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The Perception Of Feminism In The Thought World Of Ottoman And Republican Turkey (1876- 1935)

Osmanlı Ve Cumhuriyet Düşün Dünyasında Feminizm Algısı (1876- 1935)

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ABSTRACT

Definition and perception of the feminism movement which emerged in Europe in 18th century and started to become known in almost every society in 20th century, created controversy in the Ottoman thinking world. There was no consensus on feminism among the intellectuals of the period because of some reasons. Classical feminism was rejected because it did not match the values of Ottoman Empire, and “Muslim/Turkish/Ottoman Feminism was created. Though this feminism process, created by the system, slow down in the years of the War of Independence (1919-1923), it continued in the Republic of Turkey which established after this war.

After the internalization of this identity, the Republic of Turkey attempted the purpose of creating a “Woman of Turkey” which adopted the mission of offset with contemporary civilizations and was proper for world standards. Thus “Muslim feminism” which created by the Ottoman Empire, changed the name and transformed to “State feminism”.

Keywords: Women, Feminism, Turkey, the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey.

ÖZET

XVIII. yüzyılda Kıta Avrupa’sında ortaya çıkan ve XIX. yüzyılda hemen her toplumda bilinmeye başlayan feminist akımın Osmanlı düşün dünyasında tanımlanması ve algılanması tartışma yaratmıştır. Ortodoks İslam’ın devlet kurumlarındaki dokunulmazlığı, Orta Asya ve Anadolu’nun otantik esintisi ve Osmanlı toplumunun patriarkal aile yapılanması gibi nedenlerle dönem aydınları arasında feminizmle ilgili bir konsensüs oluşmamıştır. Klasik feminizm, Osmanlı Devleti’nin değerleriyle uyuşmadığı gerekçesiyle reddedilerek, örfi ve şeri yapıyla senkretik olan “Müslüman/Türk/Osmanlı Feminizmi” yaratılmıştır. Sistem tarafından oluşturulan bu feminizm süreci Ulusal Bağımsızlık Savaşı (1919-1923) yıllarında yavaşlansa da sonrasında kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti’nde devam etmiştir.

XX. yüzyılın ulus-devlet modelinde, kadın ile bütünleşen “Vatanına vatansever evlatlar yetiştiren milliyetçi anne” profili, Cumhuriyet Türkiye’sinin kadın kimliğinin belirleyicisi olmuştur. Bu kimliğin içselleştirilmesinin ardından Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti, çağdaş medeniyetlerle denkleşme misyonu edinmiş ve dünya standartlarına uygun bir “Türkiye Kadını” yaratma amacına girişmiştir. Böylece Osmanlı Devleti’nin yarattığı “Müslüman Feminizmi” isim değiştirerek “Devlet Feminizmi” ne dönüşmüş ve bu süreçte Türkiye’de feminizm ataerkil sisteminin yönlendirmesiyle oluşmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın, Feminizm, Türkiye, Osmanlı Devleti, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti.

1.INTRODUCTION

The simplest way of naming woman’s struggle is “*Feminism*”. The feminism as a word entered French after 1837. The Robert dictionary defines feminism as a doctrine so that the definition of feminism has not only teach but also to include its actions (Michel, 1984: s.8). Mary Wollstonecraft criticized the acceptance of male supremacy and by analyzing the mistakes of the system that squeezed gender inequality into cultural norms, found that women also have rights on the basis of equal citizenship rights to the French revolutionaries in her work named “*Defending of Women’s Rights*” which was the first work of feminist theory on 3 January 1792 (Donovan, 2014: 21). Mary Wollstonecraft, who was accepted as the forerunner of liberal feminism, emphasized that women are created by God as men, there is no gender of spirit and intelligence, and defended that they should be included in the education process (Altınbas, 2006: 28). Wollstonecraft’s determinations echoed among women, and the first feminist movements began with the desire to reject male slavery and the right to education. Feminism, which started in France and began to be considered in many countries such as America, Switzerland, England, Germany, was the subject of discussion in 20th century in Ottoman Turkey. The 19th century was the century that the Ottoman Empire started to transform

socially and politically. In this century, when the system began to renew itself and transform itself, women and subject of woman took place in the Ottoman world which followed closely the developments in the world and Europe.

