europe's dominance over the Ottoman economy because she thinks Europe wants the Ottoman Empire to be physically strong, implying a colonisation threat from European countries. In Atiye's words, physical work appears to imply this European colonisation threat, which even affects children's food. By pointing to a multi-national company (Nestle)[109] – one of the companies that increasingly entered the Ottoman market after 1908 (Toprak, 1995) – she refers to the *ilim* side of Europe, which the Ottoman Empire should adopt through 'doctors and paediatricians.' Thus, she finishes the quotation with the suggestion or desire that Ottoman doctors with 'love of their nation' should establish a small company. Atiye also refers to 'national cows' and 'Swiss women', implying that women should work in national production to industrialise the Ottoman Empire. There are two actors in her words: Europe as a coloniser that will make the Ottoman Empire stronger and docile at the same time, and the Ottoman Empire as a nation that can prevent this by developing a national economy based on scientific and medical innovation, similar to

[108] Atiye Şükran was a regular writer for the magazine.

[109] For an interesting analysis of the Ottoman market and the advertising strategies used in it, namely by Nestle, in relation to globalisation and national economy, see Köse (2008).

European economies. In other words, the Ottoman people gain subjectivity and become significant in response to the threat of the Occident. The fear of colonisation contributes to the emergence of the idea of the 'Ottoman nation' being 'economically dependent', which refers, in this context, to industrialisation – as Atiye's emphasis on 'love the nation' shows.

However, the discourses on 'Europe' in KD magazine did not focus exclusively on the economic threat; they were more complicated than that. In another article, Atiye claims that Europe's progress is due to its 'industrial success'. The following quotation comes from an article published nine days after the one above:

> When will we understand? When will we progress? When will we build factories? Each nation built their factories, made their people work. They make bread for hungry people [...]. If you go to a foreigner's house you will see the young are smiling, the elderly people are happy. Everyone is happy (Atiye Şükran, issue 35. p. 355, *Yirmi Sene Evvel* [Twenty Years Ago]).

In Atiye's approach, 'each nation' means Europe. 'Foreigner' means Europe. 'Everyone' means Europe. She also associates Europe with industrialisation, implying that a country without industrialisation cannot be 'happy'. I will unpack this particular 'promise of happiness' (Ahmed, 2010) later in the thesis (Chapter 7). Here, let me focus on the contradictions appears in the production of Occidentalism. Bhambra (2016) points out that industrialisation was considered a purely European process, even though global conditions led to its emergence and articulation. Atiye herself adopts this attitude, associating Europe with 'each nation, foreigner, everyone' and seeing industrialisation as a European process. In the process, she posits the Ottoman Empire as a non-European entity. Çağlar Keyder refers to a 'mercantile-bourgeois' group in the Ottoman Empire that was critical of the 'slow pace of economic and political change' (1997, p. 33). I do not have enough information about Atiye's class, but she does refer to the slow pace of change, which should 'speed up' for the 'happiness' of young and elderly people, as found in Europe. Atiye positions Europe as hardworking and deserving of progress in the second article – and as an unfair coloniser in the first. She argues that the Orient must take action in relation to the Occident, regardless of whether it is a 'threat' or a 'good example'. This example illustrates the contradictions that produced Occidentalism.

In conclusion, the socio-political category 'Europe' was associated with industrial progress by KD, but also seen as a threat to the Ottoman Empire. The threat of Europe's economic dominance was the reason the Ottoman Empire needed to take action, according to KD writers. Moreover, I have shown that the 'threat' was not simply a 'threat', but was contradictory. The same author can associate Europe with progress and threat at the same time to encourage the Ottoman Empire to become 'economically independent', specifically from Europe. I will analyse how the 'economic threat' posed by Europe created a debate among KD writers who showed different forms of 'threat'. Before doing this, it is important to show how discourses on Europe also appeared as a 'cultural threat' specifically in relation to non-*ilim* knowledge; this will be analysed below.

5.4.2 'Smell like the Occident': Europe as a cultural threat

'Taking the *ilim* of the West and avoiding its immorality' was often part of the modernisation discourse during the late Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey; in this, it resembled other non-Western modernisation processes (Bora T., 2017; İlkkaracan, 2008b; Makdisi, 2002; Yılmaz, 2013). This statement implies the 'fantasy' of being a 'modern' state (or Empire), building factories, and catching up with civilised countries, while never being 'assimilated' by the culture or non-*ilim* knowledge of Europe (Ahıska, 2003). Which types of knowledge are considered *ilim* and which are considered forms of 'assimilation'? The answer involves a set of dynamic selective processes of negotiation that need to be investigated through Occidentalism in non-Western contexts (Koğacıoğlu, 2011, p. 186-187). As previously mentioned, separating the 'good and bad sides' of the West as aspects of modernisation was an important dynamic in this selective process, in relation to and for women, who were considered to be a category for this demarcation (Ahıska, 2000; Chatterjee, 1993a; Kandiyoti, 1996; Narayan, 1997).

So far, this thesis has explored the KD women's efforts to balance modernisation and protect national identity (as in Pakize and Emine). Now, I want to emphasise the effort to balance and link modernisation to the production of Occidentalism and subjectivity.

Nazife Mehmet Ali, for example, wrote an article in KD magazine entitled, 'We should conserve our nationality'. This is an excerpt:

> If people do not protect their nationality, they will not exist. [...] Three million foreigners [*ecnebi*] who live in our society take enormous amounts of money from us by their business and they would not even hire someone who knows our language [Turkish with Arabic letters]. They not only keep their own language and customs, but also spread them. [...] But we just imitate their acts as if we do not have our own unique manners. We use Latin letters in our post offices and the rings on our fingers. [...] We are only proud of saying we bought something from Bonmarche or Karlman [famous European fashion brands of the time]. [...] I do not intend to say we should not learn *ecnebi* [European in this context] languages and culture. We should learn them. However, we should not forget and not let anyone else forget about our nationality (Nazife Mehmet Ali, issue 31. 320–1, *Milliyetimizi Muhafaza Edelim* [We should Conserve Our Nationality]).

In Nazife's article, Europe appears as both a cultural and economic threat to 'Ottoman nationality'. The economic threat, as the previous section explained, can be seen in examples of 'foreigners taking money from Ottomans' via European companies and famous fashion brands; it relates to the consumption of the Ottoman people. The economic threat casts interesting light on the links between Europe as a cultural and economic threat. In the quotation above, the 'Ottoman people' as a national category are responsible for buying these fashion brands, 'imitating them' and 'forgetting their nationality'. That comment is followed by the use of Latin instead of Arabic script by the Ottoman people. Nazife says that Ottomans should learn 'European languages and culture' (an example of the 'good side' of Europe), but that national identity should be protected. Thus, although she starts by criticising European business in the Ottoman Empire for not hiring Ottoman people, the imagined audience is the Ottoman people in this case. Nazife points out that *they are the ones* 'who should not forget and not let anyone forget their nationality'. In short, by referring to the threat of Europe, she calls for the Ottoman people to be active as national subjects. This shows the ethnonationalist dimension of her Occidentalist perspective. The boundary between nativism and foreignness is visible in Nazife's references to language (with Latin letters), consumption of European products, and trade. Even though the word 'foreigner' indicates European trade in the quotation above, the literal usage of the word foreigner (*ecnebi*) can refer to non-Muslim and non-Turkish groups living in the Ottoman Empire as well. For example, in the rest of her article, Nezihe says:

'Companies in our nation employ French-, English- or Greek-speaking workers and forget our existence' (Nazife Mehmet Ali, issue 31. 320–1). The very appearance of Greek in this list shows how the category of foreigners can get blurry. What is referred to as 'our nation' and 'our existence' in Nazife's emphasis, can easily refer to a hegemonic Turkish and Muslim 'nation' rather than a (relatively/potentially inclusive) Ottoman category. In conclusion, even though there is a boundary between the 'foreigner' Europeans and the Ottoman nation, the production of a hegemonic power from an ethnonationalist perspective within the Ottoman Empire was not only limited to these two categories. Moreover, the appearance of the category of 'foreigners' did not serve just to negotiate the relation between the Ottoman nation and European nations, but also between different ethnic groups within the nation. The ambiguous usage of the category of 'foreigners', framed through an Occidentalist perspective, points to a complicity with ethnonationalism that both positions Ottoman people as the national subject and also excludes non-Muslim and non-Turkish Ottomans from this position.

As previously discussed, Chatterjee (1993a) explains 'the good and bad sides' of Europe as a 'selection' in non-Western modernisation by referring to two main domains: (1) the outer domain, which refers to accepted Western superiority in areas such as the economy, statecraft, and science and technology (very similar to the Ottoman debates introduced through *ilim*); and (2) the inner domain that is the 'national entity', where the aim is to retain essential marks of cultural identity. These domains are used very widely in research on the Ottoman and Republic of Turkey modernisations to explain the dilemma (Ahıska, 2010; Berktay, 2003; Berktay, 2012; Bora A., 2010; Köroğlu, 2012; Sirman, 2008; Sirman, 2011; Zihnioğlu, 2013). Here too, they are helpful. In Nazife's argument, the 'inner domain' refers to the 'nationality' that must be protected from the necessary European language and culture. However, what kind of knowledge was needed for the 'inner domain' for women? Emine, one writer who focused on Europe, made this point:

> In the bookstores, there are only three books about women: 'Feminism in Islam', 'Learning from Disaster' and the 'Lady Book' but none of them touch our lives and they cannot teach us our duties. 'Feminism in Islam' and 'Lady Book' were written by men and they smell like the Occident. Without any doubt, these kinds of translation-like books are a poison for our nation, which we hold on to. What does it mean to celebrate womanhood – and how is it

> beneficial to teach French customs to Turkish women? [...] We do not know how to raise a child – then why it is important to know how to behave during eating? Then we would leave the table hungry (Emine Seher Ali, issue 27. pp. 273–4, *Vezaif-i Nisvan* [Women's Tasks]).

Emine finds learning 'French customs' irrelevant to Ottoman Muslim women during modernisation. Perhaps worse than irrelevant, as she defines the book written by men as 'smell[ing] like the Occident' and as a 'poison'. But, she does refer to another necessary form of knowledge that she associates with Europe: raising children. Women engaging in motherhood practices through 'modern knowledge' and discussing modernisation through their motherhood positions are considered to be very important during modernisation initiatives in non-Western contexts (Amin, 2008; Najmabadi, 2005). I will also develop this point through my concept of 'scientific motherhood' in Chapter 7. It refers to making the link between the *ilim* of Europe and the motherhood of a nation, arguing that women can and should engage with European *ilim* knowledge for the sake of the nation. Here, I want to mention the selective usages of European knowledge. Ahıska rightfully argues that 'nation and modernity are not just necessary conditions of each other, but that national identity is also at the core of being modern' (2010, p. 42). Here, in Emine's example, the selection of 'good knowledge' of Europe occurs through a positive association with *ilim* while national identity is constructed through avoiding 'Western' cultural practices, for which she uses the example of 'table manners'. She defines 'national' productions, such as books about 'Western' cultural practices, as 'smelling like the Occident'. This means that the very idea of 'national' is constructed through and in relation to the idea of the 'Occident', as Ahıska points out. Emine also refers to the 'smell of the Occident' and the threat of Europe in relation to 'womanhood'. The selective process itself, she argues, is significant for women because they raise children and do not need to learn about non-*ilim* aspects of Europe, such as table manners. Later in this research, I will show how disappointment with the lack of 'related' knowledge for women about modernisation is used by KD writers to claim their own subjectivity in the modernisation process, through their motherhood positions.

To conclude this section, building on the argument that Europe appears as both as a 'danger' and as 'progress', from an Occidentalist perspective, I have analysed the ways in which the term 'Europe' refers to economic and cultural 'threats' against the

Ottoman Empire, and how this very threat also shaped the subjectivity of KD writers. Analysing the complex and contradictory usages of the term Europe allows me to reveal the articulations of gender, modernisation and nationalism in the specific case of Occidentalism. I must now analyse the multiplicities of ideas about the 'nation' in relation to Turkish-Muslim women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire. The following section will therefore analyse the ways in which Occidentalism was produced in women's movements with different emphasis on the 'nation'.

5.5 Occidentalist nationalism: to fight or to progress?

Studies of women's involvement in nationalist movements are gradually raising new questions about various topics, such as subjectivity, political organisations, and negotiations of the role of the state, private, and public spheres (Agnes, 2000; Al-Ali, 2003; Altınay, 2004; Balslev, 2014; Jayawardena, 1986; Liinason, 2018; West, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Women's involvement with nationalism can be performed in very different ways, based on varying ideological frameworks and contexts (Ahıska, 2014; Chehabi, 1993; Sinha, 2000; Sirman, 2011; Spivak, 2000) In this section, I will have a closer look at the nationalism of KD through referring to a debate which unfolded in the early pages of the magazine. I will show how analysing ethnonationalism is indistinguishable from the production of Occidentalism, as previously indicated. In one of its main arguments, this thesis suggest that the process of modernisation and nationalism produced its own gendered meanings and that those gendered meanings were negotiated by some Ottoman Turkish Muslim urban women themselves. Focusing on a debate in KD about the 'national economy' in the late Ottoman Empire, I will present multiple articulations of modernisation and nationalism that I find crucial to understanding the production of Occidentalism. It will also allow me to show how different 'tones' in Occidentalist perspectives can overlap.

The debate I refer to was between Nezihe Muhlis (later Muhiddin)[110] and KD writers in the magazine who supported one or the other[111]. Before introducing the debate, I would like to introduce Nezihe, who became one of leading women campaigning for women's right to vote in 1923, before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey and ten years after she wrote to KD. As Yaprak Zihnioğlu's (2013) ground-breaking work showed, Nezihe wanted to establish a Women's People's Party (*Kadınlar Halk Fırkası*) in the Kemalist Parliament in 1923, even before women's suffrage. This was not allowed and she was gradually excluded from the political arena.[112] Zihnioğlu explains that Nezihe was born in 1889 (she died in 1958) and was educated both at school and at home. She worked in different roles in education during her lifetime. Her first novel *Şebab-ı Tebah* (Wasted Youth) was published in 1911, two years before she wrote to KD. In her book, Zihnioğlu shows how the new Kemalist Republican state encouraged only an 'ideal Republican woman' who devoted herself to contributing to the Kemalist ideology, and excluded others. Ten years before her attempt to establish a Women's People Party in Republican Turkey, Nezihe was giving speeches to some audiences of women in İstanbul during the late Ottoman Empire period[113]. One of her speeches was

---

[110] Muhlis was Nezihe's husband's name at the time; after her divorce she was known as Nezihe Muhiddin. Muhiddin was her father's name; she used it during her younger life and after her second marriage as well (Zihnioğlu, 2013). As mentioned in Chapter 3, Ottoman people had no surnames before the foundation of the Republic of Turkey; however, Muslim women used their husband's or father's names as their second names. Muslim men also used their father's names as their second names.

[111] Although Nezihe's speech and responses to criticisms were published in KD, I have not categorised her as a KD writer at this point. This is because her perspective was quite different from that of other women who wrote to KD, as can be seen in their reaction to her published speech. I have made this separation between Nezihe and the KD writers to introduce the debate and separate these two positions.

[112] For information about the book *The Turkish Woman*, written by Nezihe Muhlis in 1931, see: (Baykan, 1994; Adak, 2007).

[113] For a comparison between Nezihe Muhlis and Hayganuş Mark (an Armenian Ottoman women's magazine editor), see: Bilal*, et al.*, (2006).

held at the modern university (*Darülfünun*) in İstanbul when she was 24 years old and published in KD's third issue, on April 19, 1913. This is a part of her speech:

> Ladies! Until now, whenever I meet with my comrades, I talk about the economics of my land as much as I can understand. Because I think the reason for the disaster in my nation is due to that. I have searched for answers as much as I can, and I think that the only result is to consider [rethink] our economics. [...] Current treaties [with European countries] are our death edicts (Nezihe Muhlis, issue 3. p. 27, *Konferans* [Conference]).

The treaties that she defines as 'death edicts' were the trade concessions, tariff barriers, and capitulations, giving some commercial privileges to some Western countries, which were introduced in the 16th century to encourage them to enter the Ottoman market (Eldem, 2006; Kılınçoğlu, 2015; Quataert, 2005). As the previous chapter explained, many Ottoman Muslim and non-Muslim politicians and intellectuals considered these treaties to be one of the main explanations for the Ottoman Empire's economic dependence on Europe. Nezihe opposed those treaties, as the passage above indicates. Later in her article, she referred to economic agreements that allowed European merchants to establish businesses without paying taxes; European merchants were not obligated to use the Ottoman Muslim legal system and could open and control post offices for their own use. She continues in the same article:

> So, they dismiss our right of *beka* [comfort or the situation of living without danger], right of liberty, honour of nation. Ladies! These rights would not be given, they would be taken. [...] Thus, we, women as one of the most important elements of the great Ottoman nature, should struggle against Christians and unchangeable Europeans. [...] If needed, we should do our shopping from Muslim people only [Ottomans, not non-Muslim Ottomans]. Safety, the future of our nation, and the happiness and well-being of the nation depend on this. [...] Europeans do not want to do a mutual economic deal [...] As the reason for that, they say: 'we are Christians and they are Muslims; the law of the state is the law of the Christians; Muslims cannot benefit from it; there is not equality between Muslims and Christians; Christians will always come first' [...]. You [Ottoman] are the girls of great Ottomans who give fear to Vienna land, the India sea, the Spanish coast, and the Hungarian plain (issue 3. pp. 28–29)!

Nezihe's perspective was not completely new at the time. Criticism of foreign capitals entering the Ottoman Empire was a popular topic among Muslim and Ottoman intellectuals from the late 19th century onwards (Bora T., 2017; Çetinkaya, 2014). These included the Young Turks (CUP), who were promoting the idea of a 'national economy'

at the time. Zihnioğlu (2013) has explained Nezihe's engagement with Young Turks (CUP). This national economic ideology or 'modernised paternalist economy ideology' occurred in early modernisation (Kandiyoti, 1991a; Yelsalı-Parmaksız, 2017), with Europe being seen as an 'economic threat'. However, Nezihe refers to a perspective that emerged in the early 19th century, which argued that the liberal economy devalued the work of Muslims and Ottomans, valuing non-Muslim foreigners and non-Muslim Ottomans (Toprak, 1995); this perspective was prompted by the Balkan Wars. Nezihe makes a very similar point about 'Westoxication' (Najmabadi, 2005), making a distinction between Muslim and Christian separation.

Previously, I have not mentioned any Christian identity during the discussions about Europe, because it is very rare to see a reference to Europe's Christian identity in KD articles. However, as the quotation shows, Nezihe saw Europe as a 'Christian society' that selfishly looked after its own economic profits, benefitted from an 'unfair economic deal', oppressed Muslim Ottomans, and enjoyed it. Building on a clear distinction between 'Muslim Ottomans' and 'Christian Europeans', Nezihe reflects on the Ottoman Empire's 'glorious past' and Ottoman Muslims' 'rights' and 'honour'. According to her, the Ottoman Empire's glorious past involved conquering and occupying territory in Vienna, India, Spain, and Hungary[114]. Zihnioğlu (2013), who conducted research on Nezihe's political life, argues that, in Nezihe's novels, Nezihe depicts Turkish-Muslim women who send their children to war to defend their country. She says that Turkish-Muslim women should be valiant, rather than soft, to support their 'heroic men'[115]. In other words, she believed that Turkish-Muslim women should support men from their own ethnic group for the sake of the nation. This perspective was not specific to the case of Ottoman Empire. Multi-ethnic,

[114] Few of these wars were 'successful' for the Ottoman Empire.

[115] It is not possible to read Nezihe Muhlis' novels without further archive research as no new editions have been published. I am therefore using Zihnioğlu's research here.

multilinguistic, and multi-religious territories had to deal with a unifying state patriotism (Hobsbawm, 1997) that resembled Nezihe's own nationalist perspective.

Another common strategy, visible in Nezihe's approach as well, is looking to a 'glorious past' and a 'potential future' (Ahıska, 2003; Özkırımlı & Sofos, 2008). This is a common approach within KD's Occidentalism. Nezihe cites a 'glorious past' to claim the 'greatness' of the Ottomans, especially in relation to conquering lands, as the passage above shows. Thus, she desires a future for the Ottoman Empire that emphasises Muslim identity. Similarly, KD writers refer to the Ottoman Empire's loss of economic, political, and military power, demonstrated by calling it the 'sick man of Europe'. They envision a 'potential future' that follows the 'greatness' of Europe, while resisting the 'threat' of Europe at the same time. To sum up, Nezihe's 'defensive nationalism' was not necessarily in contradiction with an Occidentalist perspective. Rather, with her emphasised ethnonationalism, Nezihe's clear anti-Westernism also has an implied idea of progress that is associated with Europe. Her subjectivity is also shaped through related, albeit different, negotiations of 'good' and 'bad' parts of Europe given that nationalism and the political tools adopted for nationalist causes were not outside of what was regarded as modern. Thus, Occidentalism is not a single construction but can emerge in different ways with different emphases.

Returning to the debate between Nezihe and KD editors, Nezihe's emphasis on Christian identity is - as I argued above - quite different from KD's general approach, even though both of their perspectives can be classified as Occidentalist. KD did not talk much about the Christian identity of Europe, different than Nezihe. KD writers might think the very emphasis on the Christianity of Europe might work against their desired association with 'progress' and 'Europe'. It is not possible to know the intention, but it is possible to follow their way of reacting to Nezihe's fervent emphasis on Christian Ottomans. In the issue published only one day after Nezihe's speech was published, Emine wrote a direct criticism of her:

> Without a doubt, education means active thinking. There are some means for awakening of the nations: mainly schools, newspapers, meetings. Without enlightenment, there is no hope for progress and development [...] Let's forget the issue of fighting against Europe for the moment [referring to Muhlis]. It is not possible, logical, rational. Ignorance can only be solved with *ilim*. However,

> we do not even know science yet. [...] We should not forget [Ottoman] men can only progress thanks to us (Emine Seher Ali, issue 4, pp. 34–5, *İktisat* [Economy]).

As the passage above shows, the KD writers did not welcome Nezihe's emphasis of a 'Christian' Europe. Unlike Nezihe, Emine believed that 'fighting against' Europe should not be an aim because it was 'not possible, logical, or rational'. In other words, Emine thought that Nezihe's nationalism was not based on 'modern knowledge' or 'rationality'. Instead, she argued that *ilim* should be at the centre of Ottoman modernisation and pointed to 'enlightenment', 'ignorance' and 'knowing science'. I have analysed another article, in which Emine said that the Ottomans should develop a national economy because 'Europe' itself was an economic threat to the Ottoman nation. Thus, they both have an understanding of Europe as a threat (which does not mean Europe only appeared as a threat, as I have shown). However, although Emine criticised 'Europe' as well, she objected to 'fighting against Europe' in the way Nezihe suggests. Emine's view of Muslim Ottoman women and non-Muslim Ottomans was one of the bases of the KD editors' criticism of Nezihe:

> But, in every point we need to keep our mildness, persistence, steadiness; and also, we should avoid extremism. We think, dear daughter Nezihe Muhlis' speech was very short tempered. We think it is due to her level of excitement, her young age. Maybe we are getting older and it is hard for us to understand this young soul. Her way of talking to an audience is very good. However, she seems like she moves away from womanhood [does not talk about womanhood, loses the main focus] and she refers to non-Muslim issues. We [KD editors] advise dear Nezihe *itidal* (mildness) (Emine Seher Ali, issue 4. p. 35, *İktisat* [Economy).

Both Emine and Nezihe mention the significance of women's engagement with nationalism and claim that change cannot happen without women. For Emine, the change means achieving 'enlightenment' for the nation through *ilim*; for Nezihe, the change means fighting against Europe for and by the Ottoman Muslim nation. The former says, 'Ottoman men can only progress thanks to us', while the latter describes women as 'one of the most important elements of the great Ottoman nature'. However, Emine describes Nezihe as 'moving away from womanhood', implying that Nezihe does not talk about women as her main aim. One key difference is their attitudes toward Ottoman non-Muslims. Emine is critical of Nezihe's suggestion that Muslims

should not buy goods from Ottoman non-Muslims. It is the association with progress (by education, being logical and rational, and science) through *ilim* that Emine sees as more important than 'fighting with Europe'.

It is important to remember the complex relationship between Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans in the early twentieth century, mainly after the declaration of the Second Constitution in 1908. I do not aim to analyse the very comprehensive social and political developments at the time, as has already been done in some very interesting works (Quataert 1983; Brummett 2000; Cetinkaya 2014). However, I want to remind us how politically charged the category of 'non-Muslim Ottoman' could be at the time. I have already mentioned some of the hegemonic ideas about non-Muslim Ottomans: The idea of Ottomanism was based on a notion of 'Ottoman citizenship' that could include Ottoman non-Muslim people with the aim of preventing their engagement with nationalist movements. Also, some Muslim/Turkish nationalists accused non-Muslim Ottomans of having benefited from the newly industrialising society more than Muslims did. Maybe most importantly, the political violence of the Ottoman state was very much in evidence at this time, including the Armenian pogrom in 1909 which happened in the city of Adana (Adak 2019). Nezihe's Occidentalism reflected a more visible Christian understanding of Europe, and an ethnonationalism that is exclusive of non-Muslim Ottoman. While KD writers were critical of being openly against non-Muslims, they did not politicise the growing modernist violence. For example, in the quotation above, Nezihe's exclusionary emphasis on Ottoman non-Muslims was considered as a 'moving away from womanhood' by Emine. Emine's perspective suggests that a specific focus on womanhood does not allow one to be anti-non-Muslim; however, it also does not allow one to problematise such a perspective within the women's movements. Combining women's rights' demands with modernist violence over minority Others of the Ottoman Empire seems 'out of focus'. In other words, in order to inhabit (some) women's place in 'progress' and 'development' in the modernising Ottoman Empire, the violence and exclusions inflicted on Other women were not featured in the magazine. In this way, KD's perspective is both a potential for further alliances with non-Muslim Ottoman women's movements and also a complicity with exclusionary ethnonationalist positions.

Returning to the emphasis on 'moving away from womanhood' that Emine used in order to critique Nezihe, Emine also emphasises 'mildness, persistence, steadiness', as opposed to being short tempered. In the context of the article, 'moving away from womanhood' refers to not talking about women's demands, ignoring women's movements, and engaging with other movements. It also refers to the association of 'mildness, persistence, steadiness' with femininity and 'short tempered' with masculinity. In addition, the KD editors wrote the following editorial, as part of the debate with Nezihe:

> We can talk about the civilisation of life which will create the progress of our nation. A civilised nation would defend itself to not to be erased by other civilised countries. However, to be able to do that, the means is not only [international] politics, or only war. The biggest power is economics, art, labour. Oh, who will save our poor country, which is economically dependent on Europe? Our men? No, we do not expect anything from them anymore. Our only hope lies in womanhood (KD, issue 21. pp. 208–9, *Cesaret-i Medeniye* [Courage]).

In this quotation, the KD editors associate war and 'politics', meaning parliamentary politics, with masculinity and economics; they associate art and labour with femininity. KD editors locate 'women' as the subject of 'hope' for the sake of modernisation. In this response to Nezihe, KD editors mention 'our men' and 'womanhood'. Locating 'our men' as a part of the country that is 'economically dependent' on Europe, it is clear that 'our' refers to a national context. In other words, this editorial does not emphasise Muslim or non-Muslim categories, but just 'our men'. As seen in this quotation, the 'our' does not always refer to exclusively Turkish and Muslim categories but stands ambiguous in order to keep the focus on the demands of women's movements in the Ottoman Empire, with 'woman's way of doing politics' as the only hope. What does it mean to challenge 'men's way of doing politics'? How was the Ottoman women's movements negotiated in relation to European women's movements? In the following section, I will analyse the categories of European women and Ottoman men with the aim of further reflecting on the negotiation of 'our men'.

5.6 Ambiguous solidarities: European women and Ottoman men

One other writer in the magazine, Meliha Zekeriya, describes suffragette movements in her article, named 'How are women working' (issue 6, 58-9). Meliha explains the demands, organisation and resistance of the suffragettes in England (she uses the word England) by referring to forms of action (protests in Parliament, bombing, negotiations with Sir Edward Grey, and Emmeline Pankhurst's hunger strike). At the end of her article, she adds a note about Ottoman women:

> I aimed to explain how [European] women organise [as suffragettes] to my sisters [KD audience]. However, it is not beneficial for us to unite to resist and to fight for the right of our women to elect and to be elected while we still do not have the right to choose our husbands. Thus, before the right of suffrage, we have more important issues to gain and our women should work on them first (Meliha Zekeriya, issue 6, 58).

Her approach is a continuation of 'not there yet' approach that I discussed before, but Meliha specifically thinks about women's movements, rather than the Ottoman Empire in general. On the one hand, it seems that Meliha suggests suffrage as a 'later level of resistance', and says that Ottoman women first have to sort out 'choosing their husbands', 'gaining more important issues' and 'work' [for developing women's rights]. On the other hand, she emphasises an 'Ottoman' agenda for Ottoman women's movements, rather than simply imitating or following European women's movements. She positions Ottoman women as an Other vis-à-vis (some) European women, who are not in a position to demand suffrage (at least *not yet*) but must create their own (national) agenda for demanding women's rights.

How can this relation to European women's movements' agendas be analysed? Here I return to Chatterjee's conceptualisation of the outer domain and the inner domain which, as I showed earlier, can be very helpful. However, at this point, I suggest the negotiation of outer and inner domains is rather different in the case of debates about agendas for women's movements. References to the 'resistance and struggle' of European women's movements were important as a way of talking to Ottoman men, in order to demand respectability and recognition for Ottoman Muslim women's

movements. I will elaborate this point by referring to the following KD editorials from two different issues:

> European media heard about our daily magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası* and showed interest in following the magazine. They congratulated and encouraged us by mentioning us in their magazines, way before the press magazines run by our men (issue 14, 134).

> European women are getting their rights for equality after all of their struggles; and we will work as well regardless of our men's underestimation/despising (issue 65, 152).

Both of these editorials describe and celebrate the interest coming from European women, by referring both to the European press and visits by European women to the office of the magazine. But if European women's movements (or at least the suffrage demands) are not beneficial for Ottoman women's resistance and struggle, as Meliha suggested above, why is it important to celebrate this 'solidarity' coming from them?

While explaining her conceptualisation of Occidentalism, Ahıska refers to the 'double reflection' of 'how the non-Western imagines the West sees' the non-Western (Ahıska 2003, 365). She argues that the non-Western subject constitutes its subject status through an imagined 'Western gaze'. I already discussed this 'double reflection' in KD articles and there will be further analysis based on this concept. At this point, I would like to point out that even though this 'Western gaze' mostly appears as Europe not approving of an issue that is Ottoman, in the quotations above, editorial articles celebrate the appreciation coming from 'Europe'.

