IMAGI-NATION OF GENDERED NATIONALISM: THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AS GENDERED NATIONAL SUBJECTS IN OTTOMAN-TURKISH NOVELS (1908-1938)

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ELİF GÖZDAŞOĞLU KÜÇÜKALİOĞLU

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ABSTRACT

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Elif Gözdaşoğlu Küçükalioğlu

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Banu Helvacıoğlu

The relation between gender and nationalism has been a controversial issue since the 1980's when the feminist analyses have brought to light different ways in which women are implicated in nationalist projects. Although the feminist literature contains several insights about the significance and implications of women's symbolic role in nationalist projects, the representation of women as gendered national subjects in cultural productions is not fully examined.

The starting point for this study has been Anderson's definition of nation as an imagined community according to which individuals imagine that they belong to same national collectivity in their minds. Even though Anderson talks about the member of the imagined community as gender free subject, it is obvious that each and every member of this community is imagined either as a male or a female subject. Being a female or male subject, in turn, affects the form of belonging to the imagined community. In this study, I examine the claim that gendered imagination determines the symbolic roles and meanings attributed to the membership of a collective identity, that is the nation.

In order to understand the ongoing production of gendered nation in Anderson's sense which is mainly realized in cultural domain, novels play a significant role in terms of representing the imagined boundaries and functioning as mediums through which cultural difference is expressed. As it is mentioned, the link between national formation and the novel is not accidental. The novel can be used as a place where different and conflicting problems are debated through the representation of some imaginary figures. The aim of this study is to examine the making of women as gendered national subjects in the novels in the pre-Republican (Ottoman-Turkish) and early Republican period (1908-1938) by focusing on women's images and to analyze the formation of gendered national identity. By examining women's images in the novels, my objective is to identify some of the specific features of Turkish nationalism.

Keywords: Nationalism, Gender, Imagination, Women's Images, Novel, Westernization.

ÖZET

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYETÇİ MİLLİYETÇİLİK: KADINLARIN TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYETÇİ MİLLİYETÇİLİK BAĞLAMINDA OSMANLI-TÜRK ROMANLARINDA TEMSİLİ (1908-1938)

Elif Gözdaşoğlu Küçükalioğlu

Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Banu Helvacıoğlu

Toplumsal cinsiyet kimlikleri ve milliyetçilik arasındaki ilişki, 1980'den itibaren kadınların milliyetçi projelerde çeşitli şekilllerde tanımlanmalarına ışık tutan feminist çalışmaları ile tartışılır bir konu haline gelmiştir. Her ne kadar feminist literatür kadınların milliyetçi projelerdeki sembolik rolünün önemi ve anlamı hakkında birçok saptamayı içeriyor olsa da, kadınların kültürel üretimlerdeki temsili konusu tam anlamıyla incelenmemiştir.

Bu çalışmanın hareket noktası Anderson'ın, hayali cemaat olarak millet tanımıdır. Bu tanıma göre, insanlar aynı milli topluluğa ait olduklarını akıllarında hayal ederler. Her ne kadar Anderson hayali cemaatin bireyini cinsiyet kimliğinden bağımsız olarak ele alsa da, bu topluluğun her bir bireyinin erkek ya da kadın özne olarak kurgulandığı açıktır. Kadın veya erkek bir özne olma durumu ise hayali cemaaate ait olma biçimini etkiler. Bu çalışmada, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı kurgunun kollektif bir kimlik olan ulusun bireyi olmaya atfedilen sembolik roller ve anlamları belirlediği görüşünü inceleyeceğim.

Romanlar hayal edilmiş sınırları temsil etmeleri ve kültürel farklılığı ifade eden araçlar olarak işlev görmeleri nedeniyle toplumsal cinsiyetçi milletin, Anderson'ın ifade ettiği gibi temel olarak kültürel alanda sürekli devam eden üretimini anlamada, önemli bir rol oymaktadırlar. Belirtildiği gibi, roman ve ulusal oluşum arasındaki bağlantı tesadüfi değildir. Roman farklı ve birbiriyle çelişen sorunların hayali kahramanların temsili ile tartışıldığı bir alan olarak kullanılabilir. Bu çalışmanın amacı Cumhuriyet öncesi (Osmanlı-Türk) ve erken dönem Cumhuriyet dönemi (1908-1938) romanlarında kadın imajlarına odaklanarak kadınların toplumsal cinsiyetçi milliyetçilik bağlamında kurgusunu incelemek ve toplumsal cinsiyetçi milli kimliğin oluşumunu analiz etmektir. Amacım, romanlardaki kadın imajlarını inceleyerek Türk milliyetçiliğinin belirli özelliklerinden bazılarını ortaya çıkarmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milliyetçilik, Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Kurgulama, Kadın İmajları, Roman, Batılılaşma

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Significance of the Thesis

When we look at different nationalisms, we always come across with an image of a woman symbolizing national collectivity. In the French Revolution, for example, the new Republic was personified as a woman who was named later *Marianne* that became a powerful symbol of the French nation. The Statue of Liberty also known as Lady Liberty which holds on her left hand a tablet showing the date of the Declaration of Independence is another female symbol personifying the nation of United States. In the Monument of Victory in Ankara, however, *Elif Ana*, a female statue symbolizes the contribution of Turkish women to the victory of the War of Independence; and thus, she becomes a national emblem embodying the Turkish nation. It is possible to multiply these examples, which reveal how figures and images of women symbolize the collective identity of the nation.