A feminist movement, similar to the western, began to appear in the years of 2nd Constitutional period in Ottoman Turkey. The 2nd Constitutional period brought a new understanding of women and family life to the agenda in the Ottoman Empire, and the foundations of fundamental transformations were hidden in the 1908 Revolution. The motto of this revolution as “*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*” meant the ideal of feminism at the same time. From the 19th century, the consumption patterns of the West encompassed also the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand the physical culture brought by the industrialization, and on the other hand principles of liberty, equality that gradually attracted the Ottoman to their orbit, transformed the woman and the family into the main problems of Ottoman Empire. With the Ziya Gökalp’s “*new life*” project, the course of social transformation was drawn, and according to this course the task of the woman was determined as to leave the traditional way of life in the Ottoman Empire, to get rid of the narrow frame of the home and to open up to the outside world, to socialize, and extend its freedoms (Toprak, 2014: 4). During the modernization period some improvements were made on the life of the newly created woman with the influence of westernization, especially with the Constitution the women’s movement gained momentum, and women had the chance to express their ideas in the magazines and newspapers. The change in their status was felt at a significant level during this period. Women who acquired literary, social and political identity as well as identity of housewife, made their names as much as men. However after the declaration of 2nd Constitution, the discussion of women on freedom which men found, was the proof that the Ottoman woman was not liberated yet (Cakir, 2012: 433- 434).

Before the First World War between 1914- 1918, the militant attitude of the suffragette movement lost its power after the war (Toprak, 356) the number of women especially including in the economic life increased steadily. The war affected the women in the world as well as the Ottoman women. The National Independence War years that were after the First World War, brought the women to a more active and visible position in Turkey. In the Republic of Turkey (1923) which was founded after the war, how the women’s issues would be evaluated and resolved, was the subject of curiosity. With the Republican ideology, the woman became a presentation of modernity, but at this stage her identity formed by the titles “*patriotic mother, sister and lady*”. In the new regime society where abandonment of old, creation of a new society, democracy and republican rhetorics were heavy, the status of woman wanted to be equal to the status of world woman, and her rights were legitimized by political and legal laws. As Berktaş said (Berktaş, 2003: 108), though the ones who determined the pattern of “*new woman*” in the Republic of Turkey, used the name of “*new man*”, there was not much differences between traditionalists and westernist/modernist. In summary, the new state could only make clear the lifestyle of women in Turkey by an entegrist effort, on the bridge of Ottoman decisiveness and modern regime. These obviousness and limitations were that the republican woman was to be loyal to national norms, to reach national consciousness and equip with national values, to reflect the modernization in the application process of the values of republic and democracy. The woman of portfolio in Republic of Turkey was designed as “*educated wife and mother, a loyal individual to the republican values, a soldier closely linked to the concept of nation, woman who appear like man in public space*”.

In this context, the study covers the period between 1876 which was the beginning date of constitutional period in the Ottoman Empire and years between 1923- 1935 which was the Early Republican Period. These years were the years in which the First Feminist Wave was effective in Turkey and in the world. The First Wave Feminism period in Turkey was between the years of modernization process of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic of Turkey (1869–1935). The Second Wave Feminism influenced the years between 1935–1975, the Third Wave Feminism influenced the years after 1980s (Tekeli, 1989: 34).

Moreover, since the study involve the chronology of the First Feminist Wave, perception of feminism has been assessed within the framework of liberal feminism which is the main argument of this wave. For the liberal feminist rhetorics, defending the inevitability of government to take measures to rectify the women living conditions, adapts to the chronology and content of “*Muslim and State Feminism*” in Ottoman and Republican Turkey, the analyzes and assessments based on liberal feminist theory have been conducted in the study.

Because of the historical process in general, the historical method has been adopted during the preparation of the study. The historical method involves determining the research topic, narrowing the research field, collecting, grouping, and analyzing the data, and because of this method the study has systematically advanced. The historical method is more preferred in qualitative researches. As in qualitative research method human and community behavior in a certain period are examined, the qualitative research method also plays an important role in process analysis. In this respect, through the use of document and content analysis techniques and methods in qualitative research methods throughout the research, the process of analyzing, interpreting and transforming document data has been followed.