As a form of 'double reflection', both KD editorials quoted above refer to approval by 'European women', in a way that suggests Ottoman women's 'resistance and struggle' is something to be congratulated and encouraged. I suggest this was an important discursive tool for KD writers, allowing them to criticise Ottoman men's underestimation, disregard and dismissal of Ottoman women's rights claims and to demand recognition and respectability for Ottoman women's movements. This is the implication: if women from 'magnificent' Europe appreciate Ottoman women and Ottoman men do not, then there is a problem with Ottoman men, and they must change. In a complex production of Occidentalism, Ottoman women's references to

European women's struggles enable them to legitimise themselves vis-à-vis Ottoman men, within the process of Ottoman modernisation and nationalism or, in Chatterjee's terms, within the inner domain even though they refer to European superiority.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the complicated and contradictory discourses on the term 'Europe' produced by an Ottoman Muslim women's group, KD magazine. The discourses on Europe appear to have both positive and negative strands, presenting Europe as a desired model for the nation, as well as a threat. I have answered the questions I asked at the beginning of this chapter, such as 'what knowledge and exclusions were formed through an articulation of gender, modernisation, and nationalism' through the selective labelling of *ilim* and non-*ilim* knowledges. I have analysed the production of subjectivity coming from Occidentalism by showing how binaries (Orient and Occident) were established and how they transformed other binaries (femininities and masculinities). This complex process was claimed by making truth claims about a reified understanding of 'Europe', positing the Ottoman modernisation as 'not there yet', placing Ottoman Muslim women in the subject position to 'get there' by selecting the *ilim* side of Europe, and negotiating the religion, gender, and nation.

Overall, I argue that analysing the binary of Orient and Occident in the case of Occidentalism shows how this binary produces subjectivities and new forms of knowledge, demarcates changing identities, subverts some other binaries, and works in multiple ways. This kind of conceptualisation responds to the invitation to avoid taking binary categories, such as 'Occident' and 'Orient', or 'North' and 'South', for granted. A nuanced analysis of how gendered subjects are constructed in context-specific power relations is very much emphasised in feminist research, especially within transnational feminist thinking (Mahmood 2005). Pereira (2014), for example, questions complicated relations between Western feminisms and Central, Southern and Eastern European feminisms. She suggests the hegemony of Western feminism is commonly 'framed in terms of loss and constraint; in other words, the focus is often exclusively on what becomes repressed, made invisible, and excluded' elsewhere

because of that hegemony (2014, 628). She suggests that 'hegemony has produced not (just) constraints and losses but (also) gains, openings, and opportunities' (2014, 629) as a crucial way of understanding the complex power relations. This kind of a perspective on 'power' has been very significant to newly produced poststructuralist and postcolonial feminist research on a range of topics, including the: status of feminist scholarship in 'in-between' (semi)peripheries (Pereira 2014); sexual constructions of nationalism and modernisation in the Middle East (Najmabadi 1993); or the methodological implications of generative power (Ryan-flood and Gill 2010). This chapter, using a similar complex understanding of power, contributes with a historical perspective on Ottoman Muslim women's movements, showing what work 'binaries' do in this struggle. Based on a generative understanding of power, analysing the reified discourses of Europe in the Ottoman Empire, allows us to think about hegemonic categories beyond being (only) 'active' or 'restrictive' – that 'active' suppress the 'passive' Other. Additionally, this kind of an understanding of power does not aim to simply say that the 'East'/' South'/ '(semi)periphery' has agency *too* (Abu-Lughod 2001; Ahıska 2000). As Abu-Lughod warns scholars who work on Orientalism and gender: 'We have to ask what Western liberal values we may be unreflectively validating in proving that 'Eastern' women have agency, too' (Abu-Lughod, 2001, p. 105). I agree with Abu-Lughod's warning. When discussing the subjectivity of women through Occidentalism, I aim to show the complexity of this paradigm in relation to a generative understanding of power, rather than simply saying that Eastern women have agency *too.* Considering 'Eastern women' as an additional category raises the question of whether modernisation was good or bad – or the question of whether Europe was helpful to a preestablished category of women. As Ahıska (2000) says, Occidentalism is neither an emic analytic effort to highlight an actor's point of view (such as a Middle Eastern viewpoint) nor an etic analytic effort to falsify Western representations. Instead, Occidentalism refers to the Other's inhabiting the space of the Other, which produces 'dramatic differences in its content and performance' (Ahıska, 2010, p. 7). Thus, analysing non-Western perspectives on the West is not a simple change of perspective or a study of Orientalism in a Western hegemony (although it is very linked to Orientalism). As I have argued in this chapter, the negotiations of a reified Europe make different subjectivities possible in the case of Turkish-Muslim women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire. Thus, I insist that

the acceptance of the Other position by the 'Orient' does not simply produce an internalised Orientalism, as Ahıska (2010) also emphasises, but allows the Other to negotiate and employ a more favourable subject position in the local context. In the case of KD magazine, it is not simply the 'hegemonic' category (Occident - Europe) that erases a national agenda of Ottoman women's movement or leads to a simple imitation of Europe; rather, a binary of Occident and Orient enables Ottoman women to claim their own subject position within their national context.

I have already pointed out that discourses on Europe, both positive and negative, included some demands for change in society, in accordance with modernisation and nationalism in the Ottoman Empire. They also required some continuities, as part of the 'essence of the nation' to avoid an 'imitation' of Europe. In Chatterjee's terms, the balance between an 'outer' and 'inner' domain was a part of these changes and continuities. Building on my analysis of Occidentalism, the following chapter analyses the way in which sexual normativities and regulations became a significant part of the negotiation of these changes and continuities.

Chapter 6 -
NEGOTIATIONS OF SEXUAL PURITY BY OTTOMAN MUSLIM WOMEN: DISCUSSIONS OF WOMEN'S CLOTHING

6.1 Introduction

Aşk-ı Memnu (Forbidden Love) is an Ottoman novel written by Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil (2018) and published in 1900[116] to illustrate the effects of 'bad modernisation' in Ottoman society. In this novel, the author criticises those who simply imitate Europe without being able to protect the 'moral essence' of Ottoman culture, especially in Muslim circles. It depicts the transformation of the family structure, focusing especially on women who misunderstand modernisation. One of the main characters, Bihter, is a woman who cannot engage with the good parts of modernisation but only with the bad parts (a form of selective labelling, as mentioned in the previous chapter). Bihter thinks that being modern is all about wearing expensive dresses; to fulfil this desire, she marries a rich man who is older than she is and has two children already. Bihter cannot be loyal to her husband and, some time into the marriage, she has an affair with a relative of her husband's. The conclusion of the novel emphasises the ways in which the Ottoman Muslim family structure is changing for the worse, as a consequence of misunderstandings of modernisation, especially on the part of women. As previously discussed, 'wrong ways of modernising' was a topic that many Ottoman

[116] It is possible that some KD writers read this novel. In issue 100, Fatma Zerrin refers to this book as 'the highest point and perfect example of Ottoman literature' (issue 100. p. 517, *Aşk-ı Memnu'u Ziyaret* [A trip to 'Forbidden Love']).

people mentioned when discussing modernisation. In this specific example, Uşaklıgil creates a link between a woman's 'wrong' engagement and modernisation, which takes the form of Bihter's interest in expensive, European-style clothing and her *sexual* betrayal of her husband – in short, the harm she does to the Ottoman family order. Like other writers of the time, he thought that Ottoman Muslim women's engagement with the wrong type of modernisation included a threat, not only to women's sexual loyalty, but to the nation itself (Brummett, 1995; Kandiyoti, 2007a).

In this chapter, I will investigate the previously mentioned 'loyalty to the nation' and sexual normativities by following urban Muslim women's movements, building on the analysis of articulations of modernisation, nationalism, and gender discussed in relation to the production of Occidentalism in the last chapter. I will analyse the ways in which some women who engaged with modernisation in the late Ottoman Empire had to legitimise their demands through loyalty to the nation, during a time of intense change in the early 20th century. The KD writers' negotiations, using the concept of *iffet* (the sexual honour of women), will be a specific focus because I consider *iffet* a key negotiating point for women aiming to demand cultural changes to benefit women, while still trying to prove their loyalty to the culture. For women's movements, loyalty could be demonstrated in different ways – for example by emphasising women's contribution to the economy, relying on the legal structure, or highlighting the importance of women as mothers. In the case of KD, I would argue that dilemmas of change and continuity for women involved the need to constantly prove that modernisation would not constitute a threat to women's (or the nation's) sexual honour and purity. Thus, this chapter will focus on the way in which KD writers engaged in this process of negotiating changes and continuities by demonstrating women's sexual purity during the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire.

Ottoman women's movements had to negotiate *iffet* when discussing a range of different topics, including women attending university, changing family practices, discussions of British suffragettes, mixed socialisation practices, and women's leisure activities. However, the negotiation of *iffet* appears in a highly visible way in the discussions of women's clothing in KD magazine. The issue of women's clothing was added to the KD agenda as a current problem that needed an urgent solution in the

Ottoman Empire. Many intellectuals, newspapers, and political groups believed that the clothing worn by Ottoman Muslim women was an issue that affected women (and also the nation) in a very negative way because it was not 'modern, national' dress (Brummett, 1999; Çakır, 2016; Micklewright, 1987). They argued that women's clothing needed to change to accommodate a 'new woman' as a part of modernisation; it also needed to be 'national'. Some criticised both men's and women's clothing for not being modern and practical or for being traditional but not really national. In other words, there were many criticisms about clothing during the period of modernisation and nationalism in the Ottoman Empire in a political and intellectual level (Jirousek, 2000).

Having said that, the discussions about modernising women's clothing were different from those about modernising men's clothing because most of the discussion of women's clothing involved references to women's bodies and the representation of women in the public sphere (Brummett, 2007; Tuncer, 2014; Yılmaz, 2013). In this framework, the negotiation of *iffet* became more significant; the debates around clothing represented a rich source of analytical material relating to women's bodies and the representation of women (Bier, 2011; Nagel, 1998). My analysis aims to answer the following questions: How did Ottoman Muslim urban women negotiate the demanded changes and protected continuities through *iffet* in order to legitimise women's engagement with modernisation? How did women engage with normative expectations of womanhood, and how did they undermine those normativities and produce new normativities during modernisation and nationalism? How did this negotiation allow them both to challenge gender inequalities and reproduce Othering categories of nationhood?

Keeping these questions in mind, this chapter begins by explaining the notion of '*iffet*' in detail, as a form of Muslim normative femininity. It then builds the relationship between *iffet* and modernisation. Secondly, it analyses the ways in which the issue of women's clothing was widely framed as a national issue in the late Ottoman Empire by following KD writers. It is important to analyse the constructions of the idea of the 'nation' through women's clothing in this context. To be able to do so, I will later describe some of the clothing that was often discussed in KD. As specific articles of clothing were criticised, writers argued that it was necessary to invent a new 'national

women's dress' during the modernisation process; the topic therefore was on the agenda of the magazine circle. However, demanding that women's clothes be modernised could appear to endanger women's sexual purity; the KD writers therefore carried out careful negotiations. This chapter will later discuss religious and national norms for Muslim urban women's covering themselves and the constructions of the 'urban Muslim-Turkish woman' category in relation to rural Muslim and urban non-Muslim women, in 'Other' categories. Following this analysis, I will discuss the concept of fashion and how it was seen as a threat to the nation and to womanhood by the KD writers themselves.

In Chapter 4, I explained that KD was produced by upper- and middle-class women (Akşit, 2010a; Çakır, 2016; Demirdirek, 2011), who were also urban Ottoman women. I want to remind the reader that most of the analysis below discusses women who are at least literate, if not elite. Most of them lived in İstanbul; this is confirmed by their signatures at the end of each article[117]. Although some sent articles from other places, it is clear from the articles that all of the correspondents lived in or came from large urban cities and/or were familiar with urban İstanbul. The rural women mostly appear as a 'myth' in articles that I will unpack below. Although the concept of *iffet* was familiar to both urban and rural women, it applied to them in different ways, this thesis focuses on the urban context. The following analysis is therefore limited to urban women involved with KD.

6.2 *İffet:* the danger of 'Crossing the Line'

6.2.1 Muslim femininities

İffet is a form of sexually defined honour or chastity, which is only valid for women. It mainly refers to the sexual purity and loyalty of women. While, for an unmarried

[117] As previously mentioned, most of the author signatures ended with a name and neighbourhood name (if they lived in İstanbul) or city name if they lived outside of İstanbul.

woman, it generally implies being a virgin and not having had any sexual engagement, for a married woman, it means being sexually and monogamously loyal to a husband. However, *iffet* is not limited to the sexual act itself. A shift from the normative femininity regarding women's body and sexuality might be described as a woman losing her *iffet,* not having enough *iffet,* or damaging her *iffet.* Thus, although it is a form of sexual honour, it is also a more complicated word, implying sexual purity, normativity, and femininity. This is why I have not translated the Turkish word into English, preferring to use the Turkish original in this research.

Bülent Arınç, a former Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey (2009–2015) once said: 'Women should have *iffet*. They should not laugh loud in public' (2013, cnn.com). So, a woman who laughs loud, has an 'improper' way of dressing, or has intimate conversations with a man outside the family (whether or not she is flirting) might be described as lacking *iffet.* The notion of *iffet* can therefore be conceptualised as a form of normativity that regulates and produces Muslim femininity as a powerful category[118]. This normative category becomes stronger after the 'transition of a girl to a young woman'[119]. In this context, young womanhood was demarcated as the age at which a young girl became 'suitable' for marriage[120]. In the novel *Aşk-ı Memnu* (Forbidden Love) mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Uşaklıgil (2018) [1900] describes the transition of an Ottoman Muslim girl to a young woman (in the case of one of the main characters) in the following way:

---

[118] Of course, the notions around chastity also applied to non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire (Bilal*, et al.*, 2006). The reason I refer to 'Muslim' here is that this thesis specifically analyses Ottoman-Muslim women. A future study could analyse the 'chastity' of non-Muslim Ottoman women from an intersectional feminist perspective, making a very significant contribution.

[119] This does not mean that *iffet* does not apply to girls. As a part of their socialisation, girls learn what *iffet* is and how a woman with *iffet* behaves. However, the socialisation of girls with *iffet* is not a focus of this research.

[120] In the late Ottoman period, the age when a girl was deemed ready for marriage could change, based on many different dimensions, such as urban-rural life, social class, and religious sects (Duben*, et al.*, 1991).

> The girl who is about to be a young woman goes through a process that includes some changes towards womanhood. [...] The girl starts feeling shy and she starts to be afraid of people around her. She would not give her hand childishly [to any men] like [she did] before, she does not [physically] approach people like before, [...] she would be much more careful in her speech, she would blush while talking, she would feel the strangeness [estrangement] even while breathing; then she would start going to quiet places, have long thoughts, she would feel a difference in herself and not be able to explain it, but she would understand she is not a child anymore. [...] She realises a weird, unexplainable illness is in her body and then she would have shyness and awkwardness in her walking [meaning body usage], talking, and smiling (Uşaklıgil, 2018, pp. 111–112).

Uşaklıgil wrote this description in the novel as an introduction to an event: a girl buying her first *çarşaf* (a Muslim female dress that I will explain below). He explains how girls become 'sexual' and their position in society changes as they wear their first *çarşaf*. The transition from girlhood to womanhood includes being shy, being afraid of people, putting physical distance between themselves and men, and feeling ashamed while talking, according to Uşaklıgil. This is when the sexual normative category *iffet* begins to work. As the passage above implies, it regulates the whole existence of women (bodily and affective) – their thinking and body usage, including 'walking, talking, blushing and smiling' and feeling 'shy, afraid, estranged, awkward'. I suggest that the important issue to emphasise here is the link between 'womanhood' and being sexual with wearing the first *çarşaf*. It means that an 'appropriate' way of dressing was one of the main ways in which women could maintain a normative Muslim femininity, *iffet*.

A good way to explain this understanding of normative femininity is to link it to the term '*namus*'. *Namus* means a set of moral values or honour that individuals and society are expected to protect (Müftüler-Bac, 1999). At the same time, this word refers to an obligation and responsibility to protect 'women's sexual purity' or *iffet*. It is a masculine form of honour; thus, protecting women's *iffet* becomes a way of building men's *namus*. *İffet* is never applicable to men, but *namus* is generally associated with masculine

honour and moralities[121]. Tanıl Bora (2005) develops the importance of these notions by showing how women's sexual purity is closely linked to nationalism. He argues that women's *iffet,* as something to protect, becomes crucial for the construction of masculinity through *namus* in nationalist movements.

When I explained that the Ottoman Empire was named 'the sick man of Europe', I unpacked the image of the Ottoman Empire as a man and said that nations could also have feminine associations. As this chapter will make clear, the Ottoman Empire sometimes appears as a feminine figure whose *iffet* needs to be protected by its people. When this kind of feminine figure is used, protecting Ottoman women's sexual purity (*iffet*) is no longer of interest to the men of the nation alone; it is also important for the *namus* of the nation. Thus, if women lack *iffet,* it becomes a problem for the whole nation. According to Tanıl Bora (2005), this type of nationalist perspective values women as 'mothers, sisters, wives', while at the same time making them passive[122]. Valuing women as a part of the family (and nation) gives any member of that nation the right to comment on the *iffet* of women. As KD articles illustrate, Ottoman Muslim women were very aware of these normative constructions and negotiated women's engagement with modernisation in relation to their *iffet.* This is a complex negotiation, that both allows them to demand women's rights in the framework of Ottoman modernisation, and also produces potential complicity with an exclusionary ethnonationalism through an Occidentalist perspective.

In conclusion, *iffet* is a form of femininity and *namus* is a form of masculinity in particular Muslim cultures, including the urban elite of the Ottoman Empire. These terms are interlinked and only possible through each other (Connell, 2005). The

[121] Sometimes the words *iffet* and *namus* can be used interchangeably in everyday language in both Ottoman Turkish and contemporary Turkish. I will conceptualise these terms, including their separations and links, analytically.

[122] This point will be later discussed in Chapter 7, I do not completely agree that imagining women in the family means necessarily means being passive.

meanings of both *iffet* and *namus* can and do change, as I will show below. This also means that femininities and masculinities are not two fixed or opposing categories. More importantly, I want to emphasise the point that these categories do not apply to every Muslim culture in the same way. The reason I mention them here is that they are productive analytical categories that can help to explain the negotiations of some Ottoman Muslim urban women involved in modernising the late Ottoman Empire. In the following section, I will show how *iffet* and *namus* were specifically related to articulations of modernisation and nationalism.

6.2.2 Modernisation as a threat to women's *iffet* and the nation's *namus*

When Ottoman Muslim urban women engaged with modernisation, they gradually began to socialise with men outside the family, in a way that was broadly different from the pre-modernisation process[123] (Çakır, 2016). This was because one of the requirements of modernisation appeared to be bringing women and men together in some occasions, as happened in European social life in the case of mixed-sex social activities (Brummett, 2007). The Kemalist state's ban on gender-segregated education in schools[124] is one example of this 'requirement' (Yılmaz, 2013). How could Muslim women spend time with men for the sake of modernisation without challenging the gender norms of the time? In discussing the contradictions inherent in changing gender norms while maintaining continuity, Adalet Ağaoğlu, a woman novelist who was critical of the Kemalist modernisation of Turkish women, wrote the following comment about Turkish women:

> [...] they were required to have the ability to both dance with men who were strangers to them and still behave in accordance with *iffet* and to get rid of

[123] This does not conform to the Orientalist argument that Oriental women are trapped at home, unable to interact with men outside the family. Here, I refer to a paradigm change and new emerging norms governing the interactions between men and women.

[124] For the relationship between *iffet* and Kemalism see: Durakbaşa, *et al.* (2001) and İlkkaracan (2008a). Adalet Ağaoğlu's novels are also very interested in this topic, especially her trilogy *Tight Times*.

> *yaşmak* and *çarşaf*[125] [traditional clothes] and still need to seem not naked (Ağaoğlu, 1993, p. 148)

Ağaoğlu refers to two contradictions in the sense of *iffet* in the quotation above: firstly, interactions between men and women at social occasions; and secondly, a clothing change that would somehow threaten women's *iffet*. She suggests that, even though it was not common for Muslim women and men to spend time together in the Ottoman Empire, they needed to be together to perform Western practices, such as waltz nights, to enact modernisation in the Turkish Republic. In other words, Ağaoğlu refers to a contradiction between modernisation and women's *iffet.* From her perspective, even though dancing with unrelated men was necessary for the sake of modernisation, women still had to show that they had *iffet* during this time of rapid change. By using the example of clothing, she makes clear that abandoning the veil, headscarf, and 'traditional Muslim' clothes meant 'wearing less' in the late Ottoman Empire and early Republic of Turkey. I build upon this contradiction flagged up by Ağaoğlu to ask: How did Ottoman Muslim urban women demand changes as a part of modernisation and how did they try to show that they would still have *iffet* if the changes were implemented?

In the case of Ottoman modernisation, the potential damage to women's *iffet* was a significant issue for men, starting from the very beginning of the transformation (Bora T., 2017). As previously mentioned, many Ottoman Muslim intellectual men thought that damaging women's *iffet* would affect their own *namus* and the nation. Thus, the common perception among Ottoman men was that they were responsible for women's modernisation because modernisation would not be possible among 'uneducated' or 'backward' women; at the same time, if women modernised 'too much', they would threaten the dignity of the nation itself. Najmabadi (2005) mentions that *namus* has become a national concern and comments on the purity of women (their *iffet)*. *Namus* locates women as male possessions and assigns male subjects to women's protection.

[125] See Section 4.1 for descriptions of these clothes.

Using these two concepts, Najmabadi says that 'sexual and national honour intimately constructed each other' (Najmabadi, 1997, p. 444).

The late period Ottoman novels are full of Muslim women characters who cannot balance modernisation and Islamic values – or outer and inner domains, in Chatterjee's terms (Chatterjee, 1993a) – and end up as 'fallen women'. *Aşk-ı Memnu* (Forbidden Love) is just one example[126]. In these novels, Ottoman Muslim women who I can define as 'cross the line of a balanced modernisation' lose their virginity and either die in pain or end up in a brothel[127] (Kandiyoti, 2007a). When women cross the line, their 'transgression' is defined either as 'Westernisation' (a term that is necessarily negative, meaning simply imitating the West by losing an 'essence' of culture), 'false/wrong modernisation', or 'too-much/excessive modernisation'. Another representation on this issue is the dichotomy between 'pure' Muslim women with *iffet* and Western women without *iffet* (Sancar, 2012). Especially following the declaration of the Second Constitution in the Ottoman Empire, there were diverse and complex political perspectives around the issue of modernisation. As happened in the case of the woman question, many different perspectives unified in fearing the potential danger of modernisation for women and men's responsibility for keeping women's *iffet* and their *namus* pure, which would also protect the purity of the nation's *namus*'[128] (Bora T., 2005).

---

[126] A very good example, which shows that this pattern was not limited to the Ottoman Empire or to non-Western contexts. For an analysis of 'women's virtue' in 19th century feminism and fiction in the UK see: Lovell (1987).

[127] Emine Semiye, a women's movement activist and novelist of the time, wrote a novel that challenged the notion of *iffet* and claimed that it was unfair for women to be judged by it. One of the women characters in her novel is a sex worker and Semiye (2015) [1920] shows how women's situation is based on social conditions. Although she never published a political or sociological work, I believe that she had much more sociological insight than the 'proper' sociologists of the time, such as Prens Sabahaddin, Ziya Gökalp, and Yusuf Akçura.

[128] For an analysis of the theme of honour in the Ottoman police at the beginning of the Young Turk era, see: Levy-Aksu (2014).

Brummett provides an example of this point, using the Ottoman-language cartoon press of 1908–14 in İstanbul. She focuses on the conjunctures of gender and empire through the concept of Ottoman exceptionalism, which refers to presuming 'a superiority rooted in imperial proper (particularly female) morality' (Brummett, 2007, p. 284). She refers specifically to the cartoon below:

Figure 4: Comparison of Ottoman and European women's *iffet*[129]

Brummett describes the cartoon by repeating Halide Edib Adıvar's phrase, 'the progress of a nation is measured by the status of its women'. The cartoon was printed in a gazette called *Falaka* in 1911. The scale has two sides: 'East' (on the left) and 'West' (on the right). The caption below says: 'The women of a nation should not simply be a measure of the degree of its progress, but a proof of the degree of its moral purity

[129] Brummett, 2007, p. 301.

[*iffet*][130]' (Brummett, 2007, p. 300). The scale shows that women in the East are heavier, which means that their *iffet* is higher. This representation brings me to the normative idea that there is some contradiction between progress and *iffet.* The cartoon shows the relationship between sexual and national honour and the ways in which honour was interlinked with the notion of progress, which pointed toward modernisation. KD writers developed their own ideas by negotiating such positions through the issue of women's clothing.

The concepts of sexuality and women's rights have been linked and very politicised during the modernisation processes (Brooke, 2006; İlkkaracan, 2008a; Lewis, 2003; Kandiyoti, 1987). Nor is the linkage limited to Middle Eastern countries; women and women's sexual governance have been central to many nationalisation processes (Ahmed, 2000; Miller, 2007; Parker *et al.*, 1992; Yuval-Davis, 1997), appearing in different forms and creating different forms of governance and negotiation. In the case of KD magazine, the writers tried to prove that women could (and should) engage with modern knowledge (such as *ilim);* that they could be educated and work; and that they could change their everyday lives for the sake of the nation and modernity – all while keeping their *iffet*[131]. I will analyse the complexity of such negotiations of 'crossing the line'. This line is not fixed; it is constructed through the process of negotiation. The KD writers located themselves below the line, above the line, and at the limits of the line in different negotiations. The fluidity of the line is visible in the KD magazine debate on inventing national clothing, an issue that was important for both the Ottoman Empire and Turkey.

[130] This is Brummett's translation.

[131] Zihnioğlu (2013) mentions other Ottoman women's magazines, which had a more direct focus on promoting *iffet* and *namus* such as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Gazette for Ladies).

6.3 Wearing the nation

I can provide some insight into women's clothing in contemporary Turkey, based on personal experience. Growing up in Konya, one of the most religiously conservative cities in Turkey, I had to think hard about my clothes from a very early age, similar to many women. When I was a teenager in the early 2000s, my clothes somehow represented an 'extreme' social and political position. My usual way of dressing was to wear a short-sleeved t-shirt and relatively skinny jeans with my hair uncovered. I remember one old woman approaching me out of nowhere in the city centre, slapping my uncovered arm and yelling: 'You will burn in hell'.

At the same time, my very close friend decided to wear a headscarf at the age of fourteen. She dressed like me, in t-shirts and skinny jeans; however, she covered her arms, neck, and hair. When we started high school together, she uncovered her hair at school for four years because, at that time, schools and universities banned the headscarf[132]. However, she put her headscarf back on at the end of each day. Beyond the state-regulated restrictions on girl's and women's clothing, both of us knew that her way of dressing was not considered 'proper' in conservative circles because 'she did not dress like a proper Muslim girl who wears a headscarf', given her colourful teen t-shirts, eyeliner, ear-piercings, and occasional use of nail-polish. Although, at the time, we could not name or explain the formal (state) and informal (conservative normativities) regulations, we both experienced the control of and regulations governing women's bodies in the context of 'Turkish modernisation', and we both resisted them in our own ways.

I find it important to note we did not connect these events to a power dynamic that intersected with gender and religion. In my case, I thought that there were some people who would judge my clothing and it was annoying, but I just needed to find ways to avoid or 'trick' them by sticking to crowded roads or avoiding eye contact with people

[132] For an analysis of Muslim women's subjectivity and clothing, see: Köse (2011).

who might judge or harass me. My friend thought that the school had rules about homework and a required uniform, involving tied-back hair and black shoes, with a ban on earrings and other items, which we all 'played with' by, for example, changing to colourful shoes after check in; the headscarf was simply one of these items. This was how my friend and I understood these issues at the time because the people who made comments about girls' clothing on the street or talked about 'proper femininity', and the laws and teachers who controlled our everyday lives were the 'normative' ones. We did not name the complex exercise of power through modernity, the reproduction of religion, or our own ways of undermining these normativities. The reason we did not talk about them was because we simply thought women's clothing was an individual issue – what I want to emphasise here is the ordinariness and banality of the general understandings of women's clothing in everyday life.

This banality has led some researchers, such as Jacob (2011), to use clothing to untangle complex socio-political relations in the case of Egypt. My aim is similar: 'to investigate dress not simply for what it symbolized but also for how it participated in the performative constitution of a new cultural order on the level of competing and comparable national subjects' (Jacob, 2011, p. 187). With this aim in mind, I will try to discover how discussions of clothing became embedded within the modernisation process. How did the intersections between gender and religion work? To focus more closely on the theme of this thesis, how did women involved in the women's movement in the late Ottoman Empire negotiate the meanings of clothing? How were these negotiations regulated by the notion of *iffet?*

In issue 51, KD published an editorial, which argued that the movement for women's rights in the Ottoman Empire should have three main aims: to create a national dress for women, to provide structures for women's education, and support women's work. Four days later, in issue 55, KD editors announced that they were founding an organisation, *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (the Ottoman Women's Rights Defence Committee – OMHNC). They repeated these aims in a more structured way in the committee programme. Why did KD consider women's clothing to be such an urgent issue? As a magazine that claimed to defend women's rights, why did KD focus on dress, even before education and work rights, as can make someone surprised

in today's perspective? Women's clothing was a part of the discussion from the early issues of KD magazine; however, especially after Issue 51 (on the 51st day of publication) the discussion became heated and many women contributed actively by writing letters. Nearly every issue, from the 51st through the 100th included at least one and often more articles about women's clothing. The KD editors took part in this discussion, as well as printing articles sent as letters. Nearly all of the debates in the magazine were about women's clothing; clothing for men and children were barely mentioned, even though men's clothing was an important issue on the general modernisation agenda (Toprak, 1998). The following section introduces some of the types of clothing that prompted discussions around the issue in KD.

6.3.1 The description of the clothing

When the KD writers were discussing the modernisation and nationalisation of dress, they referred to some articles of clothing more frequently than others. Veils and *çarşaf* became key issues in the politicised discussion of national clothing and modern Ottoman women's dress. Before analysing the negotiations of *iffet* through clothing, I will introduce a few specific items in the context of social change. This is a difficult task, as both the types of dress discussed and the meanings attached to them were quite diverse (Nagel, 1998). One KD author, F. Şerefettin, refers to this diversity in an article, which argues that Turkish-Muslim clothing is too varied, treating this as a negative issue. She mentions both Turkish-Muslim men's and women's dress:

> Actually, we Turkish people are less aware of fashion. Let's take the example of the fez. You can see lots of versions, [for example] black [and] red [ones]. Some wear longer, some shorter, some wider, some sharp. Some men do not wear the fez but the conical hat, some the skullcap. They all have different shapes and colours. Then, women's clothing; [...] some of us wear the *çarşaf*, some of us wear the *yeldirme*. Rural women's clothing is completely different. For example, there are different headcovers. [...] Some of us wear a very large *çarşaf*, which is double our own body size, while some of us wear it unnecessarily tight. Some of us cover [our] faces with white or black veils, [and] some of us do not wear them at all (F. Şerefettin, issue 58. p. 86, *Modacılık* [Fashion]).

As F. Şerefettin shows, it is difficult to describe the 'typical' clothing of Ottoman women because there is so much variation. It is important to note, however, that KD writers refer to some articles of clothing, but not others. Some, such as the veil, are very

politically charged. The diverse range of clothing worn in Muslim communities strikes many KD writers as a problem, as I will analyse in detail below. In a similar way, F. Şerefettin refers to two problems with Ottoman dress for men and women. When she mentions men's headgear, she refers to a 'difference'; when she talks about women's clothing, she refers to an 'imbalance'. Her first point is related to men's headgear, and a different usage of them can be an issue about ethnicity and religion (and this can be related to women's clothing as well). However, better or worse ways of wearing men's headgear would not affect *iffet,* which applied only to women and never to men. In short, a change in men's clothing did not have sexual connotations in a way similar to women's clothing. Her second point refers to female clothes, such as the *çarşaf* and veil, that can either be worn too loose or 'unnecessarily tight'. She sees the first style as ugly or illogical and the second as sexually suggestive. Both styles, according to F. Şerefettin, are extreme; she argues that Turkish (meaning Muslim in this context) women's clothes are imbalanced.