2.A VIEW TO FEMINISM IN OTTOMAN TURKEY

In the construction of the Ottoman Empire, it is possible to see the Central Asian traditions and customs, the Byzantine and Roman breezes, the Iranian traces and Islamic practices. The state which was laid by this chain of structuring, became a complementary element of Turkish / Islamic state tradition by articulating the identity of Turkishness. Bringing together the national (orf’i traditions) and religious (shar’i bases) factors, to practice them sometimes created an intricate and sometimes ambiguous atmosphere in real applications. This ambiguous structure caused not only the religious and ethnic details of the applications, but also the hesitant situation in the female world in the classical and post-classical processes (westernization, constitution, and modernization) the state underwent. While the state was confused with where and how to place the orthodox and heterodox structures of the Islamic religion, it pulled into the vein of religious politicization. On the other hand with the effort to maintain and keep pleasantly the traditions which were collected and brought from Horosan and Anatolia, it had to build Muslim/Turkish style. Especially the life of women, which made up the half of the demographic structure, was influenced morally by this model. Fatmagul Berktaş (Berktaş, 2009: 351) has pointed out that “*the life of women complicated by the unification of the nationalist structure, the religious and imperial model of the Ottoman Empire*”, and this evaluation proved that the religious and traditional applications of the state, and its political, social, legal and economic arrangements were supporters of the intervention to the women’s life.

The 19th century was a century of change for the Ottoman woman whose life was built with such elements. The women and the rights of women created an agenda in the Ottoman geography, which was one of the geographical regions affected by the feminist movements around the world. This period which coincided with the years of Constitution, was the process to be implemented with many strings of concepts of citizenship which was the result of the modern world for the Ottoman Empire. By the change of political and administrative system, the period in which the social taboos slowly began to be broken down, was the period when the field of women’s movement began to expand. For women, the starting of accessing equal steps from the intense male hegemony was with the press and broadcast channels. The press, an announcer of westernization / modernization applications served as an information exporter. Women also could use the press as a means to actualize their assets in the system, their social roles and their sensitivity to being visible. Women’s magazines undertook an important role in the writing productivity, removing of abstention, and transmitting of demands of women from the all section. *Demet*, *Diyane*, *Kadınlar Dünyası* (the World of Women), *Kadın* (Woman), *Terakki* (Progress) were some of these publications (Cakir, 2013: 59- 86).

It was possible to come up with the ideas and publications of not only male intellectuals, but also of women in the period press about the full equality (*musâvât-ı tamme*). The wife of Mevlanzade Rıfat,

Ulviye Mevlan who published the journal of *Kadınlar Dünyası* (the World of Women) which was remembered with the Ottoman women's movement, emphasized that woman's movements were supported by men in all countries where these movements had power, and so she expressed that it was important for woman and men to fight together (Kutlar, 2010: 1- 15). The most controversial subject was related to the way of being understood and adaptation of feminism/feminist movement. If this subject was brought to the light in the Ottoman mind, the theoretical content of feminism would be understood and passed to the application level.

The Ottoman thinking world could not show a consensus on understanding and practicing the word "feminism". It was not possible for the Ottoman woman who lived under the domination of Eastern culture, to tell western feminism in western language firstly. Probably it arised from this difference, it was seen that the difference between "*Western feminism*" and "*Muslim/Eastern feminism*" was noted, when the texts of the period were examined. In Eastern and Western civilizations, it was pointed out that the perception and levels of concepts are different from each other and it was said that eastern woman and western woman had different aims on gender equality and that the ways of reaching these aims were totally related to social structure (Not Apecified Author, 1335: 225- 226).

Ottoman Muslim women preferred to use the women and women's movement instead of feminist and feminism. Despite Muslim Ottoman women being aware of feminist movements in Europe, America, and other countries, they did not want to be caught up with western feminist women, as women described as feminist in the Ottoman press were criticized by some conservative circles. For example, it was for that reason that Ottoman Muslim women did not adopt the actions taken by the English suffragettes. (Os, 2009: 335–347) Baha Tevfik, who was a pioneer thinker of the women subject which was discussed more flamboyant after the 2nd Constitutional period, translated the book "*Feminism*" by the French author Odette Lacquerre into Turkish and published it in the book "*Islam and Feminism*". One of the member of the Senate, Beserya Efendi wrote a letter to Baha Tevfik and interpreted the meaning of feminism, and its inclusiveness in the Ottoman Turkey (Not Specified Author, 1985: 875- 876). In the letter, Beserya Efendi criticized suffragette movements in England, and welcomed the publication of this book in terms of fact that the Ottomans were only aware of the feminist news (for the reason that made Europe troubled). However, Beserya Efendi evaluated the feminism as an unnecessary subject and, as against the national customs of the Ottoman Empire, and so he expressed that danger of feminism, overthrowing Europe, had to remain outside the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire forever. He also added that instead of seeing women below man against feminism, they need to be act by acknowledging them as common creations. He emphasized that instead of spending time uselessly with feminism, women should grow up children for family, society and homeland, so he stated that the Ottoman civilization could advance and women would help for this advancement. Pakize Sadri who expressed her thoughts on feminism, translated the article of French Mademoiselle Ivon Arsey into Ottoman Turkish, and expressed in this article two types of feminism. While the first type feminism was defined as destroying, destructing, poisoning and looting, the secont type of feminism was defined as helping widows, disabled, and sick women (Sadik, 1334: 2-4). The translator writer claimed to the secont type of feminism, and cricized the first type by referring to the suffragette actions. Another name that criticized the feminist movement was Nezihe Rikkat. Nezihe Rikkat (Rikkat, 1334: 194-195) criticized women who held a public demonstration on the streets, broke the windows of shops (here she referred to the suffragette women), and she adopted the femininity as docility and calmness. Similarly Meliha Zekeriya, in her letter entitled "*How Women Work*", with these statements "*It is known that in Europe they are trying to give right to the suffragettes to elect and select... In the streets they broke down the windows of great shops. They wrote "election right for women" in big letters...*" (Zekeriya, 1329: 3-4) she shared the resistance of the suffragettes in England on the way of being elected and selected in the magazine of *Kadınlar Dunyasi* (the World of Women). However, she did not make any criticism or support on suffragettes. Another name, Halide Edip also had the same opinion about the feminist movement. Although Halide Edip was a woman who could empathize more easily with a women's movement