Another important point about F. Şerefettin's article is the garments she chooses to emphasise: men's headgear and the *çarşaf*, *yeldirme,* and veil. Before discussing some of these items, I want to point out that all of the clothes discussed during modernisation were designed for use in the public sphere. Quataert (2000) notes that what women wore at gatherings at home (in women-only spaces) would be different from what they wore outside of the home (here, I am not referring to informal clothing but to special clothing worn around women guests). The KD authors do not discuss clothes worn at women's gatherings at home or in the private sphere without company. The clothes that F. Şerefettin and the others discuss are all designed for 'outside the home'. This is one of the reasons why women's clothing, in relation to their *iffet,* became a national issue in the public sphere.

Although the KD writers engage in a general discussion about the modernisation of women's clothes, some specific items come up more than others. I will introduce a few of these and discuss the KD writers' clothing issues analysing the discussion of women's clothing in relation to *iffet.* The following photograph was published in KD magazine on 17 April 1914, issue 138, following a protest about Muslim women applying

to work as Phone Company operators in İstanbul[133]. I mentioned this protest in Chapter 4; the KD editors encouraged their writers to apply for middle-class jobs, including operator roles at the İstanbul Phone Company (Toprak, 2014). When the Phone Company turned down Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women because they did not speak French, KD argued that Ottoman Muslim-Turkish women were being excluded from 'good jobs' (by which they meant middle- and upper-class positions), unlike Ottoman non-Muslim women. As a result of KD lobbying, Ottoman Muslim women were hired as telephone operators; the following photograph was taken and published in KD (Çakır, 2016; Karakışla, 2014):

[133] KD started including photographs starting after the 100th issue. Even though my analysis is limited to the first 100 issues, which did not include any photographs, I found it useful to use this photograph for the analysis of dress.

Figure 5: A photograph of Ottoman women hired by the Phone Company[134]

Karakışla (2014) has analysed this photograph. In the centre is Ms. Mintr,[135] an English woman who already worked in the company. The other seven women are the new Muslim recruits, hired as a result of the protest. All of the Muslim women wear *çarşaf* except for the one (Bedia Sekip[136]), who is sitting to the right of Ms. Mintr. Because she has a cloak but no *çarşaf,* Karakışla thinks she is relatively upper-class. Such cloaks, sometimes worn by Muslim women, were one of the articles of clothing criticised in

[134] Çakır, 2016, 379.

[135] In Ottoman Turkish, foreign words are written as read.

[136] Karakışla explains she acted in theatre plays later on and became 'the first Turkish actor in a theatre play'.

KD for being different from the *çarşaf,* which was the most common piece of clothing worn by Ottoman Muslim urban women in İstanbul. Some KD writers thought that such cloaks made it difficult to distinguish between Muslim and non-Muslim women. They therefore considered garments of this type to be modern but not national.

Even though the *çarşaf* was very common, its style could charge, in response to modernisation and nationalist tension. As the photograph above shows, the *çarşaf* was a single piece of cloth that loosely covered a women's body, making it less visible (Seni, 1990). According to Toprak (1998), the *çarşaf* became famous at the end of the 19th century and colourful versions became commonplace. Seni explains that the *çarşaf* was occasionally cut in two to form a cape. The top part covered the head and upper body, while the lower part was a skirt. The skirt and cape might be shorter or longer, and a veil, as part of this outfit, might be thick or thin (Seni, 1990). Even though the *çarşaf* was a common article of clothing, the way the *çarşaf* was styled reflected the impact of modernisation. Two examples illustrate this point. A one-piece çarşaf was called a *torba çarşaf* (baggy *çarşaf*), while a two-piece *çarşaf* was called a tango *çarşaf.* Yılmaz (2013) suggests that the tango *çarşaf* became a sign of 'false Westernisation'. Although ideas about these garments changed, both of these garments and their different styles were linked with modernisation.

One other article of clothing worth mentioning (and missing from the photograph above) is the veil. KD writers often mentioned the veil during their discussions of women's clothing. Most urban Muslim women in the late Ottoman Empire wore veils outside of the home, as regulated by *ferman* (an edict given by the Sultan or the parliament) (Toprak, 1998). Laws regulating the veiling of Ottoman Muslim women, based on these edicts, contributed to social position of women after the mid-19th century (Micklewright, 1989). KD writers noted that, in some İstanbul neighbourhoods, Muslim women were not socially obliged to wear the veil; in other parts of the city, it was not acceptable for Muslim women to be unveiled. I will analyse the way that KD writers thought about this change of attitude towards women's veils. Although they

very rarely directly supported or discouraged the use of veils, many implied that veiling was not an inherent rule of Muslim dress[137].

6.3.2 The 'invention' of national dress

In Chapter 5, I mentioned that supporting the development of the national economy of the Ottoman Empire by encouraging the production and consumption of Ottoman products was an important issue for women's movements (Çetinkaya, 2014; Quataert, 1983; Toprak, 1995). As they wrote about various dimensions of Muslim women's clothing (*tesettur*), the national economy remained a very important dimension and discussion topic for the KD writers. Considering the previous chapter on Occidentalist perspectives, this language will be familiar:

> We Ottomans had lost our power and had imitated other nations and foreigners as if we were simply a shadow who imitated their way of acting as our guide by trusting them [...]. We imitated other nations, including their clothing or their ways of walking in the street. [...] If we cannot understand that it an insult to Ottomanhood and Turkishhood, who will understand it? Many nations have progressed through working. This is a truth that is impossible to refute. We should follow their *ilim* with the condition of conserving our nationality. [...] But we are all awake now! We should only wear clothes that are made of local fabric, and then we should work on the idea of *inventing* our national dress, which only belongs to us (Hikmet Hıfzı, issue 25, pp. 259–60, *Bizde Modacılık* [Our Fashion]). [emphasis mine]

In her article, Hikmet refers to an imitation of 'other nations and foreigners'. As I showed in the previous chapter, such phrases do not refer to any nation or any foreigner – 'imitation' as a negative term refers to Europe. Quataert (1993) also explains

---

[137] For contemporary discourses on the veil, in both Western and non-Western contexts, see (Mahmood, 2009; Scott, 2007). Later, the veil was taken to symbolise the 'inferiority of Islam' and the 'degradation of women' from Western-centric perspectives (Ahmed, 2011). This view has been criticised from Islamic feminist perspectives (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Nagel, 1998). The veil was associated with 'mysterious and exotic' Oriental women in the representation of the 'Oriental Other' that Yeğenoğlu (1998) defines as a 'fantasy of Orientalism'.

how the 'imitation problem' only became an issue in relation to European styles of clothing. He says that, during the late Ottoman Empire, it was very common for clothing products to be made of fabric from India, but the use of Indian clothing was never seen as an imitation problem. In that sense, as Hikmet's example shows, clothing became a sign of 'wrong Westernisation' only for avoiding the imitation of European clothing that became a way of potentially conserving Ottomanhood and Turkishhood (Toprak, 2014).

Hikmet mentions the frequently cited notion of the imitation of Europe by Ottoman and Turkish people, while emphasising the relationship between working and *ilim*[138]. From this perspective, analysed in the previous chapter, she separates the good and bad sides of Europe: scientific and technological knowledge (*ilim*) is the good side (the outer domain), while damage to national identity, which had to be protected (the inner domain), was the bad side. In short, adopting a European style of clothing, according to Hikmet, is not *ilim*, but imitation. She considers the imitation of European clothing a threat to Ottoman and Turkish identity and power; she therefore proposes conserving Ottoman and Turkish identity through national dress.

Later in the article quoted above, Hikmet also ironically says: 'even though we worked very hard to imitate some other nation's clothing, these nations saw us as smaller and smaller'[139] (Suleymaniye, Hikmet Hıfzı, vol, 25, p. 260). In other words, 'imitation of European-style clothing' became a problem, not just for national identity, but also in relation to the imagined gaze of Europe. She uses another truth claim as a technique to negotiate the norm by calling her point 'impossible to refute' and producing an Occidentalist perspective. From this Occidentalist perspective, produced through the combination of national identity desire and European gaze, Hikmet assigns Ottoman and Turkish people as the actors who need to take action and make some changes to

[138] The notion of 'working' will be a special focus of Chapter 7.

[139] I have cited this quotation separately because the flow of her article is difficult to follow.

clothing. As a practical solution, she suggests using local fabric and inventing a form of national dress by giving the subjectivity to Ottoman and Turkish people. As a result, she creates an interesting contradiction: *İlim* of Europe becomes a means to 'conserve nationality'. This contradiction refers to a continuity with the past through national clothing alongside a change that is compatible with modern conditions (Göle, 2000). It also shows that the good and bad sides of Europe are not really two separate characteristics; instead, the selective labelling works in a complicated way.

One other important dimension of Hikmet's Occidentalist perspective is the ambiguity of the nationalities and religious identities she refers to. Let me emphasise the ways in which she uses the term 'we': First, 'we' refers to the Ottoman Empire, which lost its power. Second, 'we' refers to Ottoman Muslims, whom she separates from 'other nations' and 'foreigners'. A third 'we' refers to 'national pride' by conjuring up an imaginary Other insulting both Ottomanhood and Turkishhood. Following this confusion, who does Hikmet refer to when she says, '*we* are all awake now'? Who are the ones who must invent a form of national dress? As this quotation reveals, a discourse on the invention of *national* clothing could easily refer to one or more of the following categories: Ottoman, Muslim, Ottoman-Muslim, Turkish, or Turkish-Muslim (Van Os, 2016). These categories frequently appear simultaneously, as in Hikmet's article. When I refer to the inconsistencies of the religious and ethnic categories used by KD writers, this is the type of instability I mean. Having said that, inconsistencies and instabilities do not cause a confusion that makes analysis impossible; rather, following these inconsistencies and instabilities provides a complex analysis. Thus, I argue that the selective labelling applied from an Occidentalist perspective was made by these inconsistencies and instabilities themselves.

To return to the significant 'invention of national clothing' issue referred to above, Hikmet was not alone in her demands. The invention of new styles of clothing for both men and women, as a way of overcoming the loss of power, was a common topic of discourse at that time in the Ottoman Empire (Jirousek, 1996; Van Os, 2000; Yılmaz, 2013). An article signed C.H. explains this in more detail:

> We should buy and produce national fabric, but this is not enough for us. We [Ottoman Muslim women] should also nationalise our clothing. Now,

> Turkishness is in our hearts, we are not unemotional about our Turkishness as we were before. I cannot stand to see that some are closer to *Frenk* [European] life, although their heart is Turkish. My suggestion is to create a fashion organisation. Firstly, we need historians. Because there are no female historians, men should take this responsibility. Secondly, women with good aesthetic taste should be part of the decision-making process. Thirdly, artists and writers should be included. Artists can draw the drafts and circulate the pictures and writers can share information ([name:] C.H. issue 26. p. 271, *Milli Moda* [National Fashion]).

In C. H.'s article, the notion of producing and consuming national fabric was considered important. According to Donald Quataert (1983), boycotting was an aspect of popular resistance in the Ottoman Empire and a reaction to European economic intervention. Muslim Ottomans were uncomfortable with the growing unequal economic distribution among religious groups that accompanied the introduction of early capitalism to the Ottoman Empire (Mardin, 2017). Similarly, local fabric production was important to KD as a group of Muslim women. This is why both Hikmet and C.H. referred to this issue in their articles. Nationalising clothing or inventing a new national style of clothing included the dimension of production and consumption (the Ottoman economy) as well as a change in clothing styles. The contradiction of accepting the *ilim* side of Europe, while avoiding the non-*ilim* side of Europe became important in the case of C. H., as well. She offered to invent a form of national clothing using *ilim*. Historians, artists, and writers were a group of modern intellectuals who engaged with *ilim* and C H. assigns these modern intellectuals the task of creating Turkish modern clothing.

It is interesting that C. H. talks about invention, rather than using words such as modification, change, or the return to an 'original' style of clothing. The concept of invention is importantly analysed by Eric Hobsbawm (2013), who defines 'invented tradition' as a set of practices that establish norms through repetition. In nationalist movements, in order to create a group of people or the public, rituals are invented that influence the way people appear on the street (Özkırımlı, 2017). With the aim of promoting 'unchanging continuities', the invention of new clothing would signify a refusal to forget national feelings (Narayan, 1997) or become alienated from Ottomanness or Turkishness; it would represent a way to balance 'heart' and 'behaviours' (Turkish in heart and *Frenk* in everyday life), in C.H.'s words. In other

words, continuity is offered by *ilim* through the work of historians, artists, and writers. However, C. H. also refers to 'women with good aesthetic taste' as a part of the fashion organisation. C. H. does not explain why national clothing needs to be aesthetic; however, the appearance of the word 'aesthetic' is interesting.

I am interested in how 'women' appear between two categories associated with *ilim* ('historians' and 'artists and writers'), providing their 'aesthetics' in the quotation above. C. H. implies that, if women historians had existed at the time, they would have been assigned to such a fashion organisation. However, her emphasis is on the *ilim* side of the organisation. This is a good moment to introduce the relationship between *iffet* and clothing, which I will analyse in detail below. In the previous chapter, I analysed a particular association between *ilim* and masculinity, arguing that KD writers undermine this association by inhabiting the position of the Oriental Other, while reproducing a normative understanding of womanhood at the same time. Now, I suggest that there is an association between *ilim* and desexuality, rather than masculinity or femininity, in the quotation above. Founding a fashion organisation based on *ilim* is a good example of one of the strategies that is used to prove modernisation does not endanger women's *iffet*. In other words, *ilim* appears as an 'desexual objective truth', which removes the risk of women losing their sexual purity (*iffet),* while demanding a change to national clothing as a part of modernisation. Having said that, the negotiations of *iffet* through clothing are carried out in several complicated layers. Building on my analysis of the invention of women's clothing, the following section analyses these complex negotiations in relation to *iffet*.

6.4 Negotiations of *iffet:* when, where, what to wear?

6.4.1 Standardised clothing for women and the nation

As one of their justifications for inventing a new form of national clothing, KD writers often referred that Ottoman Muslim women wore many different types of dress. Furthermore, they argued that women had to modify their way of dressing in different neighbourhoods and among different men. Nearly all of them wrote that a woman's

need to consider what garments to wear and where to where them was a negative issue. Here is a specific example, involving the veil:

> We [Ottoman Muslim women] open our veil in some places and then close it. It is different near Ahmet and different near Mehmet [common Muslim male names]. Different in Şehzadebaşı, Fatih, Beyoğlu and Moda [different neighbourhoods in İstanbul]. Our way of dressing should not change like this (Server Safa, issue 92. p. 445, *Peçe* [Veil]).

When Server presents the issue of women changing their clothing in different contexts, she is not referring to general changes, but to certain specific changes that bother her. For example, Ottoman Muslim women would wear different clothes at home and to a wedding. Karademir-Hazır (2017) discusses the way in which clothing practices shape the feeling of a body. Server cites negative feelings, in relation to Muslim women's clothing: specifically, a complaint about a specific object (the veil) and the sense that women have to think about their clothing near Muslim men (Ahmet and Mehmet) and in public spaces (neighbourhoods in İstanbul). This complaint about veiling is rather about women experiencing the norm of needing to keep their *iffet* pure in the Muslim community and in different city neighbourhoods. According to Server, the new clothing invented for women should be the same for every Muslim woman and the same everywhere; it should be 'standard' in such a way that no woman's *iffet* could be challenged. Many KD writers shared this view[140]. Similarly, Aziz Haydar mentions that the invention of a 'unique' style of clothing for Muslim women could support the nation:

> Are the rules of Islam different in the village and in here? [...] I might avoid saying 'rotten', but our clothing has changed recently [in a bad direction]. [...] Our nation is ignorant and poor. [...] I am happy to wear a sack if it's good for my nation. The new clothing should be compatible with Islam and it should be aesthetic (Aziz Haydar, issue 52. p. 57, *Çok Düşünmeli* [Need for Intense Thinking]).

[140] Only one article clearly challenged this idea by saying that 'women should not dress as if they are in military'. There was no response to this idea from other KD writers.

In considering Aziz's comment, I find two points particularly important: 'clothing for the nation' and the example of rural women. Firstly, it is not a coincidence that Aziz Haydar refers to the nation as 'ignorant' and offers to wear a 'sack', even though it is ugly. Using an affective altruistic language, she says this change has to be made for the nation itself, and she is ready to commit herself to the nation. As the sack example implies, the new national clothing must be aesthetic, not because women want to be beautiful (or sexual), but because it is needed for the nation itself. This was one of the ways in which women could claim that the changes to women's everyday lives were not a threat of modernisation. They implied that the change was needed, but would not threaten their *iffet.* Their *iffet* would continue to be pure, even though the change was necessary. Secondly, she makes her point by referring to a difference between the village and the city in the late Ottoman Empire. The veil was commonly used by Muslim women in urban areas in the late Ottoman Empire, rather than in rural areas (Toprak, 1998). It was not unusual for urban women to hold images of rural women as the 'Other' (İlyasoğlu, 1996).

Many KD writers, as urban Muslim women, referred to rural Muslim women either as uneducated and without *ilim,* or as already free – an example for urban women. On some occasions, as in Aziz's article, these two representations occur at the same time. Later in her article, she combines two representations of Muslim rural women, viewing them as 'freer but ignorant women' whom other women should learn from. In other words, rural Muslim women represented an Other for urban Muslim women. A similar contradictory category involved non-Muslim Ottoman women. In the following section, I will refer to the position of non-Muslim Ottoman women in the negotiation of *iffet* during the modernisation process.

6.4.2 The *iffet* of Non-Muslim Ottoman women

Like rural women, non-Muslim Ottoman women appear in KD as an Other category, either to demarcate Muslim women as a group (in a similar way to the category, 'urban women') or to provide a good example to the Muslim community – or both of them together. The negotiation of *iffet* through clothing was a field that included both of

these representations. For example, Belkıs Şevket writes about this issue, starting with the topic of the standardisation of clothing:

> We should not only look to İstanbul to discuss clothing. Bukhara [now in Uzbekistan], Iran, Afghanistan, India, Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, Anatolia – these are all places where Islam exists. Some women cover all their face, but only eyes are visible. [...] In Kadıkoy, Prince of Islands, Bosporus [all neighbourhoods in İstanbul], women wear anything they want, and nobody says anything [to the women]. Are men different in Bosporus and İstanbul [city centre]? Why should women change their dress based on the neighbourhood? [They say] we are taking the attention of men without a veil, but does it mean non-Muslims [women] are not? [As a solution] we should nationalise our clothing (Belkıs Şevket, issue 72. p. 232, *Tesettür ve Peçe* [Clothing and Veil]).

Belkıs starts with a similar emphasis on the problem of women changing their clothes in different situations. 'Women can wear *anything* they want, and *nobody* says anything' is an interesting sentence to unpack. 'Anything' is not really anything – it does not include circus clothes, underwear, or different types of clothing. In this context, 'anything' means that women can choose whether or not to wear the veil. 'Nobody' is likewise not nobody. In the following sentence, she points to Ottoman men as the subjects being distracted by women's clothing. This is important: Belkıs frames the category 'men' as the group responsible for women's unfair need to change clothes. This is another way of saying that women's *iffet* is not threatened, even though Belkıs focuses on men's attitude. She does this by referring to non-Muslim women, with the implication that one should not consider non-Muslim Ottoman women immoral because they do not wear veils. From this position, Belkıs Şevket asks: if not wearing veils will sexualise Muslim women, how does one account for non-Muslim women, who don't wear veils in the Muslim way (*tesettur*)? Safiye Büran further clarifies this position:

> We should cover ourselves morally and logically. But such a shame to see our current way of clothing! We can talk to grocer, butcher, dustman, or butler but not to some other men [who are outside the family]. We open the veil in Beyoğlu, then close it on other places. Covering ourselves is not related to *namus* [used as *iffet* in this context]. *İffet* is not about covering oneself. If that were the case, all Muslims would have *iffet* while all non-Muslims would be without it (Safiye Büran, issue 81. p. 326, *Acaip An'Anat* [Strange Times]).

Safiye says that, if *iffet* means one's sexual honour, it should not be an exclusively Muslim category. She implies that non-Muslim women are not immoral simply because they dress in a different way. What is important is the argument that Muslim women do not lose their *iffet* if they do not use the veil. In other words, there is no inherent *iffet* in the veil. In both Belkis and Safiye's articles, Ottoman non-Muslim women appear as a category to suggest that the change in Ottoman Muslim women's clothing does not harm Ottoman Muslim women's *iffet.* This suggestion is legitimised through the idea that it is unacceptable to claim Ottoman non-Muslim women do not have *iffet* (as Belkis' veil example shows). Thus, Ottoman non-Muslim women appear as a category of something 'not' Ottoman Muslim; but in this specific case, the category of Ottoman non-Muslim women is included as a 'good example' to criticise the assumption that the usage of women's clothing might damage women's *iffet.* Although the reference to Ottoman non-Muslim women demarcates the boundaries of Ottoman Muslim women; it does not refer to an explicit ethnocentric exclusion or a threat in this example.

Ottoman non-Muslim women also appear in the negotiation of *iffet* a different way. Memnune bint-i Hasan says that, when she visited İstanbul from Eskisehir for the first time, she could not distinguish between Muslim and Christian women because the Muslim women were not dressed 'properly'. She then suggests that Muslim women should follow Muslim clothing rules to 'conserve the *iffet* of Islam' (issue 26, p. 269, *İstihlak-i Dahili Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesine*). In another issue, Zeliha Osman takes a very different position, criticising Turkish Muslim men for being embarrassed by Muslim women's clothing because it is not 'modern'. According to Zeliha, men cannot be satisfied with Muslim women's appearance in public because their clothing is seen as old and ugly; thus, Muslim men marry non-Muslim women, which Zeliha considers to be damaging to the purity of the nation. Tanıl Bora (2005) says that Muslim women's *iffet* at a national level is reinforced by non-Muslim's women's lack of *iffet.* These last two KD writers supports Bora's point. Memnune implies that Muslim women are losing their *iffet* by being similar to Ottoman non-Muslim women and Zeliha says that Muslim men marrying non-Muslim women affects the *iffet* of the nation. This kind of an appearance of Ottoman non-Muslim women is consistent with what I described earlier as the complicity of Ottoman Muslim women's movements with exclusionary

ethnic and religious-centric nationalism. In this kind of perspective, the 'nation's purity' becomes a property of Ottoman Muslim men and women, as well as the sexual protection of it.

Even though Bora's explanation is useful in these two cases, and Ottoman non-Muslim women are referred to as an Other in the national context of the Ottoman Empire, non-Muslim women do not appear as a consistently negative category, as shown above. Ottoman non-Muslim women can also be used to demonstrate the purity of Muslim women. This shows the complexity of the negotiation of *iffet* on the part of urban Muslim women in relation to urban non-Muslim women. However, one way or another, all of these urban non-Muslim categories appear as Others to urban Muslim women. Having said that, rural Muslim women and non-Muslim Ottoman women are not the only categories involved in this negotiation. Urban Muslim women themselves create their own 'insider Other' category, through a discussion of fashion, analysed below.

6.4.3 A bad habit: fashion

I have shown how KD writers wanted to change the normative clothing, while proving that the change in women's clothing would not threaten the *iffet* of women or the nation, but was necessary to ensure modernisation. KD writers also described a phenomenon that they did consider to be a threat to the nation: 'fashion'. In this context, 'fashion' referred to a Euro-American-inspired style of clothing that did not normatively resemble Muslim woman's clothing (Çakır, 2016). With the transition to a 'mass fashion system' (Jirousek, 2000), many Ottoman women adopted the European style of clothing; this trend was associated with fashion as a negative term (Brummett, 1995). Here are two examples that engage with the discussion of fashion:

> Overemphasising fashion is a problem for morality, and it is a disaster. Our husbands would have to be dishonest to provide the money [for our clothes]. We are always trying to imitate the bad sides of the Occident, we cannot love our nation (Sıdıka Ali Rıza, issue 24, p. 246, *Ben de Aynı Fikirdeyim* [I, too, Agree]).

> The defect we have that devastates us is fashion *[modacılık]*. There is no other nation that loves fashion as we do. It is mostly practised by women. Europe is

> inventing all this fashion and thus it is rich. If we keep our attitude, we cannot have progress (F. Şerefettin, issue 58. p. 86, *Modacılık,* [Fashion]).

These two women, both from İstanbul, wrote to KD for issues 24 and 58, with a similar idea: fashion consumption, which both authors considered a women's practice, was related to imitation of Europe was a betrayal of the nation. In both of the articles, fashion is used as a negative term that means an 'imitation of the bad sides of the Occident'. For Ottoman Muslim women who wanted to change Muslim women's clothing, criticising fashion, defined in this way, was a way of separating themselves from other Muslim women who lacked *iffet.* Pointing to the danger inherent in imitating the Occident through clothing and betraying the nation in this way enabled them to separate themselves from the 'insider Others'. It showed that they were the ones who were being careful not to betray the nation; they were actually searching for purity through the changes they demanded.

I will conclude Section 3 with Brummett's research on cartoons. She argues that cartoons that show Ottoman women engaging with modernisation often present an 'Oriental' female image, as opposed to a Westernised Ottoman female image. Brummett says that the following cartoon, which appeared in a magazine called *Karagöz,* alludes to women's organisations of the time, which would have included OMHNC and KD. This is the cartoon published on 12 July 1913:

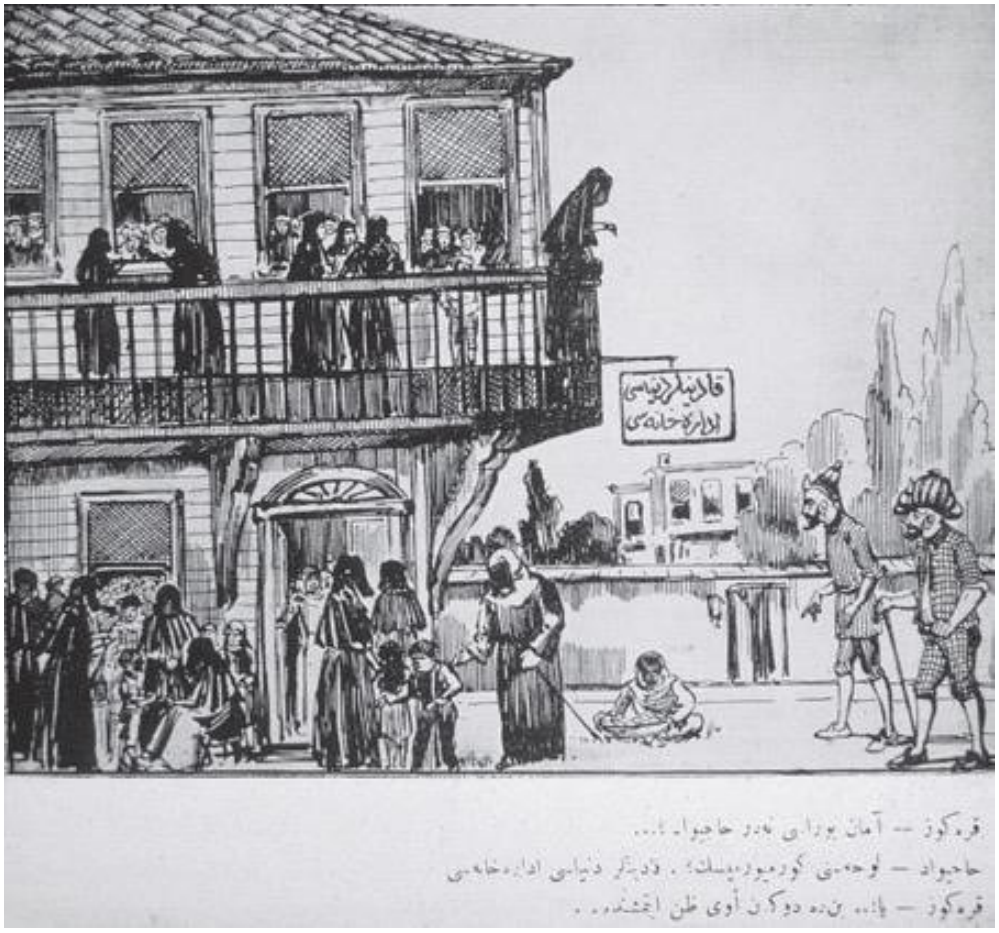

Figure 6: Ottoman women's gathering (*Karagöz* magazine)[141]

Karagoz[142]: Mercy, what's this here, Hacivat?

Hacivat: Didn't you see the sign? It's the 'Women's World Bureau.'

Karagoz: Really! I would have thought it was a wedding house[143] (cited by Brummeett, p. 299).

[141] Brummett, 2007, p. 299.

[142] *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* are common figures in Ottoman cartoons and theatres.

[143] Translated by Brummett.

As Brummett explains, a gathering in a house would usually indicate a wedding, as women would be together in that context. Thus, a house full of women making demands for women was considered funny, according to this cartoon. Brummett thinks it was not a coincidence that the women in the cartoon above wore Western-style clothing; this reflected the idea that women's associations could engage with modernisation while still looking 'proper' (Brummett, 2007, p. 299). Thus, proving that *iffet* was not under threat, while demanding changes in women's clothing, was an important way of legitimising women's demands. It was an attempt by women to have a say on the proposed change by 'playing with the line', an analogy I mentioned when explaining the notion of *iffet*. Sometimes they cross the line: demanding a change in women's clothing for modernisation, even though this may appear to threaten *iffet.* Sometimes they blur the line: mentioning an Other (non-Muslim) category of women in both positive and negative ways to prove that Muslim women are not endangered by modernisation. And sometimes they establish the line: blaming women who cannot understand the necessary balance between modernisation and nationalism or who simply imitate the West through fashion. This metaphoric line was a fluid one that changed shape, based on the women's negotiations.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how *iffet* was negotiated by KD women. In common with many other women's movements at different times, members had to demand some changes while, at the same time, proving they were part of the culture; this enabled them to legitimate themselves and gain respectability while engaging in women's movements, (Abu-Lughod, 1998b; Bier, 2011; İlyasoğlu, 1996; Kandiyoti, 2007a; Narayan, 1997). These negotiations included a sexual dimension (Mosse, 1982) because a threat to the normative femininity appeared to endanger the whole nation's purity (Najmabadi, 1997). This was a paradox because normative Ottoman Muslim femininities were, at the same time, seen as an embarrassment because they were not 'modern'. A change from these normativities was desired, for the sake of modernisation, by both men and women. This issue becomes more complicated when the pluralities of femininities are considered; thus, 'new modern ideal femininities' were constituted in relation to 'Others', such as rural Muslim femininities and urban non-Muslim femininities. I have

shown that even these femininities (rural Muslim and urban non-Muslim) were not singular but varied, including, for example, freer and uneducated rural Muslim representations and insider and outsider urban non-Muslim representations of Ottoman women. These femininities were brought into the negotiation of changes and continuities by Ottoman women urban Muslim to support a modern and national subjectivity.

Dress is a good topic to follow in these negotiations. Muslim women's clothing has become important to many researchers, given its relation with women's bodies and Orientalism (Ahmed, 2011; Göle, 2000; Mahmood, 2005; Scott, 2007). Modernisation processes in non-Western contexts have frequently been discussed in relation to different forms of dress, from the coloniser's perspective (Balasescu, 2005; Chehabi, 1993; Edwards, 2001; Jirousek, 1996; Najmabadi, 1993; Najmabadi, 2000; Yılmaz, 2013). Comaroff and Comaroff, for example, refer to the 'Protestant desire to cover African "nakedness"' (1997, p. 220) in the context of South Africa. Edwards (2001) explains how similarities between the appearance of men and women (the lack of a visible demarcation, especially through hair) bothered European colonisers. In this chapter, I have analysed some Ottoman Muslim women's engagement with modernisation and nationalism in relation to Occidentalism, focusing on women's clothing debates in the late Ottoman Empire.

The clothing discussions were strongly associated with the public sphere ('what to wear *outside*') in the Ottoman women's movement (Çakır, 2016; Demirdirek, 2011; Köse, 2014; Sancar, 2012). In studies of this issue, researchers have argued that Ottoman women were looking to make the shift from the private sphere to the public sphere. According to these studies, the public sphere was associated with women's emancipation, through women's discussions of clothing. The present thesis, however, changes the focus to negotiations of normative/sexual regulations of femininities, rather than an oppressive private sphere and liberated public sphere binary. In the following chapter, I will argue that women's emancipation was demanded in both the public and the very private sphere of the home and family in complex and contradictory ways, especially through the motherhood position.

Chapter 7 -
'MOOD OF COMMITMENT': STRATEGIC DISCOURSES OF MOTHERHOOD

7.1 Introduction

Tell me the difference [between women and men], I am listening

Even if we [women] are slaves now, slavery is temporary, we will certainly escape

(Mediha İsmail: Sultanahmet, [Are we slaves], issue 8, p. 76)

When I met one of my aunts, a few years after moving to the UK, she told me a story she had heard: 'In the West, parents start charging their children for rent after the age of eighteen.' This was unacceptable and unbelievable to my aunt, who had published a book on 'how to make a good marriage', because her understanding of motherhood was based on altruism and dedication to children (although not necessarily husbands), like other women of her generation, including my mother. She said, 'I am even willing to starve, but I will always spend all of my money and well-being on my children. In the West, poor children cannot feel their mother's support like us'. My aunt lives in a conservative, middle-class circle and her family, including her children, is financially stable. Why – out of nowhere – does she talk about going hungry to feed her children? Her perspective does not seem unusual to me; such views are shared by many mothers in different ways (women's discourses about sacrificing for their children vary by class and urban/rural socio-political context). Moreover, her understanding of 'motherhood in the West' is relatively common in non-Western contexts (Chatterjee, 1993a; Peteet, 2001; Yazıcı, 2012) including Turkey, based on the common-sense and homogenising idea that family ties are weak in the 'West', in contrast to the 'East', where family is one of the most important values. My aunt shared this perspective. By showing that she

was altruistic and ready to suffer for her children, she wanted to claim respect for herself through motherhood, using her devotion to her children to highlight her important position in the society and claim a morally superior subjectivity. This type of motherhood position, which demands respectability and recognition through different forms of altruism and dedication, is a wider strategy adopted by many women in various movements (Charles & Hintjens, 1998). I suggest that the Ottoman Muslim women who wrote for KD magazine had a similar perspective and pointed to their status as mothers to demand women's engagement with modernisation in the late Ottoman Empire period. Building on the previous analysis of the production of Occidentalism and the negotiation of *iffet*, this chapter will investigate the strategic and affective usages of motherhood.

During the modernisation process, the social conditions of women in the family were extensively discussed, in relation to nationalist movements in various national contexts (Altınay, 2013; Amin, 2008; Bier, 2011; Bose, 1995; Fanon, 2008). This was partly because women were considered important to regulate women in order to promote reproduction and support the repopulation of the nation after intense wartime conditions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989; Bier, 2011; Blencowe, 2012; Boehmer, 2005b). However, nationalist movements also used feminine mother images of the nation, such as 'motherland', and masculine images of the state such as 'father state' in multiple and complex ways (Sancar, 2012; Şerifsoy, 2013). Occidentalist perspectives joined in symbolising the mother figure, a topic of special interest in this thesis (Ahıska, 2000, p. 56). Many nationalist movements have imagined the nation as a continuation of the family and extended family (Chatterjee, 1993a; Nicholson, 1986; Tavakoli-Targhi, 2002). This perspective involves positioning women as mothers, sisters, and wives within a broader understanding of the national family (Bora A., 2010, p. 54). Imagining women as female members of the national family launched a discussion that related national femaleness to women's *iffet* and the nation's *namus* (Najmabadi, 1997). Through this representation, the feminine figure of the nation might become 'a body to love and be devoted to, to possess and protect, to kill and die for', as in the case of Iran (Najmabadi, 1997, p. 445). In other words, the feminine figure of the nation represented both the spirit of the nation and also the difference between it and other nations (Sirman, 2008). As a result, it became an area

of interest to the people of the nation and a foundation for defining or managing the nation.

Many researchers have claimed that women were restrained, as a consequence of these family representations – and I can only agree with this argument in some respects. This chapter, however, argues that imagining women as part of a broader national family was a tactic used strategically by the women themselves to open a space during the late Ottoman Empire period. In this way, women could enter the patriotic 'family romance' (Najmabadi, 1997, p. 463), negotiate their positions, justify their demands for women's rights, prove their unequal positions in the society, build potential complicities with ethnonationalist perspectives, and produce demands for engaging with modernisation. When I refer to 'strategy', I do not mean a conscious or deliberate 'usage' of motherhood for a 'secret' or 'hidden' agenda; but I refer to a normative position that is frequently and productively mobilised to justify women's movements. As some researchers have shown, motherhood became more important than any other position or role for Ottoman women's movements (Akşit, 2010b; Çakır, 2016; Demirdirek, 2011). I locate this positioning as a strategic usage associated with the 'mood of commitment', a concept developed in this chapter.

The new family and new woman were very significant images during the modernisation process, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. Along with other researchers, Chatterjee (1993a) focused on the image of the new woman in discourses that produced a new form of patriarchy in the family. In nationalist narratives, this image had to be different from the traditional image (being 'new'), while also differing from the reified and homogenised constructions of Western women and the Western family to avoid the problem of imitation. Discussions of national clothing, analysed in the previous chapter, reflected the desire to avoid imitation. In their discussions, KD writers argued that modernisation required a form of national clothing for women that did not imitate Western clothing, both to maintain a national essence and also engage with modernisation. The new woman image expressed a superior form of femininity that was both modern and national. Aksu Bora describes the complexity of such new femininities:

> A new woman image was established in opposition to the other images: traditional woman and 'tango woman': The first was both the victim and reproducer of the 'old family' that modern men tried to escape. [...] The second one was educated and modern, unlike the first, but different from the first in being selfish and unstable. The 'new woman' combined the good sides of these two (the devotion and loyalty of the first, the education and modernity of the second) (Bora, 2010, p. 59).

According to Bora, the new-woman image was not simply an image of a 'modern women' but also it appeared as an image that protects the 'national essence'. Thus, the devotion and loyalty of traditional women and the education and modernity of modern women came together to create the new woman in this context. It was very important to distinguish the new woman from a simple 'modern women' (Sirman, 2005). Furthermore, as the passage above indicates, the new-woman image was not just the sum of modern and traditional parts, but a complex construction produced through contradictions. In previous chapters, I have discussed the complex relationships and negotiations between modern scientific and technological knowledge (*ilim*) and national identities, as an important dimension of the production of Occidentalism in the case of KD magazine. At this point, I will examine the devotion and loyalty dimensions of the emerging Ottoman Muslim new woman and new family, with their complex and complicated modern and national characteristics, in the late Ottoman Empire period[144]. Why did women who demanded engagement with emerging modernisation argue that women's devotion and loyalty were important? What were the other characteristics of the new woman image? Specifically, how did KD writers use their own positions, such as motherhood, to negotiate women's place in the modernisation process and to argue for women's emancipation? These questions led me to investigate the affective production and strategic uses of the 'motherhood position' in the 'mood of commitment'. Cooke's question is interesting here: 'How [can] a subalternized group assume its essentialized representations and

[144] The new-woman' image was not limited to the Muslim community in the late Ottoman Empire. A similar discourse about the 'new woman' also involved Armenian women (Bilal*, et al.*, 2006). Further research on the intersectionality of gender, ethnicity, and religion would contribute to investigations of the new-woman category.

use them strategically against those who have ascribed them' (2000, p. 179). Although Cooke does not adopt a deterministic understanding of subalternised groups, the question implies a binary between the essentialized representations and those who ascribe them. However, this question supports my own interest in how the position of motherhood was used to demand engagement with modernisation. It can also be transformed into the following question: How did some Ottoman Muslim urban women use normative representations of themselves strategically? With these questions in mind, this chapter begins by examining a common tendency, in 20th century women's movements, to negotiate the role of women from the position of motherhood. I will introduce the concept of a 'mood of commitment', which invited an active engagement with modernisation to ensure national progress in that case of Ottoman Empire. Some emotions attached to the mood of commitment and motherhood in KD magazine, such as the 'sadness of the nation', women's pain, and self-blame, will then be unpacked. It will also be important to unpack the affective constructions of negotiations and subjectivities through these emotions. Thirdly, I will explore usages of motherhood in relation to demands for engagement with *ilim* and education, developing the concept of 'scientific motherhood' and presenting the demand for mothers to control the home. Finally, I will analyse a debate about one form of arranged marriage known as *görücülük* to further investigate motherhood.

The interest in research on the family in the late Ottoman Empire is increasing (Akın, 2014; Akşit, 2010b; Altınbaş, 2014; Sancar, 2012; Şerifsoy, 2013; Toprak, 2014; Metinsoy, 2020). Even though data limitations and the lack of any systematic census that recorded family structure (including family size, marriage ages, percentage of polygamous households, and remarriages) creates research difficulties, a few tax registrations and court records provide some sources of information on these issues (Duben, 1985). The analysis below is mainly based on narratives published in KD articles, which discussed marriage, motherhood, women's duties, mothers' relationship with their children, and similar issues. KD magazine provides very detailed information about these topics, making my analysis possible, as I will show below.

7.2 The 'Mood of Commitment': Actively Working for the Nation

Several researchers have defined Ottoman modernisation using affective concepts, such as 'tired and broken' (Berktay, 2012), 'melancholic' (Çelik, 2011), 'in turbulence' (Arat, 1999b) 'alarmist', 'eclectic' (Bora T., 2017), and 'chaotic' – as well as psychological conditions, such as 'schizophrenic' and 'paranoiac' (Berktay, 2012; Brummett, 1999) to refer to the dramatic effect of change. These concepts highlight contradictions between modernisation and nationalism (or the balance of outer and inner domains, to use Chatterjee's terms) during the late Ottoman Empire. Why should Ottoman modernisation be paranoiac or broken (Berktay, 2012) when Western modernisations are not discussed in such terms by these writers?

In a larger sense, the affective limitations mentioned above echo the depiction of the Ottoman Empire of the late 19th and early 20th centuries as the 'sick man of Europe'. In other words, some approaches label Ottoman and Turkish modernisation as 'unstable'. The notion of the sick man of Europe refers to the empire's physical instability, in relation to Europe (implying that the Ottoman Empire was sick and Europe was strong, as discussed in Chapter 4). Although this type of labelling has many different dimensions, the issue I want to emphasise here is the pathologizing of Ottoman modernisation – mentally, emotionally, and physically. This thesis avoids using pathologizing affective concepts, looking instead at the 'mood of commitment' that is developed in this section. I do not consider the contradictions that occurred during Ottoman modernisation to be evidence of any mental, emotional, or physical pathology. Rather, they are aspects of discourses that produced complex articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism during the late Ottoman Empire period. These discourses are analysed throughout this thesis; here, I will look more closely at the way in which KD writers used their motherhood positions, including family and marriage discussions, to demand the right to participate in modernisation. With this aim in mind, I will focus on the 'mood of commitment' inspired by some feminist contributions to affect theory.

In Chapter 2, I noted that questioning the ways in which feelings are negotiated in the public sphere and the forms they take has recently become an important debate in

feminist and queer studies engaged with affect studies (Ahall, 2018; Andrijasevic *et al.*, 2014). Thinking about the ways in which power circulates through emotions and how political ways of being and knowing are produced through affective relations has prompted new areas of feminist thinking (Cifor, 2016). From these perspectives, the relationship between discourse and affect has been a key discussion point (Pedwell & Whitehead, 2012). My research follows many scholars who consider emotions to be a social and cultural construction, rather than a psychological issue (Ahmed, 2014b; Gregory & Ahall, 2015; Jasper & L., 2014).

Sara Ahmed (2014a), a significant scholar who has contributed to affect theories from a feminist and queer perspective, conceptualises a notion of 'mood' inspired by Martin Heidegger's concept of attunement. In her definition, a mood is an affective lens that allows us to focus closely on some issues. She notes that moods and feelings have different logics and belong to different orders, given that 'we might *have* a feeling but *be in* a mood' (2014a, p. 22). Using this framework, I develop the concept of a 'mood of commitment' used to justify Ottoman Muslim women's emancipation demands during modernisation, on grounds that they supported the 'needs of the nation'. I use 'commitment' here to denote a form of dedication to a common good (such as the nation) that is constantly active, characterised by giving one's body and soul to one important cause. The Turkish word that inspired me to coin this term is '*çalışma*', often used by KD writers to demand women's emancipation, as the following section will explore.

In Turkish, '*çalışma*' literally means 'working'; the KD writers used it to mean working altruistically for the common good, rather than simply having an occupation. Although this work sometimes included concrete actions (such as demanding specific issues on education and work), it generally referred to becoming active and engaging with the changes of modernisation; 'becoming active' was usually ambiguous. Tanıl Bora (2017) mentions efforts to become active and pro-active during Ottoman modernisation as a general strand of Ottoman political and intellectual thinking that did not relate specifically to women. He argues that for Ottoman intellectuals the word *çalısma* meant something similar to the Protestant work ethic in Weber's conceptualisation or Hannah Arendt's 'vita activa'. These terms refer to dedicating

oneself, with a sense of belonging. For this reason, I consider commitment to be a mood that people are in, rather than a feeling they have.

The 'mood of commitment' might be an important concept for analysing different forms of nationalism and late Ottoman modernisation. This thesis will closely examine women's movements, with a special emphasis on the motherhood position. Building on the argument that many women who engaged with modernisation had to prove their loyalty to the culture they wanted to change and prove that their *iffet* was still pure, I suggest linking motherhood to the mood of commitment. As previously discussed, Ottoman Muslim women wanted to place special emphasis on the new woman's motherhood because it implied devotion and loyalty to her children and – more importantly – her nation. To put it more clearly, the KD writers positioned 'motherhood emotions' strategically, emphasising women's mission to change the family in order to change the nation (Bose, 1995). The following section develops the mood of commitment by referring to specific emotions often used by KD writers to demand engagement with modernisation in the late Ottoman Empire period.

7.3 A 'sad nation', 'women in pain', self-blame: women's commitment

Various parts of this thesis refer to KD articles that evaluate the Ottoman Empire's backwardness, need to progress, economic dependency, need for national clothing, and similar issues. In these evaluations and debates, they referred to many affective dimensions, including Europe, where young and elderly people are happy; misery; shame towards Europeans or shaming Ottomans; and hoping for a better future. This section refers to three important emotions mentioned in KD magazine that provide a key to the mood of commitment: the nation's sadness, women's pain, and self-blame. I argue that these three emotions were used to show women's commitment to the nation and to invite others to work, legitimising women's participation in modernisation through their dedication.

7.3.1 The nation's deep sadness: Active Working

In her article, KD writer Nevbahar talks about the importance of working, associated here with the Turkish word *çalışma*. Although I will later replace *çalışma* with the English word, 'working' I wanted to reinforce its broad meaning, seen below in the following quotation:

> Let's not think about anything else, it is time to work, we should not waste our time. Look, our nation is going through deep sadness, [it is a] big disaster due to laziness. We are crying all the time as we see the tears of fear coming from our hearts. But it does not provide any solution. [...] I need to repeat; we can succeed if we work. Let's work; all of us, let's work, because the happiness of the nation is possible if we work [...] The God [Allah] does not like lazy subjects, but likes hardworking ones (Nevbahar, granddaughter of Subhi Pasa, issue 33, p. 336, *Terakkide Sahsiyat ile Ugrasmak Olmaz* [Do not Grapple with Individuals during Progress]).

Nevbahar refers to the nation as a sad being, which cries all the time. According to her, this sadness is a consequence of laziness; working is the only cure for the nation's sadness. The self-blame dimension ('crying due to their own laziness') will be discussed in Subsection 3.3. Here, I want to point out three work-related issues that relate to the mood of commitment. First, Nevbahar refers to a static negative emotion (sadness) to promote and invite others to engage in active working. She implies that, while the nation is sad, crying is not a solution. She encourages others to be active by offering to work many times and not thinking about anything else. Any action or thought that does not include a commitment to work should be abandoned. All time not spent working is wasted time. I suggest that she considered working as a solution to the sadness of the nation. In her understanding, working was an invitation to make an active commitment for the common good.

Who are the people who must work and make this active commitment? Nevbahar refers to 'we', apparently a group of people who are responsible for the nation and its sadness. At the same time, this group can and should work; it can potentially succeed.

Thus, 'we' are the ones who should work and be hardworking[145]. In her article, Nevbahar does not explicitly refer to Muslim, Turkish, or Ottoman identities. It is 'we' who want the nation to be happy and can be loved by God [Allah] because 'we' committed themselves to working hard. According to Aksu Bora (2010), the inclusion and exclusion of religious references are very strategic in women's movements in many non-Western contexts. I would also like to point out that the purpose of the work cited above was not just to restore the nation but also to be liked by the Muslim God. This means that commitment was needed to support the nation in both general and religious terms. Moreover, it shows that the mood of commitment was constructed by dedicating one's body and soul (sadness or happiness, national and religious positions).

Thirdly, Nevbahar refers to the nation's happiness. She implies that its sadness can be relieved by working, which will bring the nation happiness. For this reason, 'we' should dedicate themselves to the nation and work for it. This promise of national happiness (Ahmed, 2010) underlines the importance of commitment, as Nevbahar emphasises, while proving women's commitment to modernisation, as I will show in detail below. Importantly, the mood of commitment requires active work; one must dedicate one's whole existence to the nation. This should be the only focus, excluding anything else produced by the emotions of sadness or implied happiness. I suggest that, from Nevbahar's perspective, overcoming the sadness of the nation was a process in which both women and men would work to promote the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire. The following section refers to women's engagement with modernisation, using the emotion of pain.

---

[145] This perspective reminds me of Atatürk's famous quotation: 'Turk; think, work, be proud'. These are the three pieces of advice that he gave to the Turkish nation. It is useful to remember that Kemalist modernisation was not the product of Atatürk or the Republican of Turkey; but there were important continuations of late Ottoman modernisation (Hanioğlu, 2008; Quataert, 2000).

7.3.2 Women Living in Hell and in Pain: Devotion to the Nation

Nevbahar refers to nation's sadness (and potential happiness) by emphasising the commitment to working above. In the following article, another KD writer Nedime also refers to work, but she writes specifically about women's participation in the modernisation process during the late Ottoman Empire period. Interestingly, the emotion of sadness becomes pain when the article focuses on women's participation in modernisation. Nedime refers to KD magazine using its full name, Women's World (*Kadınlar Dünyası*), to discuss the situation of women during Ottoman modernisation:

> Women's World! [...] So, what does 'women's world' mean; or rather can one imagine a world that belongs to women? Women lived in hell for all of these years, not in the world. We have no connection with the world. Women's hell has bottomless wells, fire, screams [...] Oh, there will be a time for us [one day in the future], and we will also have a world and we will be happy. However, we will keep working after this point without giving up because we realise the nation's misery is our fault because we did not raise healthy strong heroes. It might be possible for us to tolerate living in this hell, if the important issue was anything else but the life of the country. [...] We will make our nation, our country and ourselves happy (Nedime Ihsan, issue 12. p. 120 - 121, *Ati icin Umitvar Olalim* [Hope for Future]).

This dramatic language, which depicts a horror scene, with 'bottomless wells, fire, screams' in a 'women's hell' and includes women's self-blame for the 'nation's misery', might seem unexpected from today's feminist perspective. However, this is a very significant article to examine, as Nedime questions the very meaning of a women's world as a part of the women's movement that engaged with modernisation and nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire period. When she thinks about a world that belongs to women, she finds that both physical and mental pain unite women who are estranged from any 'liveable world'. According to her, a world for women does not exist; but still, women can become happy, and create a liveable life, if they keep working, as Nevbahar suggested. However, Nedime emphasised that she does not demand the end of pain or women's happiness for the benefit of the women themselves.

According to Nedime, who speaks on behalf of other women, living in hell can be tolerable. However, it is bad for the nation – that is why women do not want to live in

hell or pain. Through this altruistic emphasis and shared self-sacrifice, she implies that women demand emancipation for the nation, rather than themselves; they believe that the nation, as an entity, should not have to sacrifice or suffer. She implies that women are so devoted and loyal that they will even accept physical and emotional pain for the nation. Thus, women's work and happiness (or the promise of happiness) is important for the happiness of the nation, not just themselves. In other words, women's participation in modernisation in this mood of commitment provides proof of devotion and altruism, which includes the negotiation of emotions such as pain and happiness, as KD magazine shows.

One important point to emphasise is that Nedime holds women responsible for the nation's misery because they have not succeeded in raising strong heroes. Elif Ekin Akşit, who writes about inclusions and exclusions in the public sphere in the late Ottoman Empire and Turkey, mentions the common narrative of women raising children for national military goals in various broad national contexts (Akşit, 2009) as I also discussed before (Davin 1978). I also drew attention to the questionings around 'who has the right to speak on behalf of Others' in my discussion of the complicity of women's movements (Burton 1990; Midgley 2007). When Nedime mentions 'women' as a general category, she refers to an unequal position of women – such as women's lack of belonging and connection to the world. At the same time, she refers to a womanhood that will be *willing to* devote herself to the nation, and to raise 'healthy strong heroes' for the nation. This is a normative womanhood that might willingly tolerate any 'hell', but would 'have to' be happy in order to make the nation, country, and themselves happy.

In the quotation above, Nedime draws on these narratives, citing failed motherhood as the cause of the nation's misery. However, I suggest that this kind of self-blame, produced by motherhood in the mood of commitment, does not aim to denigrate women or motherhood, but instead to show the importance of motherhood, claim respectability and recognition for women, and claim subjectivity. I will analyse self-blame and subjectivity further in the following section.

7.3.3 'Why did we end up like this?': Self-blame

Self-blame is evident in both Nevbahar's and Nedime's understanding of commitment. To recap their positions: Nevbahar attributes the nation's sadness to the disaster caused by Ottoman women's laziness and Nedime attributes the nation's misery to Ottoman women's failure to be good mothers (by raising healthy, strong heroes). Self-blame works in complicated ways in this context, beyond identifying a responsible guilty category that I will discuss in this section. In addition to laziness and failed motherhood, Fatımatüzzehra refers to religious duties:

> Non-Muslim Ottomans who understand the truth about our grand religion (Islam) are both surprised and sad for seeing us like this [...] We ended up in this way gradually and slowly. [...] Can we still not understand that we are in a very painful position due to [our] not working? The truth is so clear, wasting even one hour is a huge mistake, maybe a sin. Working is a religious duty [*farz*]; since this is an unquestionable truth, why don't we work? [...] Why can we not understand our duties? Inexperienced nations [referring to 'Europe' because they do not have a 'great' past like the Ottoman Empire] are in happiness since the day they understood this truth [about working and progress] and we are like a toy that they can play with. This happened, this is enough, but let's pull ourselves together (Fatımatüzzehra, issue 50, p. 6, *Maksadımız Teali ise Neden Çalışmayalım* [If Our Aim is Progress, Why wouldn't We Work]).

In this quotation, Fatımatüzzehra points to Ottoman non-Muslims to suggest that they are aware of Ottoman Muslims' 'laziness' and that Ottoman non-Muslims are sad to see Ottoman Muslims like this, expressing a form of pity. She does not create an explicit exclusion of Ottoman non-Muslims but, to Ottoman Muslims, they appear as a different group. Moreover, Fatımatüzzehra returns to 'Europe' in order to suggest they progressed because they 'worked'; thus, they 'play with' the Ottoman Empire like a toy now. This is again an Occidentalist perspective; the Ottoman Empire is located as an Other of Europe, and Europe is described as occupying a position of greater progress. According to Fatımatüzzehra, even though Europe does not have a 'great past' like the Ottoman Empire, it managed to 'work', something that she defines as a religious duty of Islam. Pointing to both the Other of Ottoman Muslims (i.e. Ottoman non-Muslims) and to the experience of being Othered by Europeans, she blames Ottoman Muslims for not being able to understand the significance of working, even though working is a religious duty for Muslims. She refers to a curative process that

suggests the modernisation process, with its invitation to work[146] and a similar emphasis on a promising future. I want to focus on two versions of self-blame, based on the last three quotations (from Nevbahar, Nezihe, and Fatımatüzzehra) as all of these articles discuss this emotion.

In the first version of self-blame, the self points to itself as the guilty party, responsible for the problem cited in all of these three articles. In other words, the guilty and responsible category directly refers to the self in this way. The implications are as follows: because the self is guilty, it must compensate, find a solution, and actively work to address this guilt. For example, Nevbahar thinks that the nation is sad because Ottomans are lazy (she includes herself in this category); thus, they are the ones who need to work. Nedime thinks that the nation is miserable and women are in pain because they have failed to be good mothers (she includes herself in this category); thus, women should be better mothers for the happiness of the nation. Finally, Fatımatüzzehra thinks that they ended up in a painful situation (approved by the gaze of national Others - Ottoman non-Muslims - and 'Europe') because Ottoman Muslims could not practise their religious duty (working); thus, they are the ones who need to engage with working. Working appears as a mean for modernisation and has an ontological implication as the religious emphasis and the meaning of womanhood shows. In all of these examples, the writers blame groups that they associate themselves with and say that guilty groups should accept responsibility for solving the problem they have created. In this way, the writers attribute subjectivity to those who are guilty, namely themselves. This is one way in which self-blame works: by blaming

[146] This is a good time to remind the reader that the notion of 'working' was very much emphasised in Kemalist modernisation as well. One of the main 'morals' that my Kemalist teacher father taught me was 'being hardworking altruistically', an approach that was similar to that promoted by the KD writers. This was very different from a neoliberal understanding of 'working' because it was considered dishonourable and shameful to aim at individual success. When I reflect on my father's approach and my critical relationship with this approach, I realise that my own criticism of contemporary neoliberalism is based on this kind of a criticism of individual success; I have adopted 'working' in my activist engagements. For an analysis of 'modernist fathers' and their critical daughters, see: Bora A. (2010).

the self, the self gains subjectivity as an active agent that must engage with modernisation and nationalism processes.

Having said that, self-blame works in complex and contradictory ways. The second way of self-blame also points to a group in the self category: as the self has several layers, writers separate themselves slightly from other insider selves. In this version of self-blame, the guilty category is someone else but is still strongly associated with the self, such as an inner critic. To illustrate, in the quotation above, Fatımatüzzehra refers to Ottoman Muslims who cannot practise what their religion requires: working. As the one inviting other Ottoman Muslims to work for progress and modernisation, she herself does not fall into the category of 'not practising Islam right'. The self to blame does not refer to people who are already engaged with modernisation but to others, who have not yet understood the importance of modernisation. By blaming someone associated with themselves, these writers give the subjectivity to themselves as the ones who see the importance of working and are already committed – or in the mood of commitment. In other words, self-blame does not operate simply by assigning responsibility to an assigned guilty category, such as the self. Some people who are still in the guilty category assume the position of inviting others to engage in commitment. The significant issue here is that these two ways of self-blame work at the same time in all three articles.

To sum up, I have analysed the nation's sadness, women's pain, and self-blame as the emotions often cited by KD writers to demonstrate their commitment, loyalty, and dedication to modernisation and nationalism. I suggest that some emotions, such as sadness, pain, happiness, and shame were the key to developing a mood of commitment to modernisation in the late Ottoman Empire. Analysing these emotions, which were negotiated in the public sphere by KD magazine, gave me the opportunity to discuss late Ottoman modernisation and its affective dimensions. Showing devotion and altruism and encouraging Ottoman people to be active for the nation by emphasising the importance of working and self-blame are different strategies that had significance for the emerging new woman of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the KD writers argued that women's participation in modernisation was needed because the nation was sad, women were in pain, and they were guilty and responsible. These

affective demands for women's participation in modernisation covered different topics; the following section will show that motherhood was one of the most important positions used by KD writers strategically to justify their demands, strengthen their position, and demand recognition by evoking a mood of commitment to the national interest.

7.3.4 Affective complicities

At this point, I can return to the issue of the complicity of women's movements, nationalism and modern imperialism that is also discussed in Hülya Adak's article on the 'mourning mother' (2019). Focusing on how some women writers produced forms of Turkish nationalism during the twentieth century, she suggests that a militarised and nationalised form of 'mourning' circulated in the work of three Turkish women authors writing about various wars, including World War I[147]. In their writing, the mourning of Turkish women was exclusively focused on their Turkish sons, imagined as a symbolic (Turkish) kinship. Occasionally, women published articles in KD about the death of their sons, fathers or husbands, mostly due to the Balkan Wars. The following is an example of these articles:

> You were the source of all of my desires and my biggest hopes in my life, my dear martyr son, Doğan! Look, your mother is without you now, lonely. My soul is bleeding, you made an unhealable wound in my heart, my son. [...] I will not be able to see you again, will I? I will see the nation instead of you, I will love the nation. I will take your revenge on the enemy, one day, for sure (Sultanahmet: Hacer İsmet, issue 1, p. 7. *Firak* [Seperation/Sadness]).

In this article, Hacer also writes that not knowing where her son died causes her pain and she announces that she is very proud of him. As can be seen in Hacer's article, some of these writings did not mention a specific category of nation. In her article, it is not clear if she refers to 'Turkish', 'Muslim', or 'Ottoman' when she mentions the

[147] Two of these writers (Mufide Ferit Tek and Halide Edib Adıvar) were actively writing at the time of KD's publication.

nation. Some of the other articles are much more direct, such as one named 'Feeling of Revenge', written by a writer named Aliye Cevat (issue 49, p. 497-502). Some writers like Aliye openly talk to Turkish mothers and strongly recommend that they teach their children the feeling of 'revenge', because Turkish men are being killed by Bulgarians during the Balkan Wars. She suggests that they should not trust Europe (this is also likely a criticism of the KD editors and writers), but rather help the nation gain its past power. As in the writing of the women authors analysed by Adak, KD writers exclusively mourned their sons; however, what 'their' meant was not always clear, echoing the different ideologies of the time, such as Ottomanism, Turkish nationalism and Islamism. Adak (2019) suggests that exclusive mourning for a hegemonic ethnoreligious group prevents developing bonds across ethnic solidarities and creating alliances with them. I would like to unpack Adak's further argument:

> Women affiliated with these heroes, either through motherhood, sisterhood, or a love relationship, are valorized for their deep and incurable sense of mourning. Petrified in her sorrow, the mother/sister/beloved woman is further victimized, an allegory for the victimized nation who lost her sons. (2019, 443).

Even though I suggest that motherhood holds a much more important position in women's movements during the Ottoman Empire (compared to sisterhood or a love relationship), I find Adak's emphasis on valorising through mourning important. As the examples from KD writers show, 'mourning' is a way for mothers to commit to the nation through either taking revenge for their sons or teaching their children the 'idea of nationhood'.