that emphasized social welfare, education and social assistance services in the public sphere in the West, she was not familiar with the militant feminist actions which asked a fight of women against male gender. Halide Edip's feminism carried traces of popular nationalist feminism (Durakbasa, 2012: 196-197). Rauf Ahmet pointed out the difference of eastern and western feminism in his text entitled "*Conversation: Feminism in Us*" (Ahmet, 1337: 2). Ahmet stated that feminism was understood by the western states and applied in economic and political life, while in the eastern this concept was not understood yet. Because the feminist discourse was perceived as incomplete and dangerous especially due to the suffragette actions, and it could not be reached to the Ottoman women who was far from the experience of fighting for the rights.

While the meaning derived from feminism differentiated in the Ottoman world, several factors which formed the Ottoman system, influenced this differentiation. Islam was one of these factors. The pressure point of the Islamic feminist movement was different from the vein that the feminist reaction of western fed. Feminism and religion were put in the same pot because the Islamic factor, which was spread to every area of the Ottoman Empire, inevitably influenced the world of thought. The acceptance of ruling sultan as a caliph at the same time in the Ottoman system, and according to religion the necessity of concealing the women by representing honour in this system engaged Islam to everyday life as in the political area (Fahredden, 1328: 278-280). For this reason, in order to discuss feminism in Islamic societies, it was sought to make feminism compatible with Islam. Islamic feminism did not embrace the feminist movement because of its western origin, it adopted feminist movement with the opinion of "*There is no male or female, there is Muslim who is the slave of the Lord*" (Zihnioglu, 2009: 812). In some points, feminism began to clash with Islam, which emphasized that a woman was a Muslim rather than a woman. Feminism was criticized by saying that the path which western women followed was full of danger and a destructive way of civilization. The imitation of eastern world towards the West was seen not as salvation but as extinction. Muhammed Ferid Vecdi, who advocated the superiority of the Qur'an and the view of Islam on women against those who thought that the status of Muslim woman should be determined according to the contemporary western values, defended the universality of the Islam, the superiority of the Islamic civilization over the western civilization, and the understanding of Islam according to the rational principles in all areas. He insisted on taking the reference of Islam in discussions about the women (Vecdi, 2013: 76-92). Another religious approach came from Haci Ilyas, a madrasa teacher. He linked the worst situation in the First World War for a number of reasons. Haci Ilyas presented a report to the Ministry of Home Affairs on necessity of correcting the morality of the community and acting in accordance with the Islam in order for the army of community of Mohammed (Ottoman Archives, 1333). According to him, if the society continued to commit the banned crimes and sins, and if these behaviors were not prohibited, all these misfortunes would cause to be unsuccessful in the war. Haci Ilyas saw women as the source of all harmful things in the world. He even based on the slaughter of Cain by his brother Abel, to the woman's sedition. As seen in the report presented by Haci Ilyas, even the reason of social and moral deficiencies seen during the war was attributed to the women. While it was assumed that women supposed to be in war in the Constitutional period (Ottoman Archives, 1294), attributing the worst process and the cause of the defeat in the First World War to the women proved the evaluation of the women's issue on the religious axis.