However, I am more suspicious of Adak's further claim that the 'mourning mother' 'is neither a guarantee of political subjectivity nor an escape from gender regimes of domesticity' (2019, 444). She suggests: 'Rather, it guarantees the continuation of political passivity through heteronormative, patriarchal, sexist concept of "motherhood/womanhood" in the national imaginary' (2019, 444). As I showed in my analysis of the mood of commitment, the 'mourning mother' image, that one can link with being in pain, sad and self-blaming, was used to claim political subjectivity and to break political passivity. Having, said that, I still agree with Adak when she suggests an (affective) motherhood position may 'form alliances exclusively along national lines' (2019, p. 444). I think the very contingency of nationalism and women's movements

reinforces hegemonic ethnic and religious nationalist power, not as the political passivity of women but as a new way of inhabiting hegemonic women's subjectivity. Moreover, even though the emphasis on motherhood does not necessarily mean an escape from the gender regimes of domesticity, as Adak suggests, this very claim of political subjectivity produces something new which I conceptualise as 'scientific motherhood' in the following section. Demanding an engagement with *ilim* and education by referring to the motherhood position, demanding that women (and specifically mothers) controlled the home, and demanding women's participation in paid work, a demand associated with liberty, are specific issues that I will analyse below.

7.4 Mothers of the nation and the house

7.4.1 'We raise children': Scientific motherhood

As previously mentioned, the issue of women being good mothers and wives has been very important to many different nationalist movements during periods of modernisation, especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Amin, 2008; Najmabadi, 1998; Stoler, 2010; Davin, 1978); these included the Ottoman women's movements (Çakır, 2016). Developing a structure for the education of girls and women was one attempt to raise good mothers and wives who conformed to the new woman image. Nation-state governances also aimed to create educated women, who could take responsibility for their families, as a way of demarcating spaces for women in the private sphere, as happened in early Kemalist Turkey (Sancar, 2012); the new woman image was an important representation of the changing modern nation (Chatterjee, 1993b; Durakbaşa & İlyasoğlu, 2001). However, this does not mean that educated new woman were restricted to the private sphere. They also had to be visible in the public sphere with their new woman images (Tuncer, 2014). The discussion of women's clothing in the previous chapter exemplifies this point. National dress for women, as

discussed, was considered a significant issue – not at home, but in public[148]. However, beyond public and private spheres of representation for women and their restrictions within the family, I would like to point to the negotiations of the motherhood position carried out in KD debates about family practices that needed to change to enable modernisation. Akşit (2010b) who has defined KD magazine as a nationalist feminist magazine, has argued that KD writers imagined the family with the mother in the centre. Having conceptualised the KD writers' nationalism in relation to an Occidentalist perspective, I will now extend the discussion of the position of motherhood, using both the mood of commitment and my new concept of 'scientific motherhood'.

I would argue that the declared aim of being good mothers and wives was a strategy used to demand changes to the family structure, as well as to claim recognition and respectability for women, through the mood of commitment, during modernisation. To illustrate this point, KD writers mentioned their position as mothers very often, as noted in Section 3.2. They often addressed their writings to an imagined audience of mothers. In other words, the target audience for many KD writers consisted of mothers and future mothers. Starting from its first issue, KD magazine provided information about nurturing children in what I would call 'scientific' ways. The information included childcare, breastfeeding, eating habits, birth, foster mothers, covering babies, how often to bathe babies, and similar topics[149]. These articles were based on practical modern knowledge, derived mainly from Western European countries. The KD editors gave direct advice to mothers and to young girls as potential mothers. Around the 30th issue, the magazine dropped these sections on practical knowledge, but some

[148] In the conclusion section of the previous chapter, I argued that the private-public sphere distinction cannot fully explain Ottoman women's movements. The reason I have mentioned 'public' at this point is not to reproduce an idea that I previously criticised, but simply to argue that 'new women' were not limited to family relations.

[149] 'Magazines for mothers', which included this kind of practical knowledge, were common in the late Ottoman Empire (Toprak, 2014), as well as in other countries. For more information see: Apple (2006).

articles continued to mention the nurturing process, providing mothers with broader explanations and interesting links, which included the interests of the nation and approaches to marriage. The following two quotations are examples of different cases:

> Bathing the new-born baby: There are two ways of bathing: English and French. French style: firstly, clean the baby with a clean fabric and olive oil, almond oil or Vaseline; and, later clean the baby in water heated to 28 degrees for two minutes. [...] The English style is just to clean the baby with soap (No author, issue 3. p. 25, *Usul-i Tathir* [Washing Technique]).

> The people of the nation are shaped by their primary nurturing. I will explain a set of practices for nurturing a baby. I will, however, examine the effects of violence during nurturing on society. Firstly, if you ask a mother and father who beat their child why they do it, you will be told, 's/he is not well-behaved'. Please, give attention, what does well-behaved mean? Not playing, not keeping busy, not being active and [all means] both physically and mentally being lazy. [...] I speak to all mothers and the ones who will be mothers: raising a child with this attitude means wrecking our poor nation immediately (Mükerrem Belkıs, issue 61. pp. 116–7, *Terbiye-i İbtidaiyede Tedibin Zararları* [Dangers of Rough Attitude in Early Nurturing]).

These two examples are quite different in style. One is very practical and describes two different ways of bathing a new-born baby, which they considered characteristic of Western European countries. The second example explains the importance of nurturing in relation to what I call the 'mood of commitment'. While articles written in the first style were dropped in later issues of the magazine, the second style, with its focus on nurturing, increased and became linked with several ongoing debates. In the second quotation above, Mükerrem describes a woman's behaviour to her child and links it to the destruction of the 'poor nation', rather than simply giving practical instructions on nurturing. Mükerrem's article is a very good example of the 'mood of commitment', which is visible in her invitation to work and be active, as opposed to being lazy. The mood of commitment is also linked to motherhood in Mükerrem's quotation. She argues that a child's good behaviour and the mother's good nurturing are not simply important for the family, but significant for the nation. This perspective evokes the importance of women in 'rescuing the poor wrecked nation': motherhood, because it raises active and committed children, is the nation's solution. I suggest that this understanding of motherhood, as a potential commitment to the good of the

nation, clears the way for other demands related to modernisation, such as women's education (discussed below).

Fahire İclal published an article in KD entitled, 'Nation is our dear mother', to argue that the nation should be treated with respect, just as mothers should be treated with respect (issue 19, pp. 192–3). In addition to representing the nation as a mother (Akşit, 2010b), this article creates a pathway toward demanding respectability and recognition for women. S. L.[150] extends this demand through women's education, by comparing men's access to ilim.

> Does *ilim* only belong to men? Some men say so. In response, we say no! *İlim* and education are more important for women than men. Because women are very important for civilisation. Poems, philosophers, and sultans are raised by women – as are murderers and ignorant people. We raise children! The progress of the nation is only possible if it includes the progress of women. If women are not smart, children cannot be nurtured properly. Also, [uneducated] women cannot be happy with educated men because they cannot find anything to talk (Samli: S.L., issue 8. pp. 80–1, *Hayat-ı Nisviyemizde Fikdan-ı Maarif* [The Lack of Education in Women's Lives]).

Like other KD writers discussed in Chapter 5, S. L. argues that women engaging with *ilim* (scientific and technological knowledge) are important for the future of the nation. Taking the examples of art (poems), thinking (philosophers), and political power (sultans), she addresses the importance of mothers for the nation. She finishes by mentioning another significant aspect of *ilim* for women: men and women being able to talk about issues involving *ilim* and thereby strengthening their marriages. By pointing out the importance of women as mothers, this article emphasises the difference between men and women by arguing that women need *ilim* more than men. Sirman (2011) mentions the ambiguous nature of women's positions when they enter spaces associated with masculinity. I would suggest that S. L. refers to motherhood as a strategy; her larger aim is to legitimise women's engagement with modernisation and

[150] As previously explained, some articles were signed with initials, such as S. L.

women's emancipation through *ilim*. I will explain this further using the concept of 'scientific motherhood'.

S. L. refers to a symbolic kinship among citizens of the nation. Women with their motherhood position are not just the mothers of children; those children will advance the whole nation, as previously mentioned. Family is seen as a natural and desirable institution by many nationalist movements (Bose, 1995), which work to create national unity among people who do not know each other (Şerifsoy, 2013). Mentioning motherhood within this symbolic kinship analogy, as S. L. does, shows the importance of women as mothers and providers of childcare in a natural, desirable, and normative institution. Even though such an emphasis does not have an explicit biological implication as discussed earlier in relation to 'mothers of the race' or 'healthy mothers' and the influence of eugenics (Stoler 2010; Blencowe 2012), ideas around 'mothers of the nation' and 'good motherhood' refer to a new 'dignity' approved and encouraged at the time (Davin 1978). Women's demands for modernisation, and engagement with *ilim,* were made through their motherhood position, which allowed them to insist on emancipation demands – for example, the demand for education.

I will return to family and national links below, in the case of *görücülük,* a form of arranged marriage. Here, however, I want to focus on S. L.'s reference to the importance of women's education in securing the happiness of women in their marriages. The conflict between educated men and uneducated women in marriage has been pointed out during many non-Western modernisations (Kandiyoti, 2007a; Najmabadi, 2005, p. 196). Some researchers have argued that male modernisers wanted women to engage with modernisation so that they could have educated company in the house (Kandiyoti, 2007a). In the quotation above, S. L. mentions women's education the other way around: to enhance the happiness of women in the family. Still speaking from the mood of commitment, she does so after linking women's happiness to national progress.

I want to emphasise this linkage between *ilim* and motherhood. As previously mentioned, arguments about women being good mothers and wives were a common strategy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. I have coined the concept of 'scientific

motherhood' to refer to the practice of taking a natural and normative condition, such as motherhood, and claiming *ilim,* mostly through education. Returning to Aksu Bora's (2010) significant definition of the 'new woman', scientific motherhood includes devotion and loyalty, as well as education and modernity. KD writers used this strategy to demand recognition and respectability for women through their motherhood position. In proposing this concept, I was inspired by the term 'scientific housewives' (Açıkgöz, 2018; Najmabadi, 2005; Sirman, 2005), through which, women's engagement with modern education was claimed, in order to improve their performance of household responsibilities. The term 'scientific housewives' included women's responsibilities as mothers; however, I find it useful to separate motherhood from the core concept in the case of KD magazine. The position of wives is rarely discussed in KD magazine[151], in comparison to motherhood, apart from some examples, such as S. L. mentioning uneducated wives being unhappy with educated men. However, motherhood was more visible, as shown in this chapter.

Returning to the previously developed concept of the 'mood of commitment', I would argue that the emphasis on scientific motherhood was produced within the mood of commitment. When KD writers talked about the general need for work and active engagement, I highlighted those who cited the nation's sadness and women's pain and self-blame. Talking within the mood of commitment, KD writers showed their dedication to their nation by emphasising their motherhood positions. S. L.'s comment that the 'progress of the nation is only possible if it includes the progress of women' is an example of such dedication. This strategic use of motherhood was applied not only to education associated with modernisation, but also to women's control of the home and right to paid work.

[151] One might argue that KD writers did not systematically emphasise 'being good wives' because they themselves were not responsible for housework, but had regular 'help', due to their upper- and middle-class status. This topic is worth researching, but I do not have enough evidence and would prefer not to speculate about this issue.

7.4.2 'Mothers as the rulers of the house'

I have analysed the ways in which the motherhood position was used as a strategy to engage with modernisation and education. KD writers also wrote about their positions within and control of their own homes. In addressing this issue, they wrote about various topics, including women's financial dependence on men, the way in which mothers-in-law intervene in younger women's lives, and the best ways for women to manage housework. They occasionally refer to women's position in the house in relation to men, while still referring to the position of mothers:

> In every family, the only ruler of the house should be the mother. The woman of a house should be the leader of that family. This is clearly her right. Thus, nobody should intervene in a mother's nurturing of her baby. [...] Different from our 'precious' oppressive Turkish men, the men of a family in the Occident would not intervene in the [decisions of the] house. His comfort is accomplished. He is like a permanent and dear guest in the house (Fatma Zerrin, issue 70. p. 207, *Terbiye-i İbtidaiyede Validelerin Mevkii* [Mother's Position on the Development of Nurturing]).

Fatma claims control for women by using the Occident as a good example of men being treated as permanent guests in the house. Sarcastically comparing them to Turkish men, she refers to another reified usage of the 'Occident' as a homogenous category, where men leave women to control the house. Thus, she argues that the mother should be responsible for the rules of the house, given her distinctive position, which extends to all mothers in the Ottoman Empire. Such arguments, made by Ottoman Muslim women, have convinced some researchers, such as Serpil Sancar (2012), to refer to Ottoman women's movements as 'maternal feminism'. This refers to women claiming their rights or making some demands, through an understanding of women and men as dependent and complementary (Bussemaker & Voet, 1998). The position of women in the family, extended family, and various social and religious circles, is supported by maternal feminism (Sancar, 2012, p. 77) I think that this explanation is helpful in the case of the KD writer who insisted on a family structure where the mother was equal to the men, if not in the centre. Nurturing was seen as extremely important and the power of women was claimed through their position as mothers. However, I would avoid using the term 'maternal feminism' to analyse KD for two reasons. Firstly, as I discussed in the literature review, I hesitate to define KD as a feminist publication

because of the lack of self-identification as a feminist magazine. Secondly, rather than defining KD and other women's circles as primarily maternalistic in the late Ottoman Empire, women used motherhood as a normative category strategically, to demand respectability and recognition. Bringing these two points together, I suggest investigating and unpacking motherhood as a strategy in late 19th and early 20th century women's movements, rather than associating women's movements with feminism from an anachronistic perspective.

What about the husbands and fathers in the house? Fatma argues that women should control the house, but what about the lack of men in the house? As previously explained, KD writers used the nurturing of children very strategically to ensure the nation's potential future happiness; however, husbands do not seem as important as children in some non-Western nationalisms (Bose, 1995). KD articles cited only a few bad examples of husbands and fathers, mainly coming home drunk and too late, as well as a few bad examples of wives who did not know how to make their husbands happy, talked too much, and spent too much time at their neighbours', while neglecting their responsibilities at home. These bad examples of husbands, fathers, and wives were relatively uncommon; however, one issue was mentioned relatively often in KD: the death of a husband (and sometimes a father). KD editors discussed this issue in one editorial:

> We [Ottoman women] do not want a miserable life but we want to work together with our rational and sensible men if they exist and, in this way, we want to work [in this context occupation] to achieve the nation's progress. [...] A wife of an artisan/shopkeeper becomes miserable [poor and unhappy] with her children when her husband dies. [...] If we had the liberty to work in a job, would this misery occur? When women have liberty, their work life and the nation's richness would improve (KD, issue 20. p. 197, *Hürriyet İsteriz* [We want Liberty]).

This KD article refers to women being 'miserable' when their husbands die, as an affective notion, before demanding access to paid work for women, which the article implies was not that common at the time. The writer associates liberty with working and uses women's misery and their inability to care for their children following a loss to legitimise that demand. This demand was also legitimised by referring to the nation's progress, as in similar examples above. Thus, in addition to women's inability

to maintain their homes and children economically, the article argues that engaging in paid work does not contradict women's mood of commitment. In other words, it is legitimate to demand liberty if one is making an altruistic point about enriching the nation. This is another example of motherhood used strategically to demand women's participation in modernisation, on grounds that women improve the nation.

This section analyses several strategic uses of motherhood, both to claim respectability and recognition at a general level, and to make specific demands for education, control of the home, and work. I consider this analysis important in showing how some affective usages of motherhood were linked with women's participation in modernisation, from a nationalist perspective (as the importance of the nation shows). In the following section, I will take a closer look at a debate about family life in KD magazine, which presented a KD writer's criticisms of a form of arranged marriage known as *görücülük.* This very specific debate was on the agenda for a long time, with the aim of creating a modern family and marriage system – again within the mood of commitment to the nation.

7.5 The beginning of marriages: Görücülük and motherhood

This chapter has referred to constructions of the position of motherhood that used its strategic importance to the nation to demand respectability and recognition for women. I have shown that the importance of motherhood is often legitimised by highlighting the mother's role in raising children for the nation, which sometimes implies producing sons to become soldiers. However, as Najmabadi says, the relations between sons and mothers can have different demands from those between daughters and mothers (Najmabadi, 1997, p. 446). The *görücülük* debates, about a form of arranged marriage, involved a direct link between daughters and mothers. The debate featured mothers discussing the negative effects of *görücülük,* while also noting that *görücülük* contradicted modernisation in the late Ottoman Empire and was not good for the nation. To analyse this, I will start this section by defining the practice of *görücülük,* based on definitions provided by KD writers whom I consider significant in relation to the position of motherhood.

Görücülük literally means the act of seeing someone/something in Turkish and *görücü* is the one who sees someone/something. Beyond its literal meaning, it generally refers to the mother of a potential groom and other women of the family (aunts and sisters in-law) visiting the home of a potential bride during the day. This act was very common in Muslim communities during the late Ottoman Empire[152] (Toprak, 1998). Although marriage practices varied, based on socio-geographical context, many KD writers described the *görücülük* act in this way: The meeting between the women of two families can be an arranged meeting; alternatively, the mother of the potential groom and other women in the family can go to a neighbourhood near where they live and ask around to see if there is a potential bride. They can randomly ring a doorbell or talk to people in the neighbourhood. If they find a potential bride, they will go to the house and explain their reason for being there. The women in the family of the potential bride expect these *görücü* visits. They invite the other family in so that *görücü* women can evaluate the potential bride. According to KD, as shown in the examples below, the decision to arrange a marriage after the *görücülük* process is basically made by the parents. Most KD writers thought that parents had too much say in their children's marriages and that this affected young women in a negative way. Using language similar to the examples provided above, KD writers criticised *görücülük,* arguing that this practise was bad for the nation. This is how one KD writer described the process, from a young girl's perspective:

> One day, when you [as a young woman] have no idea, the door knocks and two or three women [that you did not know] enter your house and you immediately understand they are *görücü* and you want to just hide in a corner. They ask questions about you as if they are shopping for dresses in a shop. Your mother or your aunt says 'Yes, there is [an unmarried woman in this house]' and welcomes them like they [mothers] are shopkeepers. Then you would be excited/nervous, and you would both prepare yourself for the occasion and you would also complain. And finally, you present yourself 'to be appreciated' with the coffees to serve them. [...] In recent years, these traditions are getting more horrible. They might even look at your hands, nails, teeth, they might measure

[152] *Görücülük*, as practiced in the Ottoman Empire, is a rare occurrence in contemporary Turkey.

> your height etc. (Seniye Ata, issue 72. p. 230 *Türk Kadınlarında Aile-2* [Family and Turkish Women - 2])

As this quotation shows, KD writers were very critical of the *görücülük* process. Seniye explains the process that a young woman endures, revealing her emotional stress in her own words: hiding in a corner, being excited and nervous, and complaining about the experience. She mentions that the *görücülük* experience has worsened in recent years, with an overemphasis on the physical appearance of young women. Although we cannot know whether the process actually became worse, KD discussions show that discourses on *görücülük* as a problem became visible during modernisation and nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire. From this perspective, KD writers discussed some alternative ways of arranging marriages.

Mükerrem Belkıs was a particularly important figure in the *görücülük* discussions because the article she wrote received many replies and was celebrated by other KD writers, as well as being criticised by some. In issue 58, she wrote the following article, which prompted a discussion of *görücülük*. The rather long quotation below highlights important points in the *görücülük* discussion. She started her article with a direct link to the nation and family:

> One nation consists of a combination of families and a family consists of a combination of individuals. If individuals are happy, families are happy and if families are happy, the nation is happy. [...] Improving a nation and providing happiness to the nation is possible, with the improvement of individuals and families. [...] The happiness of a family depends on several issues: Finance, *ilim,* health, *iffet* [used as *ismet*], morals, and so on. However, the most important matter is the starting of the family [implying *görücülük*]. I completely believe that the backwardness of our nation has come about because our families are broken/damaged and this is a consequence of the beginning of marriage. A family starts with the marriage of a young woman and a young man (M. Belkıs[153], issue 58. p. 83, *Görücülük*)

[153] She signed her first article 'M. Belkıs' and used her full name, Mükerrem, in later articles.

As Nevbahar commented, in relation to the nation's sadness: 'Let's work, because the happiness of the nation is possible if we work'. Nevbahar linked the nation's sadness to working, arguing that happiness could only be achieved by committing to active working. Here, Mükerrem refers to another promise of happiness, linked to family but based on individual happiness. She emphasised the significant role played by *görücülük* in determining the nation's happiness. Emphasising her devotion to the nation in the mood of commitment, she criticised *görücülük* as follows:

> Two individuals are getting married without discovering their souls. Then, storms! If we [women] were dead, at least our bodies would not feel the pain! But we, women, cry every day. When it is time for a young woman to marry, a *görücü* will come to her home. Like a commodity in a shop, she will be put in front of *görücü.* The woman [a relative of a potential groom] will think and either like her [the young woman] or not. How can you understand the soul, emotions, or personality of a young woman and man with only a couple of visits? *The görücü* woman [mother of the potential groom] decides herself as if she will live with the bride. Then, neighbours are asked to comment on/give information about the young woman and man. Then finally a wedding, and that's it. Oh, poor girls! [...] I am asking all Ottoman mothers: How many families are happy in our country? Is it not very few? Everyone knows that this [unhappiness in the family] and our nation are closely related. We should heal this wound. We should replace *görücülük,* which ruins our existence, with a rational solution (M. Belkıs, issue 58. p. 83, *Görücülük*).

Like other KD writers, Mükerrem refers to previously mentioned affective notions, such as women crying, poor girls, and healing a wound. While criticising the practice of *görücülük,* she refers to young woman being evaluated like a commodity, young people getting married without knowing each other well, and parents having too much say on their daughters' marriages (but not their sons' marriages). She then links *görücülük* to the sadness of families and then to the nation's sadness; as previously shown, this was a common strategy.

Alongside Mükerrem, various KD writers pointed out other problems associated with *görücülük.* For example, one KD writer, Aliye Cevat, said that she opposed *görücülük* and that young women and men should know each other before marriage because love was not something to be ashamed of. She argued that Muslim culture did not practice *görücülük* in earlier times; the tradition appeared later in Muslim culture. She proposed getting rid of the practice as part of modernisation, adding that Europeans were

making fun of Ottomans for practicing *görücülük* (Aliye Cevat, issue 88, p. 404). Another KD writer, Safiye Büran, made a similar point, criticising the situation that young women were placed in: 'Europeans strongly criticise marriages that are decided in a rush' (Ayasofya: Safiye Büran, issue 67, pp. 180–1). Both examples show other dimensions of the *görücülük* debate. The problem involved the Occidentalist perspective and Western gaze, as well as the wellbeing of the nation, as Mükerrem argued.

In her article, Mükerrem also talked to mothers. Although this thesis does not focus on the question of who read KD magazine, it does take account of the imagined audience considered by KD writers. This is a good example of such an imagined audience. Mükerrem talked to all Ottoman mothers, with the implication than an imagined audience of Ottoman mothers would agree that they were not happy. By talking through this truth claim, she presented Ottoman mothers as witnesses to her argument that families were unhappy because of *görücülük* and that this issue mattered to the nation. The solution she offered was significant: healing the wound and finding a *rational* solution to *görücülük*, presented as a problem. Four days after the publication of the article above, she wrote another article, explaining what she meant by a rational solution:

> Here is my idea: the young woman and man should meet. Because of my idea, many ignorant people will strongly criticise me. However, they should think about the disasters that this [*görücülük*] brings to our nation. Let me explain: the young woman's and young man's parents should talk. The young woman and man should be involved to the process. [...] Parents should be clear about the importance, morals, and *iffet* of the process and talk to their children. [...] The nation cannot progress if marriages are established with only a little information [about each other] by ringing some random doors like a beggar, as we do today. Only two [perspectives] would oppose my idea: religion [religious perspectives] and ignorance. (Aksaray: Mükerrem Belkıs, issue 62. pp. 125–6, *Görücülüğün Yerine* [Instead of *Görücülük*]).

Mükerrem's rational solution was to include young women and men in the decision making process, although parents would still contribute wisdom and assist in the decision. As the quotation makes clear, it was not normative for unmarried women to talk with men outside the family in the Muslim community in the late Ottoman Empire, even to prepare for marriage. Mükerrem implies that some people would see

young women and men spending time together before marriage as a threat to young women's *iffet.* Mükerrem Belkıs is very careful to introduce her own rational solution, as she associates the status quo with religion and ignorance. Aziz Haydar brings up the issue of *iffet* and the possibility of abolishing *görücülük,* in the following article excerpt:

> Okay, [you say] *görücülük* should be abolished. But in what way? [You suggest] we [should] not introduce our daughters to *görücü* like they are commodities, but will we show them to the potential groom[s] and decide the marriage based on their [daughter and son's] ideas? [...] How can we dare to introduce our daughter to a potential groom? We cannot even prevent our daughters from being harassed in the streets. How will we prevent gossip? We should only share serious thoughts with our daughters (Aziz Haydar, issue 87. p. 390, *İctimai Dertlerimizden: Mesele-i İzdivaç* [One of our Inner Problems: The Issue of Marriage]).

Aziz Haydar mentioned a threat to a daughter's *iffet*: talking to men outside the family, which would make people gossip. Later in the article, she said that more mothers supported *görücülük* than criticised it (however, most KD articles were critical of *görücülük*). She argued that young women were too picky and could not understand the real criteria for making a marriage decision. Mükerrem criticised this type of perspective, which she associated with ignorance. She suggested transferring the need for serious thought to daughters, so that they could make their own decisions. In the article above, Aziz did not refer to any arguments that legitimised the points Mükerrem criticised, whether ignorance or commitment to the nation.

This difference between Mükerrem and Aziz takes us back to the *iffet* debate discussed in the previous chapter and links it to the issue of motherhood. Previously, I argued that Ottoman women had to prove that their *iffet* would remain pure even when they demanded changes related to modernisation. In the case of *görücülük,* this tension became visible: abolishing *görücülük* required men and women to mix socially, promoting both modernisation and nationalism, according to Mükerrem. Aziz voiced the predicted objection, using gossiping to signify normativity.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed some of the affective dimensions of women's participation in modernisation in the late Ottoman Empire. I have analysed the strategic usages of motherhood, associated with devotion and loyalty, to develop an image of the new woman and new family, as Aksu Bora has noted (2010). Instead of pathologizing the Ottoman Empire by using terms such as tired, chaotic, and paranoiac, I suggest that the contradictions of modernisation can be explained by the concept, 'mood of commitment'. I develop this concept with a special emphasis on the notion of working, explaining how the mood of commitment refers to active engagement and complete dedication to the common good. Commitment and working emerge as an affect that accompanies gender, class and national consolidation. Theories of affect and Occidentalism are two significant theoretical frameworks in this thesis. I argue that active engagement with modernisation for the sake of the nation was one of the key dimensions of the production of Occidentalism. The discourses on being Othered by Europe come with an urgency about modernisation and nationalism or, as I argued earlier, were produced in a 'panic room', resulting in a dedication to inhabiting the subject place while negotiating Otherness. This very active engagement and dedication as a part of a 'mood of commitment' also facilitates the Othering process in relation to ethnicity and religion within the national context. In other words, 'what does one commit to?' and 'who is already committed? who must learn to commit?' are significant questions for unpacking normative assumptions and showing the complicity of women's movements with ethnic and religious national hegemonies.

I have focused on affective and strategic usages of motherhood, whereby Ottoman Muslim women demonstrated their dedication to the nation while demanding engagement with modernisation. I have analysed emotions, the 'sadness of the nation', women in pain, and self-blame, to build the mood of commitment with its affective constructions, claiming new subjectivities. The 'mood of commitment' concept enabled me to closely examine the relationship between motherhood and the nation in KD articles. I have shown that the 'common good' often referred to an idea of the nation as a continuation of the extended family, with the central position of motherhood. However, although women's demands to engage with modernisation

were legitimatised as a commitment to the nation (as in the cases of education, work, and the abolition of *görücülük*), I would argue that the motherhood position was used strategically.

I would like to warn the reader that my usage of some terms - such as reproduction of normativity, strategic usage of motherhood, building complicities with ethnic and religious national hegemonies - do not aim to disregard Ottoman Muslim women's movements' efforts to change different gender inequalities. I hope that I have been able to show throughout this thesis how they challenged gender inequalities, in their own community and beyond. The emergence of women's movements was shaped when the male bonding in nationalist movements was very central and the construction of national communities was already based on the exclusion of women (or problematic inclusions of women) (Bora T., 2005; Najmabadi, 1997). Thus, Ottoman Muslim women's movements' demands for women's rights should be thought in relation to this broader picture rather than in an isolated way. With this investigation into the reproduction of normativity, the strategic usage of motherhood and the building of complicities with ethnic and religious national hegemonies I aim to show the complexity of Ottoman women's movements and of attempts to change gender norms. The following chapter concludes this thesis by returning to the main arguments and to the research questions presented at the start of this thesis.

Chapter 8 -
CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS A FEMINIST GENEALOGY OF OTTOMAN MUSLIM WOMEN'S DISCOURSES

8.1 Introduction

I would like to begin this final chapter by mentioning two summer-holiday visits I made to İstanbul, while carrying out this research, accompanied by two different feminist friends, one British and the other Peruvian. After a few days in the city, my British friend was telling me how exotic the city was, how the people of İstanbul were 'different' and very close (intimate), and how happy she was to have a holiday outside Europe for the first time. During her visit, I was very protective of her, following her every move in the streets to make sure that she was safe; I accompanied her everywhere. One year later, I visited the city with my Peruvian friend, who told me how safe, woman-friendly, and European İstanbul was. I was not worried about her safety during our tour of the city. Thinking through and around the questions in this thesis has made me very interested in such conversations. How can one city be both European and non-European? More importantly, why should the question of whether the city is European or not become part of an affective everyday conversation? Why would a local person like myself worry more about the safety of one woman than another in the public sphere? How can such conversations and my reactions change, depending on our positions? In short, how does positionality affect relevant subjectivities, normativities, and negotiations? These questions do not relate simply to contemporary constructions; they can also be asked about different time periods, including the early 20th century, as this thesis has done.

In this research, I have analysed discursive articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism by following Ottoman Muslim urban women's discourses in *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) Magazine, which was published between 4 April 1913 and 14 July 1913 (first 100 issues). I have engaged actively with theoretical discussions,

incorporating poststructuralist, postcolonial, and affect theories in relation to feminist perspectives. This theoretical engagement has led me to critically analyse subjectivities, normativities, and negotiations present in KD writers' discourses on Europe, dress, and motherhood, applying a feminist genealogy methodology. This conclusion reflects some methodological issues, builds links between the various chapters and brings my arguments together.

This chapter begins with a section that includes some reflections on my work, returning to the methodological inquiries and challenges and to my responses to those challenges. I begin with some contemporary approaches to Ottoman women's movements through a 'grandmother' analogy, including my criticism of such approaches, based on feminist genealogy. Secondly, I revisit one main concept of this thesis, complexity, showing how I used it to analyse both KD writers' challenges to gender inequalities and their complicities with other inequalities, and arguing for the theoretical importance of an investigation that foregrounds these complexities. Thirdly, I reflect on some dilemmas that I faced in producing this research, including how I tried to overcome them. The second section reviews three main focal concepts – subjectivities, normativities, and negotiations – analysed through an investigation of discursive articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism. It begins by building links between various analysis chapters and bringing arguments together through that conceptual separation. As the analysis chapters are separated thematically, I believe that the conceptual separation will allow me to link together arguments involving the themes of Europe, dress, and motherhood. This thesis will conclude with a quotation of a famous speech by an Ottoman Muslim woman, Halide Edib Adıvar, which returns to my own relationship with history.