One of the causes of concern about feminism in the world of Ottoman thought was the fear for being damaged of family which was closed for criticism and discussion. In the *Aile Mecmuasi* (Family Magazine), which was published under the direction of Semseddin Sami, the family was regarded as a small state and it was expected that the woman would manage this institution as an typical mother (Not Specified, 1297: 19-21). It was also found in other publications of the period that the woman was seen as a protector of family institution before she was an individual. For example, the idea that the many economic and family problems could arise due to the fact that women had equal conditions with men, created a flurry in the world of Ottoman thought. (Vecdi, 100-108) However, while feminism was being interpreted in the Ottoman world, the discourse of "*The true feminism never*

forgets the following two real and sacred aims of womanhood: family and morality” (Sadik, 1334: 2-4) was deliberately not seen, and the idea that the feminism would harm the order and the unity of family became common. Feminism was escaped and privatized with the fear of abusing the family walls, because it was perceived as prejudiced, incomplete and subjective.

Though the request to obtain the family, social and political rights of women, which made up the first three steps of feminist theory, was met with reaction in patriarchal system of Ottoman Turkey, the intellectuals of the period continued to tell the feminism and its steps through the press. Necmettin Sadik from the Ottoman intellectuals defined feminism and its steps as follows. *“Feminism means that women possess the all rights of political and civil law. This movement has been for years. There are women doctors, lawyers, engineers and every branch of commerce in every specialty, as in Europe and in America today”* (Ibid). Mufide Ferid repeated after Sadik with her definition as *“What is feminism? It is a profession to ask women to become equal of men in civil, social and political rights”* (Ferid-a, 1335: 305-308) in the conference notes on the magazine of *Turk Kadini* (Turkish Women). Mufide Ferid sorted her aims in three rows while defining feminism. First was family rights, second was social rights and the last was political rights. It was aimed to reduce the reaction of the Ottoman world on feminism by this arranging done through the press.

In the Ottoman society as well as in male societies all over the World, the woman was a mother, a teacher, a nurse, and engaged in housework. Therefore, the political rights that the first feminists asked to reach, were attributed to men, and they insisted that women should not be involved in politics. Also in the Ottoman world, the request of feminism to incorporate women into political life was responded with reaction by some circles, so the view to feminism was negated at this point. The argument of western feminism to grant political rights to women was an important factor restricting the Ottoman feminist movement. With the identity of politician, journalist and scientist, Babanzade Ismail Hakki defended that state affairs and politics were the duty of men since ancient times, while housework and child care were the duty of women. According to him, there was a natural division of labor between two genders, and the civilization was built on this division of labor. Woman was faced with the danger of crushing because she was weak because of the gender. For this reason, the thought of Ismail Hakki was that woman had to be an ornament, a good wife, a good mother, and a good governess at home (Hakki, 1329: 183-190). Halil Hamit stated that she could perform different tasks besides her basic duties. In his book entitled *“Feminism in Islam or A Complete Equality in the World of Women”*, he claimed that political rights which nobody mentioned at the time, were the natural rights for women, but that they should have an education to gain access to this right. However, he emphasized that the level of the education should be sufficient for women to have this right (Hamit, 2001).

The feminist argument of having equal status with men in the family first, then in society and the last asking for political right, was accepted among the Ottoman women. The first wishes of the Ottoman women were appropriate for the atmosphere of the period. The discourse of *“Why are we, Ottoman women, left to work to live in honor? So we want the human rights for now, not the political rights”* (Saciye, 1329: 3) expressed the desire of the Ottoman women to have equal conditions with men in social life. By illustrating the Anglo-Saxons, Mufide Ferid also voiced that the desire of the Ottoman women was not to seek direct political participation, but to get the right to work in the public arena firstly. (Ferid-b, 1335: 323-326) However, some intellectuals of the period adopted the idea of giving political rights to the women. Necmettin Sadik defended the necessity of women in the Ottoman Empire not to be deprived of the political right, while the women in America and the Scandinavian countries had the right to make politics (Sadik, 2-4). Sabiha Sertel followed closely feminist movements in the World in her famous article *“The Judicial Subject of Womanhood”*, and wrote that Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, America and other twelve governments gave women the right to elect (Sertel-a, 1919: 29). Suffragettes in England attained their goals, they voted and even elected a deputy. In her another article Sertel (Sertel-b, 1919: 218-219) stated that women were not included in election process as sin and murder. When Sabiha Sertel’s views on participation of women in

political life are examined, it is possible to say that she closely followed feminism and its stages and that women had to take place the political life together with the mature conditions of the country. Baha Tevfik, the first philosophical actor among Turkish intellectuals, reformulated archaic arguments that divide the concept of women and politics in contemporary conditions (Ulken, 2015: 330-350). In this new form, he criticized the thesis of *“the violating of politics to the nature of women”* (Laguette, 1327: 51-57).