8.2 Some reflections: Methodological highlights and the contribution to knowledge

8.2.1 'Grandmothers' under question

Meral Akkent, curator of the Women's Museum İstanbul, wrote a short article suggesting that April 2013-April 2014 should be declared as '*Kadınlar Dünyası* Year'

because she considers KD was not simply a magazine, but a way of doing women's politics (Akkent 2013). She named KD as the 'Great-Great-Grandmothers of Feminist Magazines' published in Turkey, referring to some feminist magazines published after 1980[154]. Beyond KD magazine, some researchers and activists consider researching Ottoman women's movements as an act of 'discovering' or 'reconnecting' with 'their own grandmothers'[155] (Sancar 2012, 18). Aynur Demirdirek (2015), one of the very first feminist researchers who pointed to the existence of Ottoman women's movements, explained her motivation to study this topic. She wrote that her feminist activism in 1988 made her follow her 'past-similars/past lookalikes' that she considers to be a part of feminist politics in Turkey.

What does it mean to call Ottoman women's movements the grandmothers of feminist politics in Turkey? It seems to me the term grandmothers reflects a feminist common sense in Turkey, whose meaning seems obvious. One can say: Some feminist women from the past show the persistence and continuation of a longstanding feminist struggle and give us energy to maintain our feminist struggle today. A symbolic kinship relationship with these women is not harmful; rather, one might suggest, it is empowering for contemporary feminism. It can show how different actors were 'committed' to feminism over a long time period. Herstory researchers are closer to this kind of interpretation (Çakır 2016; Demirdirek 2011; Zihnioglu 2013). I already explained that having engaged with herstory research makes me understand, and to some extent appreciate, this interpretation because it made a feminist contestation of nationalist narratives in Turkey possible, and allows further (poststructuralist) thinking. However, what is taken for granted with the usage of the term grandmothers is its assumptions about the 'origin' of feminist movements and its potential for

---

[154] Her list includes *Kadınca, Kaktüs, Feminist Pazartesi, Jujin, Eksik Etek, Akıllara Zarar, Kültür ve Siyasette Feminist Yaklaşımlar, Amargi Dergi, Feminist Politika, Mutfak Cadıları, Cin Ayşe*. This range includes some magazines published from the 1980s with socialist feminist, radical feminist, Kurdish feminist perspectives both in academic and political formats.

[155] 'Grandmother' (*anneanne*) in Turkish exclusively refers to 'mother's mother'.

complicity with present nationalist thinking. This has already begun to be questioned in feminist politics in Turkey (Adak and Altınay 2010; Aykut 2020) as I will show with a discussion around the notion of grandmother.

In a roundtable published on *Amargi Dergi* in 2015, which included myself and 4 other young feminist women who research feminist history in Turkey, we referred to this grandmother analogy (Gülçiçek et al. 2015). Nearly all of us stated that we were not comfortable with the term grandmother. One of the participants, Ezgi Sarıtaş, explained her ideas about using the analogy to refer to Ottoman women's movements by saying 'grandmothers had already been found' when our 'generation' engaged with feminist politics. Inspired by Derrida, she suggested that we should think about historical events not as a mausoleum but as 'ghosts' that haunt us for different reasons. Using the idea of 'haunting ghosts' rather than grandmothers was her suggestion[156]. Another participant, Özge Özdemir, added that what bothers her with the term grandmother was Ottoman Turkish Muslim women's own nationalism, but she was still excited about the differences, similarities and contradictions between contemporary feminism and Ottoman women's movements[157]. The following questions were what we suggested thinking about rather than 'finding our grandmothers': How can we produce a feminist history without reifying or hero worshipping (me): Who is a grandmother? What happened to other grandmothers? Which grandmothers were excluded? How can we think beyond 'discovering grandmothers'? In short, we referred to questions about the inclusions and exclusions potentially produced through the use of the term grandmothers, including how it might contribute to the reproduction of national and hegemonic power relations.

---

[156] Gordon describes 'haunting' within sociological imagination: '[that] which appears to be not there is often a seething presence, acting on and often meddling with taken-for-granted realities' (Gordon 2008, 8).

[157] 5 years after this roundtable, Özdemir wrote a Master's thesis on the nationalism aspect of Ottoman Muslim women's magazines, focusing on KD (Özdemir 2019).

These questions, discussed in some feminist circles (as our roundtable discussion indicates), had a significant effect on my own thinking. They are visible both in my methodological framework and my aim of unpacking the complexities of Ottoman Muslim women's movement. These two issues are linked: I think through a feminist genealogy that does not aim to find an 'origin' of contemporary feminist movements in Turkey but seeks to focus on the complexities of Ottoman Muslim women's movements, including analysing subjectivities, negotiations, and normativities. This kind of methodology distinguishes my research from research that aims to 'discover' the continuities of women's and feminist movements of the past and present – an aim that is not only visible in the case of Turkey but other contexts as well (Midgley 2007). Thus, when starting this research, I did not intend to find my 'grandmothers' and look for what can be considered 'feminist' from today's perspective. As Sarıtaş suggested in the roundtable discussion, this was maybe because I had developed these poststructuralist concerns while located in feminist activist and academic circles in which Ottoman women's movements had already been 'found'. In these kinds of circles in Turkey, we sometimes jokingly refer to our 'generation' as 'feminists who read Judith Butler before Simone de Beauvoir'; thus, our excitements, questions, and concerns are heavily shaped through poststructuralist thinking.

In addition to poststructuralist concerns, the nationalistic implication of the term grandmother is a worry to some, as our roundtable discussion above shows[158]. The narrative that Ottoman women's movements are grandmothers of contemporary feminism might even resemble the discourses around 'mothers of the nation' that occurred in nationalist thinking – a topic analysed in depth in this thesis. On the one hand, the grandmother analogy reflects the excitement of the pioneer researchers of Ottoman women's movements who subverted the Kemalist national narratives that

[158] Ebru Aykut describes the process for thinking about the 'Other' of Ottoman women's movements: 'We realised with shame in the late 1990s that we turned to elite women, only Muslim-Turkish, and neglected non-Muslim and non-Turkish [women]' (Aykut 2020, 121). In her interview, following the criticisms on this topic, she says she developed her research on Ottoman, poor women (and men) in relation to conceptualisations of agency and subjectivity (Aykut 2016).

underestimated women's demands in contemporary Turkey. The Kemalist narrative claims that women did not demand their own rights in Turkey and is known as the so-called 'golden plate narrative' (Çakır 2016; Altınay 2004). Moreover, the grandmother analogy might be used to secure 'respectability' for contemporary feminist movements, because 'having a past' seems respectable and the lack of it appears as an 'accusation' to feminist movements in Turkey. On the other hand, a careful reader of this thesis might notice the parallels of these contemporary usages of the grandmother analogy with some Ottoman Muslim women's usage of the 'motherhood position': challenging underestimation and demanding respectability. Following my 'origin' criticism, I am not arguing that this is simply the continuation of the same discourse. Rather, as in my analysis of Ottoman Muslim women's strategic usage of the 'motherhood position', I suggest that the grandmother analogy might refer to a problematic belonging that challenges gender inequalities, but also produces complicities with national and religious hegemonies. As this argument shows, a feminist genealogy problematises taken for granted, common sense meanings, not only by showing the dilemmas, contradictions, inclusions and exclusions (rather than origins) (Sondergaard, 2002), but also by investigating discursive power relations (Eichhorn 2013), such as national hegemonies. This kind of inquiry analyses the production of power and how 'power is established, refused, or maintained' (Scott 1999, 26). That is why I agree that feminist genealogy is not only a historical methodology but also, a political intervention in the present (Eichhorn, 2013), including feminisms' present.

In this subsection, I mentioned some contemporary discussions of Ottoman women's movements that allowed me to reemphasise my feminist genealogical methodology. Now, I want to reflect on how I investigated the 'complexities' of Ottoman women's movements, thinking through a feminist genealogy and drawing on the Occidentalism and affect theories that guided this investigation.

8.2.2 Thinking about Complexity

This thesis broadly focused on a period when the Ottoman Empire was defined as 'the sick man of Europe' (Deringil 1998). Moreover, KD began to be published (1913) shortly

after a regime change in the country. Arat clarifies: 'It was the 1908 revolution [declaration of the Second Constitution] that established the constitutional monarchy [...] that affected women's lives most. The somewhat liberal aura that emerged after the revolution allowed women to enter into public life as professionals, writers, and activists' (Arat 1999b, 8). I tried to unpack the complexities of Ottoman Muslim women's movements with their different layers within this relatively 'new' period when Ottoman Muslim women began to more actively talk about the 'woman question'; including the challenges of demanding women's rights, the negotiations of women's position, and the complicities built with national, ethnic and religious hegemonies. In this section, I will clarify the significance of investigating complexities.

Ahmed refers to bell hooks' description of a woman of colour entering a feminist room that includes some white feminists (Ahmed, 2014b). hooks suggests that a shared cheerful mood among white women can change with the entrance of a woman of colour into the room, and the atmosphere might get tense. According to Ahmed, in this kind of tension, there is 'a loss of a prior attunement' (Ahmed, 2014b, 22). She suggests that attunement becomes a technique for claiming a room as a group's own – as a way of occupying space. The group which is seen as the cause of misattunement find itself in a position to rebuild the possibility of attunement. I want to use the 'room' reference as an analogy for Ottoman women's Occidentalism and their modernisation demands. While, through hooks, Ahmed refers to an actual room that might be filled by feminists for a meeting, I will use an abstract 'room' analogy.

As mentioned, Ottoman Muslim women themselves actively started talking about women's rights mostly after 1908, with the declaration of the Second Constitution. Before that, the 'woman question' was actively on the modernisation agenda, but it was Ottoman Muslim men who were intensely talking about the woman question in the political realm (Çakır 2016). KD was one of the first known women-only women's magazines that demanded women's rights. Thus, in a way, Ottoman Muslim women were the ones that entered later into the 'national modernisation room', while the room was already occupied by men. Before the entrance of Ottoman Muslim women into public discussions during the modernisation process, the atmosphere was already tense with the Ottoman Empire being defined as the 'sick man of Europe', economic

and political challenges and the worries around the 'European gaze' and 'national essence'. In this thesis, I described this tension as a 'panic room' based on the fear that the Ottoman Empire was 'not as developed as Europe yet', but can progress further; thus, action for the progress of the Ottoman Empire needs to happen immediately (Chapter 5). Having discussed both Occidentalism and affect theories, I can now suggest that when the 'national modernisation room' was already tense, the entrance of Ottoman Muslim women made the room even more tense.

A prior attunement built around a masculine nationalist bonding in the process of modernisation was interrupted when Ottoman Muslim women started talking for 'themselves'. I argue that by coming into this imaginary room, Ottoman Muslim women 'picked up' the additional tension generated by their entrance. Thus, they had to rebuild the attunement and negotiate their existence in this 'room'. They did so, for example, by using truth claims about the necessity of women's engagement with modern knowledge (*ilim*), by showing their existence in the room is not a 'threat' (such as there will be no damage to their *iffet*) and by displaying that they already belong to the room (namely by proving their loyalty to the nation). I argue that showing their 'commitment' to this room was one important strategy to rebuild the attunement; it was to say they were not passing by, but they were also legitimate owners of the room. Maybe I can even go beyond that: Ottoman Muslim women tried to show that they were the 'maintainers' of the room – as their insistence on the motherhood position shows. As can be seen, the production of Occidentalism among Ottoman Muslim women includes an affective burden of resetting the attunement.

Altınay, inspired by Anne McClintock and Franz Fanon, argues that women's 'designated agency' was 'constituted by invitation only' as part of the resources of nation state. 'Women needed to be *invited* by the male elite to become part of nationalist cadres and part of nationalist historiography' (Altınay 2004, 53). Some women can remain 'uninvited', some later become 'unwanted guests'; but even when

they are invited, their position as a 'guest' remains[159]. Based on my analysis of KD magazine, I can claim that whether they were invited, uninvited, or unwanted guests (I think that in the rich source of KD, it is possible to find examples for all of these categories), the feeling of 'being guests' is visible. I suggest the strong emphasis on women's dedication to a 'common good' and being constantly active, that I conceptualised as 'mood of commitment', was significant to negotiate the 'guest' position. Affective constructions of demanding respectability for women's movements while proving loyalty to the nation can be considered as a strategy to rebuild the attunement that was interrupted when some Ottoman Muslim women started talking about the 'woman question' themselves.

I believe that building strategies in women's and feminist movements for respectability and recognition is not rare. Let me give some contemporary examples: Feminist scholars negotiating, and trying to 'survive' in, the neoliberal academy (Pereira 2017), or feminist activists maintaining feminist activism with the support of big funding companies even though this creates certain challenges to activism (Roy 2015), or feminists demanding legal rights while knowing the limitations of legal structures (Özkazanç 2015). Women's and feminist movements develop strategies, compromise, insist, stay silent or are loud depending on the power relations that they are critical of. Very often, they try to show that they are 'committed' to different causes in order to demand recognition – this might be dedication to subverting inequalities, enriching critical intellectual thinking, building praxis, maintaining human rights, and so on. I positioned the usage of the grandmother analogy for Ottoman women's movements in a similar framework at the beginning of this chapter. As I showed with the grandmother analogy, such strategies should be analysed by considering both the contributions of the strategies and also their limitations – such as their 'complicities'

[159] Altınay makes a very interesting analysis of Halide Edib as the one invited to the national struggle and later declared the unwanted guest when she did not approve of the national narrative, mainly Atatürk's.

with other power relations. This kind of perspective allows us to investigate complexities.

I now want to clarify my usage of the notion 'complicity' and its significance for unpacking complexities. While discussing the herstory approach, Scott refers to the 'risk' of the 'positive assessment of everything women said or did' (Scott 1999, 20). According to her, this is a risk because it can isolate women as a separate topic of history. As I showed, I do not have a worry about the herstory approach's potential for isolating women from history because the feminist work produced through herstory approaches encompasses many different topics. However, the positive assessment, especially of the actions or experiences of women who were involved in women's movements, might risk overlooking the complicities of women's movements. Being aware of this potential risk, as I argued in this thesis, means recognising that Ottoman Muslim women's negotiations did not just challenge dominant power relations - they challenged some but reproduced others. Inspired by the research on femonationalism, imperialist feminism and feminist eugenics (Farris 2017; Puar 2007; Midgley 2007; Burton 1990; Blencowe 2012; Moss, Stam, and Kattevilder 2013), I tried to draw out how some of these complicities with existing power relations played out in KD. I argued that while developing a criticism of gender inequality, Ottoman Muslim women's movements also produced an (Occidentalist) ethnic and religious nationalism that prioritised some (Turkish and Muslim) women's agendas, claimed for themselves a right to speak for Other women (rural and non-Muslim), placed women's right as the property of some (urban and elite) women and produced a particular normative womanhood. Recognising these complicities is significant to avoid reifying women's movements or romanticising them by underlining only what might seem as 'most feminist' in line with today's perspectives.

As a final note, I want to remind the reader that investigating complicities does not mean 'accusing' a group or movement. To put it in a better way, one needs to be careful about reducing women's (and feminist) movements only to 'complicities' for two reasons: methodological and political. Firstly, I positioned complicities as a way of unpacking the complexities, showing different layers of women's movements and tracing discursive power struggles. This was important methodologically to avoid a

'one-dimensional' understanding of these movements' challenges to gender inequalities. If women's movements are reduced to complicities, the same methodological limitation would be reproduced. Secondly, I explained how women's movements were ignored in national narratives, as their efforts for modernisation have not been considered as 'proper'. It is important not to reproduce a different underestimation by approaching them as a 'scapegoat' as if women's movements were the 'source' of problematic exclusions and as if women's movements were not related with a wider social and political context. I am not sure if it is possible to completely avoid 'complicities', as the present examples I gave above show (with neoliberalism, NGOisation, legal structures). Also, I am not sure if Ottoman Muslim women could have entered the 'national modernisation room' without these complicities in a heavily growing Turkish and Muslim nationalist context. However, it is not my job to ask the question 'what could have been done?'. Using a feminist genealogical methodology, there is one thing that I am sure of: a critical investigation of women's movements can allow contemporary women's and feminist movements to think reflexively, question power relations, and extend the horizons of imagining past, present and future feminist politics. This is how, to repeat my point in the previous section, historical research can, and must, be a political intervention in the present (Eichhorn, 2013).

8.2.3 Feminist dilemmas and contributions

Following the first two sections, in which I unpacked the ways in which Ottoman Muslim women's movements are framed in contemporary feminism in Turkey in relation to both my methodology and the complexities analysed in this research, I would like to reflect on some of my research dilemmas. I will firstly explain my dilemmas about researching the Ottoman Empire while based in a 'Western' context, about producing this research with poststructuralist concerns, and about the challenges of working across three different languages. I will conclude this section with a discussion of the contributions of this research.

I want to introduce my first point through an experience I had at a conference. I presented an early version of this research at a large international history conference in Australia. I was allocated to a 'gender and history' panel; after the presentation, I

was asked a question: 'Why should we learn about the case of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey?' I did not expect this question for two reasons. First, the other presenters had adopted a similar poststructuralist approach, focusing on the UK, US, and Germany. None of them were asked a similar question; instead, their presentations attracted theoretical and methodological interest from the audience. Second, I did not think that my presentation was focused exclusively on the Ottoman Empire or Turkey. In fact, I thought it was closely linked to other presentations on the same panel, given our shared focus on the subjectivities and contributions of feminist historical research. When I answered the question by making these two points, the questioner interrupted me, saying: 'But your research is different. It is special because the Ottoman Empire is a bridge between East and West'. In fact, she answered her own question by both separating my analysis from similar research, on the basis of context, and attributing value to it because the topic was 'special' and unique. Having said that, the 'uniqueness' was important, in her view, because Ottoman Empire is a 'bridge' to the West.

It is a common cliché to refer to the Ottoman Empire and Turkey as 'a bridge between East and West'. Some researchers, such as Meltem Ahıska, have noted the frequent use of this phrase in all sorts of writing, from tourist brochures to scholarship. She has analysed the discursive constructions of this metaphor in relation to the establishment of Orientalism with Western hegemony in the Ottoman Empire and later in the early Republic of Turkey. She argues that this metaphor is a synecdoche, which uses the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey to represent a larger whole (Ahıska, 2010, p. 15-18). Unlike Ahıska's analysis of the 'bridge' metaphor and common Orientalist uses of the phrase, it can also be used to question a researcher – asking for proof that the Ottoman Empire and Turkey represent an 'interesting case' in academic research or pointing out the 'uniqueness' of a study.

This research's contribution is not due to the 'uniqueness' of the Ottoman Empire or Turkey. For a start, I do not consider the Ottoman/Turkish case unique; rather, this analysis of articulations of modernisation, nationalism, and gender is closely related to studies of various postcolonial countries, such as India. For this reason, I have linked this research to Chatterjee's theory, in addition to referencing uncolonized non-Western countries, such as Iran as I followed through Najmabadi's research.

Moreover, questions around 'modern knowledge' relate closely to the nation-building process in Southern, Central and Eastern European contexts (Haan *et al.*, 2006; Kahlina, 2014; Pereira, 2012). Having said that, I have not adopted a totalising approach; some specific conditions of the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire and later Turkey are very important for analysing articulations. These conditions include the production of feminist 'herstory' research and its contributions mentioned above; national history-writing based on a rupture between the Ottoman Empire and Turkey; the multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-linguistic context of the Ottoman Empire; and specific wars that increased Turkish nationalism. However, I did not refer to these issues simply to make this research 'interesting', but to link significant themes, locating them within broader theoretical discussions, and to show the complex constructions in relation to significant theoretical thinking, such as Occidentalism and affect theories.

In the beginning of this chapter, I explained the questionings poststructuralist feminist thinking provided me with. Moreover, poststructuralist research generates its own dilemmas. It seems to me that poststructuralist researchers are often clearer about what they do not want to do in their research than about what they want to do. They are often clear about the types of approach they want to avoid in their methodology and the positivist traps they do not want their arguments to fall into. That would include my approach; we tend to have a special ability to 'detect' a positivist perspective or be alarmed regarding essentialist perspectives. I can exemplify this point using the writing of Foucault, a leading and founding figure in poststructuralist thinking:

> I am not describing an affective trajectory in order to indicate what should have been and what will be from now on [...]. But one can also see that I am not developing here a theory, in the strict sense of the term: the deduction, on the basis of a number of axioms, of an abstract model applicable to an indefinite number of empirical descriptions. [...] I am not inferring the analysis of discursive formations from a definition of statements that would serve as a basis; nor am I inferring the nature of statements from what discursive formations are, as one was able to abstract from this or that description [...] (Foucault, 1972, p. 114).

The following sentence explains what he is trying to show; he then says: 'I am not proceeding by linear deduction, but rather [...]' (Foucault, 1972, p. 114). This long

quotation highlights the poststructuralist researcher's focus on avoiding any sort of positivist perspective. I detect this type of attention in my common usage of the word 'rather', [meaning 'instead' or 'alternatively'], which may be significant to reflect on, as I use the word 'rather' quite often in this research to separate my perspective from any perspective that I want to avoid. One reason for adopting the common usage of this word is that I find it easier to write (and speak) by separating what I do and do not want to say, as a non-native English writer and speaker. However, a more important reason for adopting this common usage is the intention (in any language) to separate my position from potential positivist perspectives. For example, I use 'rather' to separate my argument from 'first-wave feminism' (the perspective I aim to avoid) to refer to my understanding of Ottoman women's movements. And through this separation, I suggest an investigation of the discursive articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism. Some feminist researchers have shown how poststructuralism became normative, began to almost dominate feminist research, and developed an approach that looked for essentialism at every point (Gunnarsson, 2011). This approach has been criticised as 'essentialism hunting' on grounds that finding essentialism has become the main aim, in feminist as well as other discussions (Stengers, 2008; Withers, 2010). 'Rather' as a demarcation of what I want to suggest and what I want to avoid in this thesis does not represent essentialism hunting, as I agree that referring to an essentialist or positivist perspective should not be an aim in itself. Pointing to essentialist perspectives is only theoretically meaningful when criticisms of essentialism or positivism provide new ways of critical thinking through problematisations. To illustrate, Chapter 2 specifically explains my relationship with the herstory approach, which I consider to be the main perspective in research on Ottoman women's movements. Herstory work is not simply or only essentialist; rather, it provides a significant intervention in dominant established narratives. Thus, I argue that my 'rathers' do not aim to find essentialism but to separate one way of thinking from another, emphasising the ways in which poststructuralist feminist thinking can expand analyses of women's movements in the late Ottoman Empire by highlighting the significance of positionings, complexities, power relations and contradictions.

I have just mentioned finding it easy to build my arguments on 'rather'; now, I would like to reflect on the issue of language in more detail. I had to work with three

languages in this research, Ottoman Turkish, contemporary Turkish, and English, through KD magazine. As I wrote in Chapter 3, I do not believe that writing in English necessarily involves 'loss, disappearance and lack' through which nuances of thinking or meaning are lost in translation (Pereira *et al.*, 2009). In fact, translating Ottoman Turkish into English allowed me to take a step back from the nostalgia (for Turkish speakers like me) of the Ottoman language. Some words in Ottoman Turkish are very politically charged and associated with an archaic quality that I refer to as nostalgia. Translating them into English gave me a productive perspective, enabling me to take a critical step back from this nostalgia and to think about the meanings within the text itself. On the other hand, writing in English as a non-native speaker has its own issues – not due to translation but due to the imagined audience. According to Abu-Lughod:

> Feminists from the Middle East, especially those who write in English and French, are inevitably caught between the sometimes incompatible projects of representing Middle East women as complex agents (that is, not as passive victims of Islamic or 'traditional' culture), mostly to the West and advocating their rights at home, which usually involves a critique of local patriarchal structures (Abu-Lughod, 2001, p. 107).

Abu-Lughod's emphasis has attracted many researchers (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Al-Ali & Pratt, 2009; Mohanty, 1984). My own interest in complexities includes such concerns, in addition to poststructuralist thinking. It is hard to avoid getting stuck between these two lines and remembering her comment, especially in relation to issues such as *iffet* (sexual purity) and *görücülük* (a form of arranged marriage). However, I have doubts about the incompatibility that Abu-Lughod refers to, especially if I rephrase this attempt to avoid the dichotomy of passive victim and active agents. I have built an analysis based on the complexities and contradictions of constructions of subjectivities rather than a passive or active subject discussion.

One other strategy I adopted was to make my own position as the researcher visible during the work. At different points, I have included personal experiences, mentioning my friends and conversations about Europe to show that Europe has multiple meanings, based on positionality; mentioning my aunt and her view of Western motherhood to highlight a narrative; referring to my hometown and dress styles to show how clothing is linked to women's bodies in contexts where nationalism is

articulated in everyday life through various institutions and mentioning my feminist activism to explain feminist belongings and generational politics in this research. All of these personal matters are aimed to link to questions and arguments of this thesis. This type of strategy is common in feminist research, thanks to the argument that the researcher's position should not be separated from the research process (Stanley, L. & Wise, 1993). I consider such stories especially important in historical research. Including my role and thoughts allowed me to remind the reader that I was not simply analysing something that happened in the past (thus, irrelevant) but discussing concerns that are relevant today; even though such issues are not fixed and can change.

After these methodological reflections, I can discuss my contributions. Firstly, I have contributed to our understanding of Occidentalism, drawing on Meltem Ahıska's work and on other theories of modernisation and nationalism in non-Western contexts. Proposed by Ahıska, the concept of Occidentalism provides the theoretical richness needed to follow the complexities, contradictions, and multiplicities that feminist genealogy problematises when analysing the construction and negotiation of subjectivities. This thesis develops our conceptualisation of Occidentalism by linking it to sexual constructions, by problematising the production of Occidentalism in relation to affect, and by showing how the production of an Occidentalist hegemonic power regime extends to the late Ottoman Empire (a development of Ahıska's research which focuses on early Republican Turkey).

Secondly, I gave special focus to the Othering process that is increasingly important in the contemporary literature on women's movements, nationalism and modernisation. Similar to my analysis of the herstory approach, Altınay thinks feminist historiography in Turkey generated impressive research, intervened in national historical narratives and rewrote them from a feminist perspective. This was important in order to see 'feminist women's desires, energies, and struggles' (Altınay 2004, 57). However, it also created 'its own margins and silences' (Altınay 2004, 57) by only focusing on Turkish and Muslim women rather than Jewish, Assyrian, Greek and Kurdish who were the key minorities in the late Ottoman Empire. Engaging critically with Ottoman women's movements requires not only researching Othered minorities (although this is extremely important), but also critically understanding the complicities and

production of hegemonic positions within the movement; this was one of the aims and contributions of this thesis.

Thirdly, I hope to contribute to the study of Ottoman women's movements by adopting a feminist genealogical methodology that emphasises the affective constructions of modernisation and nationalism. Feminist researchers were interested in emotions before the rise of affect theory, in Turkey as well as in other countries (Depeli 2013); however, emotions and affect is not commonly placed in the centre of production. Although this research is not the first to apply affective inquiries to late Ottoman modernisation by following the Ottoman women's movement, it invites an engagement with affect theory through the original concept of a 'mood of commitment' which allows us to rethink the 'devotion' to modernisation. This thesis brought together significant theories, Occidentalism and affect theories, and showed sexual and affective negotiations as the production of subjectivities.

8.3 Looking back to the research questions

I wrote in the Introduction to this thesis that, when I first began reading KD magazine, I was interested in 'different themes and questions' from previous studies, through my engagement with poststructuralist and postcolonial feminist research. Asking questions through a feminist genealogy, I analysed articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism by following the debates about Europe, dress, and motherhood. References to the notion of 'Europe', the desire to invent national clothing, and frequent usages of motherhood became a special focal point for this research. Having now explained my own relationship with the literature, methodology, and analysis used in this thesis, I can revisit the research questions and explain how I answered them. The research questions were as follows:

1. How are gender, modernisation, and nationalism discursively articulated in the women's movements of the late Ottoman period?

2. In *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) Magazine, how do debates enable urban Ottoman Muslim women to negotiate new forms of subjectivity?

3. How do urban Ottoman Muslim women engage with, reproduce, and undermine normative expectations about women?

These research questions investigated articulations of gender, modernisation, and nationalism – the key concepts to emphasise here are subjectivities, normativities, and negotiations that also appear in the research questions. During the analysis, some concepts appeared more than others. However, all of these concepts were interrelated. My investigation into the articulations of gender, modernisation and nationalism has followed the strong argument that gender is not an additional category, outside processes of modernisation and nationalism. My research questions emphasised the type of investigations supported by Scott's feminist poststructuralist methodology (Scott, 1999). She asks 'how' questions, questions which relate to processes, multiplicities, and discourses, while looking to constructions and legitimations of gender similar to mine. The discussion above points to research questions by focusing on the key concepts they include. This is a good moment to summarise how I answered them.

The first question allows me to refer to *articulation*. I conceptualised articulations by analysing the negotiations of normativities through which subjectivities are produced. I argued that specific articulations were reproduced through discourses on Europe, which I analysed by referring to Occidentalism. These discursive articulations referred to Ottoman Turkish Muslim urban women's negotiations of women's engagement with modernisation in the late Ottoman Empire; at the same time, they were affectively and strategically claimed through nationalist perspectives. Looking to the second question, I followed debates relevant to this research question that appeared in KD articles on Europe, dress, and motherhood. These were not simply debates; they were also productive grounds for following new forms of subjectivities in relation to Occidentalism, *iffet,* and the 'mood of commitment'. Focusing on the third question, I analysed Ottoman Muslim urban women's engagement with normative expectations, pointing to their involvement and strategic usages of these expectations. The negotiation of normative expectations of womanhood (such as the case of motherhood) were both challenged with a new agenda of women's rights and

contributed to the production of national Others that produced some complicities with ethnic and religious hegemonies.

In the following three sections, I will review these key concepts, not because they are separate from the themes but because they appear across different analytic chapters, which were separated thematically, as mentioned in Chapter 3. I will link these research questions by going through the concepts, subjectivities, normativities, and negotiations – and bringing together the arguments in this thesis.

8.3.1 Subjectivities: Between desire and threat

I begin by referring to the analysis of subjectivities. I focused on debates about Europe, dress, and motherhood in KD magazine. These were significant in enabling Ottoman Muslim urban women to negotiate new forms of subjectivity, produced during the intense transformations associated with the processes of modernisation. I discussed the constructions of subjectivities in relation to the production of Occidentalism in KD magazine in Chapter 5; it also became important in the discussions of *iffet* (sexual purity) and the 'mood of commitment'. This section will bring these themes together.

While analysing Occidentalism in relation to KD magazine, I focused on the constructions of binaries of Occident and Orient by following discourses on Europe. I analysed multiple homogenised and reified discourses on Europe, which I conceptualised as an Occidentalist perspective. According to KD writers, Europe signified magnificence; it was a good model of industrialisation; all of its people were happy; and, most importantly, it possessed modern scientific and technological knowledge (*ilim*). Such positive associations with Europe went hand-in-hand with negative associations, most of which involved economic and cultural threats. 'Europe' also referred to a group that wanted a physically strong but docile Ottoman society to colonise; Europe encouraged Ottoman economic dependency and aimed to assimilate the national essence of the Ottoman Empire. In both positive and negative constructions of Europe, KD writers argued that Ottoman Muslims, including women, needed *ilim* knowledge (the emphasis on women is further developed below) to resist

threats. I argued that this type of positioning, through desire and threat, constructed new subjectivities during modernisation.

Chapter 6 focused on the threat of Europe, analysing debates about national dress. The need for a new form of national dress was linked to the fear of imitating European-style clothing by creating 'Other' categories, such as Ottoman non-Muslim urban women, Ottoman Muslim rural women; and Ottoman insider Muslim urban women. However, aesthetic and practical clothing that resembled European clothing was approved; the imitation of European-style clothing was considered a national problem, designed for the Western gaze. Thus, the issue of national clothing involved the imagined gaze of Europe, as well as being a national-identity issue. However, in any desired or feared position, it was the Ottoman and Turkish people who had to take action and change their clothing. I have argued, therefore, that the construction of a new Ottoman Turkish Muslim urban subjectivity was constructed through nuanced 'Other' categories, such as rural Muslim and urban non-Muslim. In other words, Ottoman Turkish Muslim urban subjectivity was not only produced by challenging gender inequalities, but also by normalising other inequalities, namely through the production of national categories that are premised on the Othering of particular groups. These subjectivities were produced in the context of specific power relations – through challenging gendered power and reproducing ethnonationalist power relations. Thus, I suggested to question the production of subjectivities, rather than to 'prove' women were subjects in the past. This allows tracing the power relations in the production of these subjectivities. This kind of a perspective enabled me to analyse the production of subjectivities regarding ethnonationalist power relations through Occidentalism and Othering process, rather than taking them as two different categories.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I developed the concept of a 'mood of commitment', analysing affective notions, such as devotion and loyalty, which KD writers associated with motherhood and used to demand respectability and recognition during the process of modernisation. Pointing to the 'nation's sadness', 'women's pain', and especially (given my current focus on subjectivities) 'self-blaming' was an important way of considering subjectivities. I argue that 'blaming the self' for the Ottoman Empire's misery (i.e.,

backwardness in relation to European progress and *ilim)*, KD writers presented themselves as guilty parties who needed to work for the nation's progress and to commit themselves. However, self-blaming was not used simply to assign guilt to the self, but also to invite others in the self category to make an commitment to the nation through modernisation. Thus, subjectivity was claimed by a set of affective notions, including guilt.

In short, my overall argument is that Occidentalism assisted the production of the new subjectivity of Ottoman Muslim urban woman; its development can be followed through discourses on Europe, which incorporate the contradictory themes of fear and desire. These new subjectivities were negotiated using 'Other' categories and affective notions. New subjectivities produced by Ottoman Muslim urban women are significant for critically understanding power relations. These empirical considerations are theoretically important as well, in order to conceptualise power in a generative way. This kind of an understanding of power is not simply important for saying 'Eastern women have agency too'. Rather, conceptualising power not only as 'constraints and losses but (also) gains, openings, and opportunities' (Pereira, 2014, 629) shows complex productions of women's subjectivities in a generative way.

8.3.2 Negotiations: Changes and Continuities

The second concept to emphasise here is negotiation, flagged up in the first research question. This concept appears more regularly than any other in the thesis, which aims to show complexities and contradictions, rather than a single causal perspective. In Chapter 5, the key concept of selective labelling has been used to follow negotiations between Europe's good and bad sides or positive and negative associations. In Chapter 6, women's demands for participation in modernisation included proof that women would not be endangered by modernisation, as the phrase 'modern but virtuous' indicates (Durakbaşa & İlyasoğlu, 2001; Sirman, 2008; Tuncer, 2014). Finally, Chapter 7 discusses affective strategies involving motherhood, which were used to negotiate demands for women's participation in modernisation and loyalty to the nation.

'Truth claims' are an important concept to understand, in relation to these negotiations. As previously explained, truth claims appear to present unquestionable truths, but actually negotiate norms – in short, they exist to convince. KD magazine writers used truth claims to negotiate the space between modern and religious knowledge. These negotiated truth claims can be linked to the imitation debates. In the late Ottoman Empire, people feared that the nation would become a replica of the West or fully Westernised. I introduced the imitation problematic in Chapter 2 and returned to it in Chapters 5 and 6 (Abu-Lughod, 1998b; Ahıska, 2010; Chakrabarty, 2000; Narayan, 1997). Arguing that imitation was a problem of losing the national essence, I used Chatterjee's outer and inner domain balance in my analysis (Chatterjee, 1993a) as a part of the negotiation. Thus, the desire for Ottoman Muslim urban women's subjectivity can be linked to the modern and national new-woman image discussed in Chapter 7. However, the new-woman image is not a simple combination of the modern and national. The contradictions and complexities between modern and national are a production of constant negotiation.

How does a focus on the concept of 'negotiation' point to complexities in constructing subjectivities? The KD writers argued that women should engage with *ilim,* as a positive contribution from Europe, because it was important for the nation. This topic is covered in the discussion of Occidentalism and further developed in Chapter 7, using the 'mood of commitment' in the case of motherhood. For example, I mentioned a reified understanding of Europe, citing one KD writer who claimed that German mothers engaged with *ilim* and taught their children the history of their nation. She compared the German mothers to Ottoman women, who only told their children 'ghost stories', implying that nations exist but ghosts do not. Using my concept of 'scientific motherhood' to further analyse this point, I argued that negotiations of some binaries might undermine other binaries and claim a subjectivity that would enable women to engage with *ilim.*

8.3.3 Normativities: Crossing the Line

The third concept mentioned in my research questions was 'normativities' that I mainly followed through sexual normativities. This concept appeared most frequently

in Chapter 6 and 7, but was also important in other parts of the analysis. When discussing normativities, I focused particularly on *iffet* as a form of sexual honour associated with women. One key argument was that Europe-related problems and the danger of imitation were associated with both masculinities and femininities, as sexual categories. I linked *ilim* and non-*ilim* knowledge to the danger of damaging a women's *iffet,* as discussed in Chapter 6. I also showed how women's sexual purity became linked to national honour (Najmabadi, 1997). It was not possible to modernise the nation without women, but women who became too modern represented a sexual threat to the nation as a whole (Bora A., 2010). In Chapter 6, I used the danger of women 'crossing the line' while engaging in modernisation to refer to negotiations of normativities. Women demonstrated their loyalty to the nation by proving that they would not 'cross the line' during the intense changes associated with modernisation. Legitimising women's engagement became very important, in relation to *iffet* and the 'mood of commitment' discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The line, which also refers to negotiated normativities, is not fixed; it is fluid, complex, and inconsistent.

I highlighted the importance of new-woman and new-family images in transforming normativities during modernisation. Recognition and respectability, for example, were important strategies; women used them to play with the line through the position of motherhood, another strategy for negotiating normativities. The KD writers argued that new women had a motherly devotion and loyalty to their nation, despite being changed through emancipation. This research showed that KD writers did not only demand the emancipation of women but also built complicities; through a 'mood of commitment' that referred to both the nation and modernisation. To reveal this contradiction, I explored the focus on motherhood through various feelings: the nation is sad (mothers should make it happy); the nation and women are in pain (mothers should cure them); the nation is not modern yet (mothers should take the blame and be altruistic); mothers are mourning (for their own sons).

Bringing these points together, I can now argue that women's demands to join the modernisation process were not simply responsive. In other words, the concept of normativities makes it possible to avoid positioning Ottoman women's movements in opposition to a single entity. I have discussed the fact that *iffet* was a concern to KD

writers, but not something outside them; I have also discussed the way in which motherhood, as a normative concept, became a strategy. In short, normativities are important because they allow researchers to avoid assuming an outside subject; instead, they make it possible to investigate the constitution of subjectivities with their relationality.

8.4 Conclusion of the Conclusion

Serpil Çakır opens her pioneering book, *Ottoman Women's Movements,* with a quotation from Halide Edib Adıvar, an important writer and intellectual during the modernisation process of the late Ottoman Empire and early Republic of Turkey (Adak, 2003; Berktay, 2009; Durakbaşa, 2017). The following talk was given in 1913, the year that KD magazine was published. I want to conclude this thesis by mentioning the same quotation:

> Because Ottoman women have not had a historiography of their efforts for progress, it does not mean they did not do anything. Today, talking to women about this special topic in this big theatre room and finding such an important and big group of Ottoman women... This is something to be proud of. At this very moment, when I talk to you, when you listen to me, it means that we are making history. When our grandchildren talk about our history in a conference room by talking about us with pride, they will certainly talk about our struggle as well (Çakır, 2016, p. 21).

As Halide Edib imagined and hoped, many researchers now talk about Ottoman women in many conference rooms. These researchers have written histographies and talked about the women, taking pride in their struggle. The first sentence of this quotation was significant for pioneer researchers of Ottoman women's movements, to demand respectability and recognition for contemporary feminist movement, showing that 'we had a past'. As Edib hopes for 'grandchildren' to recognise their struggle in the future, many researchers and activists defined them as their feminist grandmothers. Recently, including the aims of this thesis, this national bonding across time, is being questioned in line with some agendas of contemporary feminist movements. This is a hard task for researchers like me, that both try to avoid a reification of women's movements and criticise the complicities of these movements (both in the past and

present); but also try to analyse women's movements' desires, hopes, demands, contributions and challenges.

Let me return to the room analogy: in a feminist meeting, we might think the main agenda does not allow us to say anything due to our age, race, or class. Or we might realise that what others talk about is a direct/indirect criticism of our way of living that they are not aware of. We might want to join a feminist meeting for something that we believe is important, but might not find the 'energy' to do so because it requires too much effort to speak our words. I believe these scenarios would be familiar to many who are concerned with feminist thinking. We know that a commitment to feminism is not always cheerful, but sometimes frustrating; sometimes it is very easy to be a feminist, sometimes you need to remind yourselves of the reasons to be a feminist. Sometimes, we feel guilty of an understanding of feminism we defended some years ago, realising the exclusions of such feminism. Thus, feminism is complex, both in the contemporary everyday life, and in the past. That is why this research thinks about these complexities, knowing that feminism has layers; and invites to think about how to change gender inequalities, without reinforcing other inequalities. Following this kind of an understanding, I consider this research as a contribution to current thinking about the complexity of women's and feminist movements. I hope that this research will contribute to a rethinking of the Ottoman women's movements, by contributing to feminist understandings of poststructuralist, postcolonial, and affect theories.

Bibliography

Abou-El-Haj, R. A. A. (2005) *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Abouelnaga, S. (2015) Reconstructing Gender in Post-Revolution Egypt. In: El Said, M., Meari, L. & Pratt, N., eds. *Rethinking Gender in Revolutions and Resistance*. London: Zed Books.

Abu-Lughod, L. (1998a) The Marriage of Feminism and Islamism in Egypt: Selective Repudiation as a Dynamic of Postcolonial Cultural Politics. In: Abu-Lughod, L., ed. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Abu-Lughod, L. (1998b) Introduction: Feminist Longings and Postcolonial Conditions. In: Abu-Lughod, L., ed. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Abu-Lughod, L. (2001) Orientalism and Middle East Feminist Studies. *Feminist Studies*, 27 (1): 101-113.

Abu-Lughod, L. (2010) The Active Social Life of 'Muslim Women's Rights: A Plea for Ethnography, Not Polemic, with Cases from Egypt and Palestine. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 6 (1): 1-45.

Abu-Lughod, L. (2013) *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Abu-Lughod, L. (2018) Palestine: Doing Things with Archives. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 38 (1): 3-5.

Açıkgöz, B. (2018) The advent of scientific housewifery in the Ottoman Empire. *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 54 (6): 783-799.

Adak, H. (2003) National Myths and Self-Na(rra)tions: Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk* and Halide Edib's *Memoirs* and *The Turkish Ordeal*. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102 (2/3): 509-527.

Adak, H. (2007) Suffragettes of the empire, daughters of the republic: Women auto/biographers narrate national history (1918-1935). *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 36: 27-51.

Adak, H. & Altınay, A. (2010) At the crossroads of gender and ethnicity: Moving beyond the national imaginaire. *New Perspectives on Turkey,* 42: 9-30.

Adak, H. (2019) Müfide Ferit Tek's Aydemir Meets Neşide K. Demir: Or How Women in Mourning Impede Gendered Memories of a Genocidal Past. In *Women Mobilizing Memory*, ed. Ayşe Gül. Altınay, Maria Jose. Contreras, Marianne. Hirsch, Jean. Howard, Banu. Karaca and Alisa. Solomon, 441-58. New York: Colombia University Press.

Adkins, L. (2017) Sociology's archive: Mass-observation as a site of speculative research. In: Wilkie, A., Savransky, M. & Rosengarten, M., eds. *Speculative Research: The Lure of Possible Futures*. London: Routledge.

Afary, J. & Anderson, K. (2005) *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Ağaoğlu, A. (1993) *Karşılaşmalar*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Agnes, F. (2000) Women, Marriage, and the Subordination of Rights. In: Chatterjee, P. & Jeganathan, P., eds. *Community, Gender and Violence: Subaltern Studies XI*. London: Hurst and Company.

Ahall, L. (2018) Affect as Methodology: Feminism and the Politics of Emotion. *International Political Sociology*, 12 (1): 36-52.

Ahıska, M. (2000) Gender and National Fantasy: Early Turkish Radio Drama. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 22: 25-60.

Ahıska, M. (2003) Occidentalism: The Historical Fantasy of the Modern. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102 (2/3): 351-379.

Ahıska, M. (2006) Occidentalism and registers of truth: The politics of archives in Turkey. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 34: 9-29.

Ahıska, M. (2010) *Occidentalism in Turkey: Questions of Modernity and National Identity in Turkish Radio Broadcasting*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Ahıska, M. (2014) Counter-Movement, Space and Politics: How the Saturday Mothers of Turkey Make Enforced Disappearances Visible. In: Schindel, E. & Colombo, P., eds. *Space and the Memories of Violence: Landscapes of Erasure, Disappearance and Exception*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ahmed, L. (2011) *The Veil's Resurgence, from the Middle East to America: A Quiet Revolution*. London: Yale University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2000) *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-coloniality*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ahmed, S. (2004) Affective Economies. *Social Text,* 22 (2): 117-39.

Ahmed, S. (2010) *The Promise of Happiness*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2014a) Not in the Mood. *New Formations: a Journal of Culture/Theory/Politics*, 82 (16): 13-28.

Ahmed, S. (2014b) *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Ahmed, S. (2017) *Living a Feminist Life*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Akçura, Y. (2016) *Üç tarz-ı Siyaset*. Konya: Salon.

Akın, Y. (2014) War, Women, and the State: The Politics of Sacrifice in the Ottoman Empire During the First World War. *Journal of Women's History*, 26 (3): 12-35.

Akkent, M. (2013) Kadınlar Dünyası 100 Yaşında: Feminist Kadın Dergilerinin Büyük Büyük Büyükannesi. In https://m.bianet.org/bianet/kadin/145572-feminist-kadin-dergilerinin-buyuk-buyuk-buyukannesi Access date: 02.03.2020.

Akşit, E. E. (2008) Osmanlı Feminizmi, Uluslararası Feminizm ve Doğu Kadınları. *Doğudan*, 7: 84-91.

Akşit, E. E. (2009) Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye'de Kamusallık Kavramının Dönüşümü ve Dışladıkları. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, 64 (1): 1-21.

Akşit, E. E. (2010a) Geç Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet dönemlerinde nufüs kontrolu yaklaşımları. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 117: 179-197.

Akşit, E. E. (2010b) Fatma Aliye's Stories: Ottoman Marriages Beyond the Harem. *Journal of Family Histories*, 35 (3): 207-218.

Aksit, E. E. (2010c) Hanımlara Mahsus Milliyetçilik: Fatma Aliye ve Erken Milliyetçi Stratejiler. *kebikec,* 30: 57-74.

Aktar, A. (2010) Conversion of a 'Country' into a 'Fatherland': The Case of Turkification Examined, 1923-1934. In: Aktar, A., Kizilyurek, N. & Özkırımlı, U., eds. *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Al-Ali, N. (2003) Gender and Civil Society in the Middle East. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5 (2): 216-232.

Al-Ali, N. & Pratt, N. (2009) The United States, the Iraqi Women's Diaspora and Women's 'Empowerment' in Iraq. In: Al-Ali, N. & Pratt, N., eds. *Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Alloul, H., Eldem, E. & De Smaele, H. (2018) Introduction: Anatomy of the Yıldız Bombing: Tracing the Global in the Particular. In: Alloul, H. E., E. & De Smaele, H., eds. *To Kill a Sultan: A Transnational History of the Attempt on Abdulhamid II (1905)*. London: Palgrave Macmillan:

Altınay, A. G. (2004) *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender and Education in Turkey*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Altınay, A. G. (2013) Giriş: Milliyetçilik, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Feminizm. In: Altınay, A. G., ed. *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Altınbaş, N. (2014) Marriage and Divorce in the Late Ottoman Empire: Social Upheaval, Women's Rights, and the Need for New Family Law. *Journal of Family History*, 39 (2): 114-125.

Alvanoudi, A. (2009) Travelling between languages and disciplines: Linguistic and interdisciplinary translation practices in Women's/Gender Studies. *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 6 (3): 20-39.

Amin, C. M. (2008) Globalizing Iranian Feminism, 1910-1950. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 4 (1): 6-30.

Amin, K. (2017) *Disturbing Attachments: Genet, Modern Pederasty, and Queer History*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Amin, S. (2009) *Eurocentrism: Modernity, Religion, and Democracy A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined Communities*. London and New York: Verso.

Andrijasevic, R., Hamilton, C. & Hemmings, C. (2014) Re-imagining Revolutions. *Feminist Review*, 104 (1): 1-8.

Anthias, F. & Yuval-Davis, N. (1989) Introduction. In: Anthias, F. & Yuval-Davis, N., eds. *Woman-Nation-State*. Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan.

Apple, R. D. (2006) *Perfect Motherhood: Science and Childrearing in America*. London: Rutgers University Press.

Arat, Y. (2001) Gender and Citizenship: Considerations on the Turkish Experience. In: Joseph, S. & Slyomovics, A., eds. *Women and Power in the Middle East*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Arat, Y. (2010a) Nation Building and Feminism in Early Republican Turkey. In: Kerslake, C., Oktem, K. & Robins, P., eds. *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan.

Arat, Y. (2010b) Women's Rights and Islam in Turkish Politics: The Civil Code Amendment. *Middle East Journal*, 64 (2): 235-251.

Arat, Z. F. (1999a) Educating the Daughters of the Republic. In: Arat, Z. F., ed. *Deconstructing Images of 'The Turkish Woman'*. New York: Palgrave.

Arat, Z. F. (1999b) Introduction: Politics of Representation and Identity. In: Arat, Z. F., ed. *Deconstructing the Images of 'The Turkish Woman'*. New York: Palgrave.

Arondekar, A. (2009) *For the Record: On Sexuality and the Colonial Archive in India*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Asad, T. & Owen, R. ed. (1983) *Sociology of 'Developing Societies': The Middle East*. London: Macmillan Education.

Atabaki, T. & Brockett, G. D. (2009) Ottoman and Republican Turkish Labour History: An Introduction. *International Review of Social History*, 54: 1-17.

Aykut, E. (2016) Toxic Murder, Female Poisoners, and the Question of Agency at the Late Ottoman Law Courts, 1840-1908. *Journal of Women's History* 28: 114-37.

Aykut, E. (2020) Ebru Aykut ile Osmanlı Toplumsal Cinsiyet Çalışmalarında 'Sıradan' ve 'Dışarıda' Olanın Failliği Üzerine Bir Söyleşi. Interviewer: Gülçiçek, D. *Feminist Tahayyül* 1 (1): 119-30.

Balasescu, A. H. (2005) Faces and Bodies: Gendered Modernity and Fashion Photography in Tehran. *Gender & History*, 17 (3): 737-768.

Balslev, S. (2014) Dressed for Success: Hegemonic Masculinity, Elite Men and Westernisation in Iran, c. 1900-40. *Gender & History*, 26 (3): 545-564.

Balslev, S. (2018) Population crisis, marriage reform and the regulation of male sexuality in interwar Iran. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 45 (2): 121-137.

Balsoy, G. (2009) Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Regie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century. *International Review of Social History*, 54 (17): 45-68.

Baxter, J. (2003) *Positioning Gender in Discourse: A Feminist Methodology*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baykan, A. C. (1994) The Turkish Woman: An Adventure in Feminist Historiography. *Gender & History*, 6 (1): 101-116.

Beatty, A. (2019) *Emotional Worlds: Beyond an Anthropology of Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Belge, M. (2012) Batılılaşma: Türkiye ve Rusya. In: Bora, T. & Gultekinoglu, M., eds. *Modern Turkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Berktay, F. (2003) *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis.

Berktay, F. (2009) Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesinin Etkin ve Küskün Öznesi Kadınlara Bir Örnek: Halide Edip Adıvar. In: Ergut, F., ed. *II. Meşrutiyeti Yeniden Düşünmek*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Berktay, F. (2012) Doğu ile Batı'nın Birleştiği Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanısı. In: Bora, T. & Gültekinoglu, M., eds. *Modern Turkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Berktay, F. (2017) The Women's Library and Istanbul Women's Library from the Past to the Present. *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*, 31 (2): 263-270.

Bhabha, H. (1994) *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bhambra, G. K. (2007) *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bhambra, G. K. (2011) Historical Sociology, Modernity, and Postcolonial Critique. *American Historical Review*, 116 (3): 653-662.

Bhambra, G. K. (2015) Citizens and Others: The Constitution of Citizenship through Exclusion. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 40 (2): 102-114.

Bhambra, G. K. (2016) Undoing the Epistemic Disavowal of the Haitian Revolution: A Contribution to Global Social Thought. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37 (1): 1-16.

Biçer-Deveci, E. (2015) The movement of feminist ideas: The case of Kadınlar Dünyası. In: Kozma, L., Schayegh, C. & Wishnitzer, A., eds. *A Global Middle East: Mobility, Materiality and Culture in the Modern Age, 1880-1940*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Bier, L. (2011) *Revolutionary Womanhood: Feminisms, Modernity, and the State in Nasser's Egypt*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bilal, M., Ekmekçioğlu, L. & Mumcu, B. (2006) Hayganus Mark'in Hayati, Düşünceleri ve Faaliyetleri Feminizm: Bir Adalet Feryadi. In: Ekmekçioğlu, L. & Bilal, M., eds. *Bir Adalet Feryadı: Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Ermeni Feminist Yazar*. İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık.

Blencowe, C. (2012) *Biopolitical Experience: Foucault, Power and Positive Critique*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Boehmer, E. (2005a) *Stories of women: Gender and Narrative in the Postcolonial Nation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Boehmer, E. (2005b) *Stories of Women*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bora, A. (2010) Hatırlananlar ve Unutulanlar: İslam Coğrafyasında Modernleşme ve Kadın Hareketi. *Bilig*, 53: 51-66.

Bora, A. & Günal, A. (2007) *90'larda Türkiye'de Feminizm*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Bora, T. (2005) Analar, Bacılar, Orospular: Türk milliyetçi-muhafazakar söyleminde kadın. In: Öncü, A. & Tekelioğlu, O., eds. *Şerif Mardin'e Armağan*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Bora, T. (2017) *Cereyanlar: Türkiye'de Siyasi İdeolojiler*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Bose, P. K. (1995) Sons of the Nation: Child Rearing. In: Chatterjee, P., ed. *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal*. London: University of Minnesota Press.

Bozdoğan, S. & Kasaba, R. (1997) *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Washington: University of Washington Press.

Bridenthal, R. & Koonz, C. (1977) *Becoming visible: women in European history*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Brooke, S. (2006) Bodies, Sexuality and the 'Modernization' of the British Working Classes, 1920s to 1960s. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 69: 104122.

Browne, V. (2014) *Feminism, Time, and Nonlinear History*. New York: Palgrave.

Brummett, P. (1995) Dogs, Women, Cholera, and Other Menaces in the Streets: Cartoon Satire in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908-11. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 27 (4): 433-460.

Brummett, P. (1999) Dressing for Revolution: Mother, Nation, Citizen, and Subversive in the Ottoman Satirical Press 1908-1911. In: Arat, Z. F., ed. *Deconstructing Images of 'The Turkish Woman'*. New York: Palgrave.

Brummett, P. (2000) *Images and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 19081911*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Brummett, P. (2007) Gender and Empire in Late Ottoman Istanbul: Caricature, Models of Empire and the Case for Ottoman Exceptionalism. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 27 (2): 283-302.

Buruma, I. & Margalit, A. (2004) *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*. New York: The Penguin Press.

Burton, A. M. (1990) The White Woman's Burden: British Feminists and The Indian Woman, 1865-1915. *Women's Studies International Forum* 13 (4): 295-308.

Burton, A. M. (1999) Introduction: The unfinished business of colonial modernities. In *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, eds, Antoinette. Burton. London and New York: Routledge.

Bussemaker, J. & Voet, R. (1998) Citizenship and gender: theoretical approaches and historical legacies. *Critical Social Policy*, 18 (3): 277-307.

Butler, J. (2002) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2011) Speaking Up, Talking Back: Joan Scott's Critical Feminism. In: Butler, J. & Weed, E., eds. *The Question of Gender: Joan W. Scott's Critical Feminism*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Butler, J., and E. Weed. 2011. "Introduction." In *The Question of Gender: Joan W. Scott's Critical Feminism*, edited by J. Butler and E. Weed. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, F. & Gençtürk Demircioğlu, T. Eds. (2009a) *Kadınlar Dünyası 1. - 50. Sayılar (Yeni Harflerle)*, vol. 1. İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı

Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, F. & Gençtürk Demircioğlu, T. Eds. (2009b) *Kadınlar Dünyası 51. - 100. Sayılar (Yeni Harflerle)*, vol. 2. İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı

Cağaptay, S. (2006) *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey*. London and New York: Routledge.

Çağatay, S. (2017). *The Politics of Gender and the Making of Kemalist Feminist Activism in Contemporary Turkey (1946-2011)*. Doctor of Philosophy. Budapest, Hungary: Central European University.

Çakır, S. (2006) Aliye, F. In: Haan, F. D., Daskalova, K. & Loutfi, A., eds. *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press.

Çakır, S. (2007) Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism. *Aspasia*, 1: 61-83.

Çakır, S. (2016) *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul: Metis.

Cantillon, Z., Baker, S. & Buttigieg, B. (2017) Queering the Community Music Archive. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 32: 41-57.

Çelik, B. (2011) Cellular telephony in Turkey: A technology of produced modernity. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 14 (2): 147-161.

Çetinkaya, Y. D. (2014) *1908 Osmanlı Boykotu: Bir Toplumsal Hareketin Analizi*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Chakrabarty, D. (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Charles, N. (2015) Feminist Politics: From Activism to Representation. In: Robinson, V. & Richardson, D., eds. *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies*. Fourth edn. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Charles, N. & Hintjens, H. (1998) Gender, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity: Women's 'Places'. In: Charles, N. & Hintjens, H., eds. *Gender, Ethnicity and Political Ideologies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Charles, N. & Wadia, K. (2018) New British feminisms, UK Feminista and young women's activism. *Feminist Theory*, 19 (2): 165-181.

Chatterjee, P. (1993a) *The Nation and its fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Chatterjee, P. (1993b) *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: Zed Books.

Chatterjee, P. (2004) *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Chatterjee, P. (2010) *Empire and Nation: Selected Essays*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chatterjee, P. (2012) *The Black Hole of Empire*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Chatterjee, P. (2013) Kadın Sorununa Milliyetçi Çözüm. In: Altınay, A. G., ed. *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Chehabi, H. E. (1993) Staging the Emperor's New Clothes: Dress Codes and NationBuilding under Reza Shah. *Iranian Studies*, 26 (3/4): 209-229.

Chen, X. ed. (1995) *Occidentalism: A theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chiang, H. (2014) Archiving Peripheral Taiwan: The Prodigy of the Human and Historical Narration. *Radical History Review*, 120: 204-225.

Chidgey, R. (2013) Reassess Your Weapons: the making of feminist memory in young women's zines. *Women's History Review*, 22 (4): 658-672.

Cifor, M. (2016) Affecting relations: Introducing Affect Theory to archival discourse. *Archival Science*, 16 (1): 7-31.

Cifor, M. (2017) Stains and Remains: Liveliness, Materiality, and the Archival Lives of Queer Bodies. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 32 (91): 5-21.

Comaroff, J. L. & Comaroff, J. (1997) *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Connell, R. W. (2005) *Masculinities*. Berkeley: Polity Press.

Cooke, M. (2000) Women, Religion and the Postcolonial Arab World. *Cultural Critique*, 45: 150-184.

Corbman, R. F. (2014) A Genealogy of the Lesbian Herstory Archives, 1974-2014. *Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies*, 1: 1-16.

Çınar, A. (2005) *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Davin, Anna. (1978) Imperialism and Motherhood. *History Workshop,* 5: 9-65.

de Jong, S. (2017) *Complicit Sisters: Gender and Women's Issues across North-South Divides*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Demirdirek, A. (1999) In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women's Movement. In: Arat, Z. F., ed. *Deconstructing Images of 'The Turkish Woman'*. New York: Palgrave.

Demirdirek, A. (2011) *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat hHakkı Arayışının bir Hikayesi*. Ankara: Ayizi.

Demirdirek, A. (2014) Muslim Ottoman feminists' perceptions of their non-Muslim counterparts after Mesrutiyet. *Fe Dergi: Feminist Elestiri*, 6: 1-17. der Tuin, I. V. (2009) Jumping Generations. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 24 (59): 17-31.

Demirdirek, A. (2015) Feminist Tarihyazımı Üzerine Kişisel Notlar. In. http://www.amargidergi.com/yeni/?p=1574 Access date: 03.02.2020.

Depeli, G. (2013) Duygular Siyaseti ya da Birbirimizin Ciğerini Bilmek. *Amargi Dergi* 31 :22-5.

Delice, S. (2012). 'Zen-dostlar Çoğalıp Mahbublar Azaldı': Osmanlı'da Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Cinsellik ve Tarihyazımı. In C. Çakırlar & S. Delice (Eds.), *Cinsellik Muamması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet*. Istanbul: Metis.

Deringil, S. (1998) *The Well-Protected Domains*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Derrida, J. (1995) Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression. *Diacritics*, 25 (2): 9-63.

Dever, M. (2017) Archives and New Modes of Feminist Research. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 32: 1-4.

Dever, M., Newman, S. & Vickert, A. (2010) The Intimate Archive. *Archives and Manuscripts*, 38 (1): 94-137.

Dirlik, A. (1997) *The Postcolonial Aura: third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Dirlik, A. (2003) Global Modernity? Modernity in an Age of Global Capitalism. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 6 (3): 275-292.

Duben, A. (1985) Turkish Families and Households in Historical Perspective. *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1): 75-97.

Duben, A. & Behar, C. (1991) *Istanbul Households: Marriage, family and fertility 18801940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunn, T. R. (2016) *Queerly Remembered: Rhetorics for Representing the GLBTQ Past*. South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press.

Durakbaşa, A. (1999) Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey. In: Arat, Z. F., ed. *Deconstructing Images of 'The Turkish Woman'*. New York: Palgrave.

Durakbaşa, A. (2017) *Halide Edib: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Durakbaşa, A. & İlyasoğlu, A. (2001) Formation of Gender Identities in Republican Turkey and Women's Narratives as Transmitters of 'Herstory' of Modernization. *Journal of Social History*, 35: 195-203.