As seen above, the steps of feminism and feminism in Ottoman were perceived differently than in the west, and the world of thought presented different opinions about feminism. Perception of feminism in Ottoman Turkey was established on the religious and national values of the system which continued for centuries, and was interpreted sometimes in favour of women, sometimes against by the fearing that feminism would cause rupture in the stable order. As the women’s movement in the world began to be seen on the Ottoman borders, the Ottoman woman was directed to the struggle of right according to the thought of Muslim feminism determined by the state.

3.FEMINISM IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

The struggle of the Ottoman women was shaped by patriarchy, religion, customs and the elements of compulsory modernization, and *“the tradition of building a modern woman identity”* which began in the century of modernization of the state, continued exactly in the Early Republican Period. Making the woman, an indispensable element of modern life, a symbol of modernization had the same purpose in the world and Turkey. It can be said that for what reasons the intellectual, religious or bureaucrat of the Constitutional Period defended manhood on the women issue in which the mentality change had not been internally, the Republican intellectual continued on the same line. By the Republic, women gained equal citizenship status with men in a uniform state structure, and this pointed to a revolutionary break when the social positions of women in the Ottoman period were considered, but this was not coincidence (Saktanber, 2009: 323). It was the summary of the Early Republican Turkey that modernization and westernization could only be realized by becoming women visible, and also the belief that it was connected to the modernization efforts of women’s equality and freedom struggle (Bora, 2007: 819).

“Muslim Feminism” in Ottoman Turkey became *“State Feminism”* in the Republican period. How the women issue created the political and ideological agenda of statesmen of Reform era and Young Turks since 19th century, the same it created the peak of *“state feminism”* in the Republic of Turkey (Durakbasa, 26). Though the definition of feminism of Republican intellectuals had traces of Ottoman intelligence, the unique difference was transformation of democracy and secularism into official state ideology. Enver Behnan, from intellectuals of the period, for the first time stated that the nations that passed the secular and democratic republic had accepted the necessity of feminism. He continued his words as *“Feminists lean on three principles. Family right, social right and political right. The political right is that how men have right to vote and to elect as a deputy for their destiny, in the same way women have right to vote and to elect for their destiny”* (Behnan, 1926: 2-3). The message in this discourse, just like the discourse of Nezihe Muhittin (Muhittin, 8-9), was based on the emphasis on giving women the right to make politics in all states that accepted the republican regime. In another article, Behnan expressed that *“There is no difference between the woman and man of Republican. Just as in many nations, women have not been given political rights today The Turkish woman will no longer watch the ballot box behind the cage.”* And this expression matched with the discourse of the first feminists in the west on voting right (Behnan, 2-3). According to Afet Inan, inspired by the ideas of Léon Duguit, feminism was the equality of woman and woman in all area according to democracy and republic regime, and was that Turkish women were not deprived of this equality. In addition, Afet Inan stated that the democracy was not need to see the events of *“suffragette”*, and that the new system could grant every right to the woman (Inan, 1998: 90-93). Like Afet Inan, Efcayis Suat also stood against the movement of suffragettes, and stated that feminism was no longer

concerned with breaking windows and frames, and that every kind of right could be acquired through the law (Suat, 1932: 40).

As seen, the perception of feminism in the thought world of the period was based on the democracy which was the result of the republican regime, and the equality of men-women as a means of democracy. *“When the the nations accept the democracy, they declare “Equality”. If the equality is a law, women also has right to ask for it. Not only Turkish women ask for this right, but also the civilized women of the whole world. The movement of women to interfere in politics is the necessity of democracy”* (Behnan, 1341: 3-4). It was advised that the women would follow their claim without being men, while seeking their freedom (Sukru, 1926: 3-7).

When the texts in the Republic process has been examined, it has been seen that the discussions on feminism made about women and women rights were on the necessity of removing the forefront of what factors in the creation of modern Turkish women. Feminism was acknowledged to be an integral part of nation-state formation, and women were made into the main figure of this model by imposing the model of *“mother of nation-state”* besides democracy and equality of individuals (Vural, 2010: 235-263). Especially the participation of women in National Independence War (1919-1923) was taken into consideration, and woman was integrated with the concept of homeland in the state-nation model. In the process of Independence War, it has been possible to see this mission loaded on the woman in the statements below. *“Turkish girl, Turkish young! Let’s to duty. Duty is the breast of homeland, the area of the people. In particular, the Turkish girl should leave the personal ideals and show today that she is so excited. Here our Jeanne d’Arc should open her flag in these national movements and wear her armor”* (Not Specified Author, 1919:1). The Turkish woman voluntarily became the bearer of this mission, protested the occupation of the country in the telegrams of the Independence War years, and reported that she would willingly participate in this process. *The Petition of Women in Bolu: Give the arms, we fight; The telegrams signed in Ayşe, Fatma; Women in Uskudar: Let our blood be halal for homeland!; Women in Bursa: We are ready to die! Women in Erzurum are disappointed about European civilization; Ten thousand women in Edirne ask for justice* (Sarihan, 2007: 83-85). The telegrams above in the newspapers of the period such as *Vakit, Albayrak, Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* and *Yenigun*, were the examples of these protests.

In the course of the Independence War, the homeland love came before the criticism of the hierarchies. For example, in the book of Namik Kemal entitled *“Homeland or Silistra”* Zekiye was presented as a woman hero who realized the meaninglessness of pursuing personal happiness before her homeland got rid of the occupation. It was even said that such a woman could only be raised by the perfect fathers. The first female novelist Zafer Hanim, in *The Love of Homeland* published in 1877, wrote that a slave woman was burning to return to her homeland. In the novels of Halide Edip, *The Shirt Made From Fire* (1922) and *Beat the Harlot* (1923), the women were reflected as heroes who made sacrifices for their homeland and nation. In other words love (homeland love) was under control (Sirman, 2008: 238-241). So the struggle for national independence exacerbate exalted the manhood while elevating the soldier figure to peak on the one hand, and on the other hand it spread the idea of belonging of woman not only to family, but the whole nationality. Although many names of women were not preserved in the memory of the nation’s emancipation process (except for a few names such as Halide Edip who attended the war as a corporal), the female figure was included in the national discourse and the iconography of the national monuments which built in the memory of Independence War (Saracgil, 2005: 211). The nationalist ideology represented the woman as *“the women to be protected”*, and it was believed that the homeland and flag of woman which were reduced beauty image, represented her beautiness (Sirman, 233). The Turkish Republic shaped the social roles which the Ottoman Empire gave to woman, with the understanding of *“nation-community”* format in the same plane and, it included the woman to new system established (Yilmaz, 2010: 201).

In the new system, a modern woman identity linked to the homeland, the nation and the state was created, and the women were trained to be defender of republic and nation. This modern woman identity was described in these words. *“The nationalist ideology of the Turkish Republic rejected the women who were artificial of the cosmopolitan Ottoman capital, modern, blamed for over simplicity in the cosmetics, and for escaping from fulfilling traditional assignments. It began to replace these women with women who were plain, honorable, devoted for the homeland and for the nation, and who would not escape being identified with Anatolian women who were poor, vulgar, hard-working”* (Saracgil, 212). The life of womanhood became fixed by the mortar of *“nationalist sister”*, and it concretized in the image of *“ladiness”* which was especially represented by Halide Edip (Saktanber, 324). A new womanhood became a distinguishing feature of identity for Kemalist nationalist women, and separated women from the traditional Ottoman womanhood. (Durakbasa, 137-138) While this process was being built, attention was paid to avoiding tough male discourses, and the language of Republic era became a sexless, pure, officialist, cold, synthetic, decent and pedantic language (Tol ve Bora, 2009: 826). So the profound impact of nationalist ideology, which constituted the specific characteristics of the women’s movement in Republican Turkey, included women to the system on the one hand, on the other hand it overshadowed the perspective for creating an independent identity (Berkay, 2004: 17-19).