Edwards, P. (2001) Restyling Colonial Cambodia (1860-1954): French Dressing, Indigenous Custom and National Costume. *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, 5 (4): 389-416.

Eichhorn, K. (2013) *The Archival Turn In Feminism: Outrage in Order*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Ekmekçioğlu, L. & Bilal, M. (2006) *Bir Adalet Feryadı: Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Ermeni Feminist Yazar*. İstanbul: Aras.

Eldem, E. (2006) Capitulations and Western trade. In: Faroqhi, S. N., ed. *The Cambridge History of Turkey: The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Emadian, B. (2019) Under Western Eyes: On Faris's In the Name of Women's Rights. *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory,* 47 (1): 143-58.

Ercel, E. (2016) Psychoanalysis, Fantasy, Postcoloniality: Turkish Nationalism and Historiography in Post-Ottoman Turkey. *Postcolonial Studies*, 19 (1): 71-87.

Erdoğan, E. & Gündoğdu N. (2020) Niçin -Türkiye'de- Feminist Yöntem. In *Türkiye'de Feminist Yöntem*, eds. Erdoğan, E. & Gündoğdu N. 15-37. Istanbul: Metis.

Evered, K. T. & Evered E. Ö. (2012) State, peasant, mosquito: The biopolitics of public health education and malaria in early republican Turkey. *Political Geography* 31 (5): 311-23.

Fanon, F. (2001) *The Wretched of the Earth*. London: Penguin Books.

Fanon, F. (2008) *Black Skin White Masks*. London: Pluto Press.

Farris, S. R. (2017) *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Fleming, K. E. (1999) Women as Preservers of the Past: Ziya Gökalp and Women's Reform. In: Arat, Z. F., ed. *Deconstructing Images of 'The Turkish Woman'*. New York: Palgrave.

Fraser, N. (2013) *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis*. London: Verso.

Fortna, B. C. (2010) The Ottoman Educational Legacy. In: Kerslake, C., Oktem, K. & Robins, P., eds. *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse of Language*. New York: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1984) Polemics, Politics, and Problematizations: An Interview with Michel Foucault. In: Rabinow, P., ed. *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1986) Nietzsche, Genealogy, History. In: Rabinow, P., ed. *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1988) *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. London and New York: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1990) *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. New York: Random House.

Fraser, N. & Nicholson, L. J. (1990) Social Criticism without Philosophy: An Encounter between Feminism and Postmodernism. In: Nicholson, L. J., ed. *Feminism / Postmodernism*. New York and London: Routledge.

Freshwater, H. (2007) The Allure of the Archive: Performance and Cencorship. *Moveable Type*, *3*: 5-24.

Frierson, E. B. (2000) Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society. In: Quataert, D., ed. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1922*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Gaitskell, D. & Unterhalter, E. (1989) Mothers of the Nation: A Comparative Analysis of Nation, Race and Motherhood in Afrikaner Nationalism and the African National Congress. In: Yuval-Davis, N. & Anthias, F., eds. *Woman-Nation-State*. Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan.

Garland, D. (2014) What is a "history of the present"? On Foucault's genealogies and their critical preconditions. *Punishment and Society*, 16 (4): 365-384.

Gellner, E. (1995) *Culture, Identity, and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Georgeon, F. (2013) Women's Representations in Ottoman Cartoons and the Satirical Press in the Eve of Kemalist Reforms (1919-1924). In: Köksal, D. & Falierou, A., eds. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Gordon, A. F. (2008) *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.

Gökalp, Z. (1959) *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Göle, N. (2000) Snapshots of Islamic Modernities. *Daedalus*, 129 (1): 91-117.

Greco, M. & Stenner, P. (2008) Introduction: Emotion and Social Science. In *Emotions: A Social Science Reader*, eds. Greco, M. & Stenner, P. London: Routledge.

Greening, A. (2000) The Women's Library in Istanbul: The International Context. *Gender & History*, 12 (1): 467-471.

Gregory, T. & Ahall, L. (2015) Introduction: Mapping Emotions, politics and war. In: Ahall, L. & Gregory, T., eds. *Emotions, Politics and War*. London and New York: Routledge.

Guha, R. (1997) Introduction. In: Guha, R., ed. *A Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986-1995*. London: University of Minnesota Press.

Guha, R. (1999) *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Gülçiçek, D. (2015). *Rethinking Second Wave Feminism: A Poststructuralist Approach to the late 1980' Feminist Movement in Turkey in the cases of Feminist and Kaktüs Magazines.* M. S. thesis: Middle East Technical University.

Gülçiçek, D., Özdemir, Ö., Sarıtaş, E., Şahin, Y., & Koç, D., (2015) Mazinin Politikası: Geride Kal(a)mayanlar. In. http://www.amargidergi.com/yeni/?p=1600: Access date: 01.02.2020.

Gunew, S. (2003) *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalisms*. London: Routledge.

Gunnarsson, L. (2011) A defence of the category 'women'. *Feminist Theory*, 12 (1): 23-37.

Göle, N. (2012) Batı Dışı Modernlik: Kavram Üzerine. In: Bora, T. & Gültekinglu, M., eds. *Modern Turkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Haan, F. D., Daskalova, K. & Loutfi, A. ed. (2006) *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*. Budapest and New York: CEU Press.

Halberstam, J. (2005) *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Hanioğlu, M. S. (2008) *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* Princeton: Princeton University.

Hanioğlu, M. S. (2011) *Atatürk: An Intellectual Biography*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Harding, S. & Hintikka, M. B. ed. (2003) *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science*. Second edn. Springer.

Hartsock, N. (1990) Foucault of Power: A Theory for Women? In: Nicholson, L. J., ed. *Feminism and Postmodernism*. London: Routledge.

Hemmings, C. (2005a) Invoking Affect. *Cultural Studies*, 19 (5): 548-567.

Hemmings, C. (2005b) Telling feminist stories. *Feminist Theory*, 6 (2): 115-139.

Hemmings, C. (2011) *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Hennessy, R. (1993) *Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse*. London and New York: Routledge.

Herbert, A. E. (2019) Queer Intimacy: Speaking with the Dead in Eighteenth-Century Britain. *Gender & History*, 31: 25-40.

Hesford, V. (2005) Feminism and its ghosts: The spectre of the lesbian-as-lesbian. *Feminist Theory*, 6 (3): 227-250.

Hewitt, N. A. (2012) Feminist Frequencies: Regenerating the Wave Metaphor. *Feminist Studies*, 38 (3): 658-680.

Highmore, B. (2013) Feeling Our Way: Mood and Cultural Studies. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies,* 10 (4): 427-38.

Highmore, B. & Taylor, J. B. (2014.) Introducing Mood Work. *New Formations,* 82: 5-12.

Hobsbawm, E. (2013) Introduction: Inventing Traditions. In: Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T., eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1997) The End of Empires. In: Barkey, K. & von Hagen, M., eds. *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Holling, H. (2015) The Archival Turn: Towards New Ways of Conceptualising Changeable Artworks. In: Smite, R., Manovich, L. & Smits, R., eds. *Data Drift: Archiving Media and Data Art in the 21st Century*. Riga: Liepaja's University Art Research.

İlkkaracan, P. (2008a) How Adultery Almost Derailed Turkey's Aspirations to Join the European Union. In: İlkkaracan, P., ed. *Deconstructing sexuality in the Middle East*. Hampshire: Asgate.

İlkkaracan, P. (2008b) *Deconstructing Sexuality in the Middle East: Challenges and Discources*. Hampshire: Ashgate.

İlyasoğlu, A. (1996) Religion and Women during the Course of Modernization in Turkey. *Oral History*, 24 (2): 49-53.

Jacob, W. C. (2011) *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity: 1870-1940.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Jacobs, D. M. (2009) *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Materialism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940*. London: University of Nebraska Press.

Jaschok, M. & Jingjun, S. (2012) Purity, sexuality and faith: Chinese women *ahong* and women's mosques as shelter and strength. In: Helie, A. & Hoodfar, H., eds. *Sexuality in Muslim Contexts*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Jasper, J. M. & L., O. (2014) Social Movements and Emotions. In: Stets, J. E. & Turner, J. H., eds. *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*. California: Springer.

Jayawardena, K. (1986) *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books.

Jirousek, C. (1996) Dress as Social Policy: Change in Women's Dress in a Southwestern Turkish Village. *Dress: The Journal of the Costume Society of America*, 23 (1): 47-62.

Jirousek, C. (2000) The transition to Mass System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire. In: Quataert, D., ed. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire 1550-1922*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Kahlina, K. (2014) Local histories, European LGBT designs: Sexual citizenship, nationalism and 'Europeanisation' in post-Yugoslav Croatia and Serbia. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 29: 73-83.

Kandiyoti, D. (1987) Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case. *Feminist Studies*, 13 (2): 317-338.

Kandiyoti, D. (1991a) End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey. In:

Kandiyoti, D., ed. *Women, Islam and the State*. London: Macmillan.

Kandiyoti, D. (1991b) Introduction. In: Kandiyoti, D., ed. *Women, Islam and the State*. London: Macmillan.

Kandiyoti, D. (1992) From empire to nation state: Transformations of the woman question in Turkey. In: Kleinberg, S. J., ed. *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society*. Paris: Berg.

Kandiyoti, D. (1996) *Gendering the Middle East: Emerging perspectives*. London: Tauris.

Kandiyoti, D. (1998) Some Awkward Questions on Women and Modernity in Turkey. In: Abu-Lughod, L., ed. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Kandiyoti, D. (2002) Introduction: Reading the Fragments. In: Kandiyoti, D. & Saktanber, A., eds. *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday of Modern Turkey*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Kandiyoti, D. (2007a) *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*. İstanbul: Metis.

Kandiyoti, D. (2007b) Contemporary Feminist Scholarship and Middle East Studies. In:

Kandiyoti, D., ed. *Gendering the Middle East: Emerging perspectives*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Kandiyoti, D. (2010) Gender and women's studies in Turkey: A moment for reflection? *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 43: 165-176.

Kaplan, G. (1997) Feminism and Nationalism: The European Case. In: West, L. A., ed. *Feminist nationalism*. London: Routledge.

Karademir-Hazır, I. (2017) Wearing class: A study on clothes, bodies and emotions in Turkey. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 17 (2): 413-432.

Karakışla, Y. S. (2014) *Osmanlı Kadın Telefon Memureleri (1913-1923)*. İstanbul: Akıl-Fikir.

Karakışla, Y. S. (2015) *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Savaş Yılları ve Çalışan Kadınlar: Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti (1916-1923)*. Ankara: İletişim.

Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K. (2017) *Sodom ve Gomore*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Karpat, K. H. (1985) *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*. London: University of Wisconsin Press.

Keyder, C. (1997) The Ottoman Empire. In: Barkey, K. & von Hagen, M., eds. *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Keyder, C. (1999) The Setting. In: Keyder, C., ed. *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Khalapyan, H. (2013) Theater as Career for Ottoman Armenian Women, 1850 to 1910. In: Köksal, D. & Falierou, A., eds. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Kılınçoğlu, D. (2015) *Economics and Capitalism in the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Routledge.

Koğacıoğlu, D. (2011) Knowledge, Practice, and Political Community: The Making of the 'Custom' in Turkey. *Difference: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 22 (1): 172228.

Köksal, D. & Falierou, A. (2013) Introduction: Historiography of Late Ottoman Women. In: Köksal, D. & Falierou, A., eds. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Köse, Y. (2008) Flooding the Ottoman Market: Marketing History Related Topics. In *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Faroqhi*, eds. Costantini, V. & Koller, M. 221-46. Leiden: Brill.

Köroğlu, E. (2012) Türk Romanında Batıcılığın Yeri: Gecikmişlik Batağında Utanç Duymayı Öğrenmek. In: Bora, T. & Gültekinglu, M., eds. *Modern Turkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Köse, E. (2011) Dindar Kadınlığın Kurulumunda Tesettur: Beden, Yazın, Özneleşme. In: Sancar, S., ed. *Birkaç Arpa Boyu: 21. Yüzyıla Girerken Türkiye'de Feminist Çalışmalar*. İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Köse, E. (2014) *Sessizliği Söylemek: Dindar Kadın Edebiyati, Cinsiyet ve Beden*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Lake, C. (2018) Eugenics in the Late 19th Century Feminist Utopias. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 77 (5): 1277-1312.

Levy-Aksu, N. (2014) Building Professional and Political Communities: The Value of Honor in the Self-Representation of Ottoman Police during the Second Constitutional Period. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 18: 1-21.

Lewis, R. (2002) Feminism and Orientalism. *Feminist Theory*, 3 (2): 211-219.

Lewis, R. (2003) *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lewis, R. (2004) *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel, and the Ottoman Harem*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Liddle, J. & Rai, S. (1998) Feminism, imperialism and orientalism: The challenge of the 'Indian woman'. *Women's History Review* 7 (4): 495-520.

Liinason, M. (2018) *Equality Struggles: Women's Movements, Neoliberal Markets and State Political Agendas in Scandinavia*. New York: Routledge.

Lovell, T. (1987) *Consuming Fiction: Questions for Feminism*. London: Verso.

Lowe, L. (1991) *Discourse and Heterogeneity: Situating Orientalism*. London: Cornell University Press.

Mahmood, S. (2005) *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mahmood, S. (2009) Religious Reason and Secular Affect: An Incommensurable Divide? In: Asad, T., Brown, W., Butler, J. & Mahmood, A., eds. *Is Critique Secular? Blasphemy, Injury, and Free Speech*. Berkeley: University of California.

Makdisi, U. (2002) Ottoman Orientalism. *The American Historical Review*, 107 (3): 768-796.

Mardin, S. (2017) *Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler 4*. İstanbul: İletişim.

McRobbie, A. (2009) *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change*. London: Sage.

Metinsoy, E. I. M. (2013) The Limits of Feminism in Muslim-Turkish Women Writers of the Armistice Period (1918-1923). In: Köksal, D. & Falierou, A., eds. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women*. London and Boston: Brill: 85-108.

Metinsoy, E. M. (2017) *Ottoman Women during World War I: Everyday Experiences Politics, and Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Metinsoy, Elif. Mahir. (2020) Osmanlı'nın Son Döneminde Evlilik: Türk Kadını Dergisi Örneği. *Feminist Tahayyül*, 1 (1): 59-90.

Micklewright, N. (1987) Tracing the Transformations in Women's Dress in NineteenthCentury Istanbul. *Dress: The Journal of the Costume Society of America*, 13 (1): 33-43.

Micklewright, N. (1989) Late-Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Wedding Costumes as Indicators of Social Change. *Muqarnas*, 6: 161-174.

Midgley, C. (2007) *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790-1865*. New York: Routledge.

Miller, R. A. (2007) Rights, Reproduction, Sexuality, and Citizenship in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 32 (2): 347373.

Mohanty, C. T. (1984) Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discources. *Boundary*, 12 (3): 333-358.

Moore, N. (2012) The politics and ethic of naming: questioning anonymisation in (archival) research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 15 (4): 331-340.

Moravec, M. (2017) Feminist Research Practices and Digital Archives. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 32: 186-201.

Moss, E. L., Stam, H. J., & Kattevilder, D. (2013) From Suffrage to Sterilization: Eugenics and the Women's Movement in 20th Century Alberta. *Canadian Psychology* 54 (2): 105-14.

Mosse, G. L. (1982) Nationalism and Respectability: Normal and Abnormal Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 17 (2): 221-246.

Mottier, V. & Geredetti N. (2007) Eugenics and Social Democracy: Or, How the European Left Tried to Eliminate the 'Weeds' from its national gardens. *New Formations* 60:35-49.

Mottier, V. (2008) Eugenics, politics and the state: Social Democracy and the Swiss 'gardening state'. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 39: 263-9.

Müftüler-Bac, M. (1999) Turkish Women's Predicament. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22: 303-315.

Mutman, M. (2012) Şarkiyatçılık/Oryantalizm. In: Bora, T. & Gültekinglu, M., eds. *Modern Turkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Nagel, J. (1998) Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the making of nations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21 (2): 242-269.

Najmabadi, A. (1991) Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran. In: Kandiyoti, D., ed. *End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey*. London: Macmilaan.

Najmabadi, A. (1993) Veiled Discourse-Unveiled Bodies. *Feminist Studies*, 19 (3): 487518.

Najmabadi, A. (1997) The Erotic Vatan [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: To Love, To Possess, and To Protect. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39 (3): 442467.

Najmabadi, A. (1998) Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran. In: Abu-Lughod, L., ed. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Najmabadi, A. (2000) (Un)Veiling Feminism. *Social Text*, 18 (3): 29-45.

Najmabadi, A. (2005) *Women with moustaches and men without beards: Gender and sexual anxieties of Iranian modernity*. London: University of California.

Najmabadi, A. (2006) Beyond the Americas: Are Gender and Sexuality Useful Categories of Analysis. *Journal of Women's History*, 18 (1): 2006.

Narayan, U. (1997) *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third-World Feminism*. London: Routledge.

Nicholson, L. J. (1986) *Gender and History: The Limits of Social Theory in the Age of the Family*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ngai, P. (2005) *Made in China: Women Factory Workers in a Global Workplace*. London: Duke University Press.

Ortaylı, I. (1983) *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yılı*. İstanbul: Hil Yayın.

Özdalga, E. (2005) Women in late Ottoman intellectual history. In: Özdalga, E., ed. *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*. London and New York: Routledge:

Özdemir, Ö. (2017) "Kadınlık Yalnız Meyve Değildir": Kadınlar Dünyası Dergisi'nin Başyazılarında Kadın Kategorisinin İnşası. *Fe Dergi*, 9 (1): 113-120.

Özdemir, Ö. (2019) Osmanlıda Kadın Hareketi ve Milliyetçi İdeolojinin Kesişimleri: Kadınlar Dünyası. Unpublished M.S. Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi.

Özdemir, Ö. (2020) Kadın Belleği Dizisi II Üzerine. *Feminist Tahayyül,* 1 (1):113-9.

Özkazanç, A. (2015) *Feminizm ve Queer Kuram*. Ankara: Dipnot.

Özkırımlı, U. (2003) Introduction. In: Özkırımlı, U., ed. *Nationalism and its Futures*. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Özkırımlı, U. (2017) *Milliyetçilik Kuramları: 'Eleştirel bir bakış'*. Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları.

Özkırımlı, U. & Sofos, S. A. (2008) *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pamuk, O. (2007) *Other Colours: Essays and a Story*. New York: Faber and Faber.

Pamuk, S. (1986) The Decline and Resistance of Ottoman Cotton Textiles, 1820-1913. *Explorations in Economic History*, 23 (2): 205-225.

Pamuk, S. (2006) Estimating Economic Growth in the Middle East since 1820. *The Journal of Economic History*, 66 (3): 809-828.

Parker, A., Russo, M., Sommer, D. & Yager, P. (1992) Introduction. In: Parker, A. R., M., Sommer, D. & Yager, P., eds. *Nationalisms and Sexualities*. New York and London: Routledge.

Parla, J. (2003) Car Narratives: A Subgenre in Turkish Novel Writing. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102: 535-550.

Parla, J. (2008) The Wounded Tongue: Turkey's Language Reform and the Canonicity of the Novel. *Modern Language Association*, 123 (1): 27-40.

Pavlounis, D. (2016) Straightening Up the Archive: Queer Historiography, Queer Play, and the Archival Politics of Gone Home. *Television & New Media*, 17 (7): 579-594.

Pedwell, C. (2014) *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empaty*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pedwell, C. & Whitehead, A. (2012) Affecting feminism: Questions of feeling in feminist theory. *Feminist Theory*, 13 (2): 115-129.

Pereira, M. d. M. (2012) 'Feminist theory is proper knowledge, but...': The status of feminist scholarship in the academy. *Feminist Theory*, 13 (2): 283-303.

Pereira, M. d. M., Marhia, N. & Scharff, C. (2009) Interrogating Language Difference and Translation in Social Science Research: Towards a Critical and Interdisciplinary Approach. *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 6 (3): 1-12.

Pereira, M. d. M. (2014) The Importance of Being "Modern" and Foreign: Feminist Scholarship and the Epistemic Status of Nations. *Signs,* 39 (1): 627-57.

Pereira, M. d. M. (2017) *Power, Knowledge and Feminist Scholarship: An Ethnography of Academia*. Oxon: Routledge.

Peteet, J. (2001) Women and the Palestinian Movement: No Going Back? In: Joseph, A. & Slyomovics, S., eds. *Women and Power in the Middle East*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Puar, J. K. (2007) *Terrorist assemblages: Homonationalism in queer times*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Puar, J. K. (2006) Mapping US Homonormativities. *Gender, Place and Culture* 13 (1): 67-88.

Puar, J. K. (2017) *The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Quataert, D. (1983) *Social disintegration and popular resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908 : reactions to European economic penetration*. New York: New York University Press.

Quataert, D. (1993) *Ottoman manufacturing in the ages of the Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Quataert, D. (2000) Introduction. In: Quataert, D., ed. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*. New York: State University of New York.

Quataert, D. (2005) *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rabinow, P. (1986) *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Penguin.

Repo, J. (2016a) Gender Equality as Biopolitical Governmentality in a Neoliberal European Union. *Social Politics* 23 (2): 307-28.

Repo, J. (2016b) *The Biopolitics of Gender*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Riley, D. (1988) *'Am I That Name': Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History*. London: Macmillan.

Riley, D. (1992) A Short History of Some Preoccupations. In: Butler, J. & Scott, J., eds. *Feminists Theorize the Political*. London: Routledge.

Riley, D. (1997) Does A Sex Have A History? In: Scott, J. W., ed. *Feminism and History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Robertson, C. (2004) The Archive, Disciplinarity, and Governing: Cultural Studies and the Writing of History. *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies*, 4: 450-471.

Rowbotham, S. (1977) *Hidden from History: 300 years of women's oppression and the fight against it*. London: Pluto Press.

Rowbotham, S. (1992) *Women in Movement: Feminism and Social Action*. London: Routledge.

Roy, S. (2015) The Indian Women's Movement: Within and Beyond NGOization. *Journal of South Asian Development* 10 (1): 96-117.

Ryan-flood, R. & Gill, R. ed. (2010) *Secrecy and Silence in the Research Process: Feminist Reflections*. London and New York: Routledge.

Said, E. (1995) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Books.

Sancar, S. (2012) *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadinlar Aile Kurar*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Schwartz, J. M. & Cook, T. (2002) Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory. *Archival Science*, 2: 1-19.

Schuller, K. (2012) Taxonomies of Feeling: The Epistemology of Sentimentalism in Late Nineteenth Century Racial and Sexual Science. *American Quarterly,* 64 (2): 277-99.

Scott, J. W. (1986) Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. *The American Historical Review*, 91 (5): 1053-1075.

Scott, J. W. (1997) Introduction. In: Scott, J. W., ed. *Feminism and History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scott, J. W. (1999) *Gender and the Politics of History: Revised Edition*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Scott, J. W. (2005) *Parité: Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Scott, J. W. (2007) *The Politics of the Veil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Scott, J. W. (2008) Unanswered Questions. *The American Historical Review*, 113: 14221429.

Scott, J. W. (2014) Writing Women, Work, and Family: The Tilly-Scott Collaboration. *Social Science History*, 38: 113-120.

Scott, J. W. (2018) *Sex and Secularism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Scott, W. J. (1992) The problem of invisibility. In: Kleinberg, S. J., ed. *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society*. Paris: Berg.

Semiye, E. (2015) *Gayya Kuyusu*. İstanbul: Homer.

Seni, N. (1990) 19. yuzyıl sonunda İstanbul Mizah Basınında Moda ve Kadın Kıyafetleri. In: Tekeli, S., ed. *Kadın Bakış Açısından 1980ler Türkiyesinde Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Şerifsoy, S. (2013) Aile ve Kemalist Modernizasyon Projesi, 1928-1950. In: Altınay, A. G., ed. *Vatan, Millet, Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Sinha, M. (1995) *Colonial masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the late Nineteenth Century*. New York: Manchester University Press.

Sinha, M. (2000) Refashioning Mother India: Feminism and Nationalism in Late-Colonial India. *Feminist Studies*, 26 (3): 623-644.

Sirman, N. (2005) The making of familial citizenship in Turkey. In: Keyman, F. & Icduygu, A., eds. *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*. London: Routledge.

Sirman, N. (2006) Constituting public emotions through memory: Interviewing witnesses. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 34: 31-46.

Sirman, N. (2008) Kadınların Milliyeti. In: Bora, T., ed. *Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Sirman, N. (2011) Kadınların Milliyeti. In: *Amargi İstanbul feminizm tartışmaları 2011*. İstanbul: Ezgi: 85-100.

Sirman, N. (2014) Contextualizing Honour. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 18: 1-6.

Sondergaard, D. M. (2002) Poststructuralist approaches to empirical analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15 (2): 187-204.

Speer, S. A. (2002) What can conversation analysis contribute to feminist methodology? Putting reflexivity into practice. *Discourse and Society*, 13 (6): 783-803.

Spivak, G. C. (2000) Discussion: An Afterword on the New Subaltern. In: Chatterjee, P. & Jeganathan, P., eds. *Community, Gender and Violence: Subaltern Studies XI*. London: Hurst & Company.

Staiger, J., Cvetkovich, A. & Reynolds, A. (2010) Introduction: Political Emotions and Public Feelings. In: Staiger, J. C., A. & Reynolds, A., eds. *Political Emotions: New Agendas in Communication*. New York and London: Routledge.

Stanley, L. (2013) Introduction: Documents of Life and Critical Humanism in a Narrative and Biographical Frame. In: Stanley, L., ed. *Narrative and Biographical Methodology for 21st Century Critical Humanism*. Surrey: Ashgate.

Stanley, L. (2015a) The Reader, the Text and the Editor: On the Making of Olive Schreiner's Letters Online and The World's Great Question. *English in Africa*, 42 (1): 59-76.

Stanley, L. (2015b) The Death of the Letter? Epistolary Intent, Letterness and the Many Ends of Letter-Writing *Cultural Sociology*, 9 (2): 240-255.

Stanley, L. & Wise, S. (1993) *Breaking out again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology*. 2 edn. London: Routledge.

Steedman, C. (2001) *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Stengers, I. (2008) Experimenting with Refrains: Subjectivity and the Challenge of Escaping Modern Dualism. *Subjectivity*, 22 (1): 38-59.

Stoler, A. L. (2010) *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule: With a New Preface*. London: University of California Press.

Stoler, A. L. & Cooper, F. (1997) Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda. In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds Stoler, A. L. & Cooper, F., 1-56. London: University of California Press.

Tamboukou, M. (2014) Archival research: unravelling space/time/matter entanglements and fragments. *Qualitative Research*, 14 (5): 617-633.

Tavakoli-Targhi, M. (2002) From Patriotism to Matriotism: A Tropological Study of Iranian Nationalism, 1870-1909. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 34 (2): 217-238.

Tekeli, S. (1992) Europe, European Feminism and Women in Turkey. *Women's Studies*, 15 (1): 139-143.

Temelkuran, E. (2015) *Turkey: The Insane and the Melancholy*. London: Zed Books.

Tilly, A. L. (1989) Gender, Women's History, and Social History. *Social Science History*, 13 (4): 439-462.

Tilly, L. A. & Scott, J. W. (1989) *Women, Work, and Family*. London and New York: Routledge.

Toprak, Z. (1995) *Milli İktisat-Milli Burjuvazi*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Toprak, Z. (1998) Tesettürden Telebbüse ya da Carşaf veya Elbise - 'Milli Moda' ve Çarşaf. *Tombak*, 19: 52-63.

Toprak, Z. (2014) *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı.

Torbakov, I. (2017) Neo-Ottomanism versus Neo-Eurasianism?: Nationalism and Symbolic Geography in Postimperial Turkey and Russia. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 28 (2): 125-145.

Toska, Z., Çakır, S., Gençtürk, T., Yılmaz, S., Kurc, S., Art, G. & Demirdirek, A. (1993) *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyasi*. İstanbul: Metis.

Tuncer, S. (2014). *Going Public: Women's experiences of Everyday Urban Public Space in Ankara across Generations between the 1950s and the 1980s.* Ph.D. Ankara: Middle East Technical University

Uşaklıgil, H. Z. (2018) *Aşk-ı Memnu*. İstanbul: Kapı.

Valldejuli, L. G. (2007) Are We There yet? The Tension Between Nativism and Humanism in Fanon's Writings. *Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, 5 (3): 59-70.

Van Os, N. A. N. M. (2000) Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the past, sources for the future. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 11 (3): 369-383.

Van Os,s N. A. N. M. (2009) Osmanlı Müslümanlarında Feminizm. In: Bora, T. & Gültekingil, M., eds. *Cumhuriyet'e Devreden Düşünce Mirasi: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Van Os, N. A. N. M. (2016) 'They can breathe freely now': The International Council of Women and Ottoman Muslim Women (1983-1920s). *Journal of Women's History*, 28 (3): 17-40.

Vardağlı, E. T. (2013) Searching for Women's Agency in the Tobacco Workshops: Female Tobacco Workers of the Province of Selanik. In: Köksal, D. & Falierou, A., eds. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Vivo de, F., Guidi, A. & Silvestri, A. (2016) Archival Transformations in Early Modern European History. *European history Quarterly*, 46: 421-434.

Walker, S. P. (2008) Accounting histories of women: Beyond recovery? *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*, 21 (4): 580-610.

Weinbaum, A. E. (2001) Writing Feminist Genealogy: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Racial Nationalism, and The Reproduction of Maternalist Feminism. *Feminist Studies* 27 (2): 271-302.

West, L. A. (1997) Introduction: Feminism Constructs Nationalism. In: West, L. A., ed. *Feminism and Nationalism: The European Case*. London: Routledge.

Withers, D. W. (2010) What is Your Essentialism is My Immanent Flesh!: The Ontological Politics of Feminist Epistemology. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 17 (3): 231-247.

Yavuz, H. (2012) Modernleşme: Parca mı, Bütün mü? Batılılaşma: Simge mi, Kavram mı? In: Bora, T. & Gültekinglu, M., eds. *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*. İstanbul: İletişim.

Yazıcı, B. (2012) The Return to the Family: Welfare, State, and Politics of the Family in Turkey. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 85 (1): 103-140.

Yeğenoğlu, M. (1998) *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a feminist reading of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yeğenoğlu, M. (2011a) Clash of Secularity and Religiosity: Staging Secularism and Fantasies of Islamic Identity in Turkey. In: Barbalet, J., Possamal, A. & Turner, B. S., eds. *Religion and the State: Preservation A Comparative Sociology*. London: Anthem Press.

Yelsalı-Parmaksız, P. M. (2017) *Türkiye'nin Modernleşmesinde Kadınlar: 1839'dan Günümüze*. Ankara: Imge.

Yıldız, H. (2018) Rethinking the political: Ottoman women as feminist subjects. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 27 (2): 177-191.

Yılmaz, H. (2013) *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey, 1923-1945*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

Young, R. J. C. (2004) *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. London: Routledge.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997) *Gender & Nation.* London: Thousand Oaks.

Yuval-Davis, N. & Stoetzler, M. (2002) Imagined Boundaries and Borders: A Gendered Gaze. *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, 9 (3): 329-344.

Zeybek, S. O. (2012) 'Fraudulent' Citizens of a Small Town: Occidentalism in Turkey. *Antipode*, 44: 1551-1568.

Zihnioğlu, Y. (2013) *Kadınsız İnkılap*. İstanbul: Metis.

Zihnioğlu, Y. (2020) Bir Kadın Tarihi Araştırma Notu: Kadınsız İnkilap. *Feminist Tahayyül* 1 (1): 104-12.