Feminism in Republican Turkey was paralleled with nationalist rhetoric, as in the modern nations of 19th century, the family was the most powerful basis in this nationalist feminism of Turkey. The family was tried to be controlled by the government as a political issue. With this policy, it was emphasized that the Turkish family was not a copy of the European family, and the idea of *“national family”* was introduced as a new family type under the leadership of the Association of Union and Progress (*Ittihat ve Terakki*). It was provided with the national family, one of the main subjects of the new ideology. According to the national family type organismic society understanding that was the ideology of Ziya Gokalp, the family was seen as the cell of the nation and state (Durakbasa, 101,121). The concept of belonging was included in the family, and similarly the nation was surrounded by borders, and was formed from people in these borders. It was emphasized that the Turkish family had to be shaped by its own culture, and that a disaster would be and an advanced civilization would never be possible, if the family types of other civilizations were followed. It was stated that the national family was in conformity with the morality, decency, law, religion, language and economy of the Turkish nation (Behnan, 1341: 3-4). The main actor in the formation of the national family was the women. Which women were unnecessary for the Turkish nation? In reply, the thought of that *“The painted women, the fake, the alone, the women who wake late from their husbands, who are extravagant, who do not know housekeeping, who spend time with literature and music, can not be the true Turkish women”*, loaded the mission of motherhood in family on women. The expression of that *“The safety of the nation is in the strengthening of the family”* also summarized the relation between nationalism and family (Kesoğlu, 2010: 153-154). Thus, this metaphor went on together with the construction of nation-states. Nationalism established the family, the relations of family members with each other, the relations of families with each other and with institutions; and the relations in family regulated the relations with nation and with power. All the subjects constituted the society changed and thus a new form of power that would make the word *“the sovereignty belongs to nation”* possible, was constituted. By likening the family to the nation culturally, it was provided that the two structures were linked together in this way. It became common to suggest that the nation was a large family, and that the ties of citizens with each other were like family ties (Sirman, 231-234).

The new type of the society formed by nationalist discourse shaped the republican woman, and created an asexual, modern, authoritarian materialist woman typology who claimed the regime, and who took the father, the husband and Mustafa Kemal as role models (Saktanber, 328). The Turkish Civil Code, adopted from the Swiss Civil Code (1934), took out the social life from the impact of Islamic law, but this time it created a state-controlled model which was adorned with nationalist

components. Western patriarchy gave a direction to the life of womanhood, while Islamic patriarchy was abolished. Briefly, the concern in this period was not to abolish the social gender values, and the new regime changed the trajectory by not removing the social gender.

4.CONCLUSION

The feminist movement in Turkey showed chronologically parallel with west, in spite of a delay of 5-10 years. However, the perception of feminist movement that started to institutionalize in the 19th century, was quite different in the Ottoman Empire. Especially the suffragettes movement in Britain was perceived as an unfounded, uncomfortable and unsuitable movement for the system in both male and female worlds of Ottoman. The bureaucratic, intellectual wings, and Muslim women's world of the state named the suffragettes as dangerous, anarchist, and this was a summary of the Ottoman view from the mouth of the power. While the journals and newspapers of the period tried to reveal the definition of feminism, they avoided to hurt the social and cultural Dynamics, and interpreted the feminism with Islamic and Anatolian norms. The Ottomans strived to understand and explain their own feminism by separating it from European-centered feminism. For instance, the right of voting, demanded by the suffragettes as the first stage of feminism, was seen as an element of social dissolution by the Ottoman men and women. Due to the fact that the concept of feminism had the western origin, the Ottoman world perceived it as unfit, and the word Muslim was added to make suitable and moderate for the system under the name of "*Muslim feminism*". It was tried to be separated from western feminism by incorporating Islam, national values and traditions into it.

While the transition to the 20th century brought the final years of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey, it offered an extraordinary opportunity step for women. The World War in the first years of the century was the beginning of the optimal process for the Ottoman Empire. The atmosphere of the war that attracted men to the front, and heavy conditions of the economy pushed women to the public from the private sphere. So the Turkish women passed from the emotional and soft silhouettes which was assigned by the system, to the position which was productive, diligent and recovering the economy. The Turkish women finally was accepted an element of social mortar in the National Independence War launched immediately after the end of World War. The woman who became the hinterland of the family, the homeland, the state and the society, started to be mentioned as the "*reflector of modern nation*". However, some concepts and facts remained permanent like old, and such concepts as motherhood, morality, honor were reminded to women once again. The new regime, which aimed to break all ties with the past and to train its own people in the direction of republican principles, created a new feminism given the name "*State feminism*". This kind of feminism was different from the west, just as it was in Ottoman world. The new society of the new regime was formed with national values, especially by the national family project, the family that was on the axis of women, was designed in the format of the Turkish culture. In the feminism of the state, the image of patriotic nationalist, good-mother, being visible and modern in public were loaded by the system on women. Thus, the perception of feminism was consisted on the concepts determined by the system. Moreover, rather than what was feminism in this period, an answer was sought to the question how the ideal Turkish women should be. The view to feminism and woman of Turkish Republic, founded in the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire, keep alive the idea "*accumulation of the retrospective consciousness is continued by the ruling power*" in the minds of researchers who study on women history in Turkey today.

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