Recognizing the significance of gender in the idea of nationalism, the feminist analyses starting from 1980's promoted a gendered understanding of nations and nationalism. These studies examined the crucial contribution of gender relations into several major dimensions of nationalist projects such as national reproduction, national culture and national citizenship as well as national wars. An examination of the current debates in feminist analyses reveals that the feminist scholarship not only focuses on women's involvement in nationalist movements containing several insights about the social and historical roots and the political

significance of gendered nationalism but also on the implications and significance of women's symbolic role in nationalist projects.

The feminist literature brings to light different ways in which idealized images and real bodies of women are used for the symbolic construction of national collectivity and national boundaries. Women's bodies are presented by the nation as biological and social reproducers and consequently, they become battlegrounds in nationalist conflicts.[1] McClintock claims that as figurative representations, women "symbolically define the limits of national difference and power between men. […] women are subsumed symbolically into the national body politic as its boundary and metaphoric limit."[2] Since women are usually defined as the symbolic carriers of the national collectivity, they remain as 'metaphorical images' representing the nation. For that reason, it is possible to suggest that the feminist analyses focus to a large extent on 'images of women' since in nationalisms, women appear to be serving as powerful symbols of the nation.

The feminist studies played a significant role in shaping the outline of this study by offering significant clues for understanding what was studied so far; and what remained unexplored with respect to the gendered aspect of nationalism. In reading these studies, I noticed that despite their significant contributions, studies that analyze the construction and the representation of women as gendered national subjects in cultural productions were relatively scarce. This inspired me to study the symbolic construction of women in nationalist projects and to examine the making

[1] Sita Ranchod-Nilsson, "(Gender) Struggles for the Nation: Power, Agency and Representation in Zimbabwe," in *Women, States and Nationalism*, ed. Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and Mary Tétreault (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 169; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997).

[2] Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family." *Feminist Review*. 44(1993), 62.

of women as gendered national subjects in cultural production with regard to a particular nationalist project.

Anderson's idea of an "imagined community"[3] is an important starting point for my study. Although Anderson, in his theory, is not interested in examining the significance of gender in the formation of communities[4], this imagination is not gender free. The idea of imagination refers to the fact that nations are not the products of some sociological conditions such as history, religion or language but they come into the existence as a result of imagination. Individuals imagine that they belong to the same community and they are part of the same national collectivity in their minds. In Anderson's terms, nation is imagined because although the members of even the smallest nation never know most of their fellows, in the minds of each member lives the image of their communion.[5] Anderson's proposal is influential mainly in two respects; in this imagination, different symbols and metaphors define how members of the society interact with each other; what roles they think for themselves and which qualities they attribute for themselves. Secondly, the imagination of a nation necessitates the production of some characteristics shared by the whole community, which make people believe that they belong to the same collectivity.

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[3] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

[4] In the introduction part of his book, he says, "in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality, as he or she 'has a gender'. This statement reveals how he consider the notions of 'gender' and 'nation' separately. Ibid., 5.

[5] Ibid., 6.

If the nation is imagined as "a deep horizontal comradeship"[6], the question of in what ways the imagined community of the nation is gendered led me to think about how women were made as gendered national subjects through the imagination process and which characteristics and roles were assigned to them as members of this fraternity. I think that if the imagination process determines the main components of our national and collective identity, it also describes the gender roles and the symbolic meanings attributed to ourselves with respect to our membership to nation. In other words, the imagination process defines, in brief who we are, how we should be and in what ways we belong to the national community. Even though Anderson talks about the member of the imagined community as a neutral (gender free) subject, it is obvious that each and every member of this community is imagined either as a male or a female subject. Being a female or male subject, in turn, affects the form of belonging to the imagined community. For that reason, an analysis of this imagination process taking place in different sites of public culture would enable us to explore better not only the gendered aspect of nationalism but also to bring into light specific features of that particular nationalist project.

The crucial point about the description of nation as an imagined community is the fact that the imagination of the national community is a continuous process innovating and reinforcing itself through several meanings, symbols or representations. As it is argued, the gendered nation is constituted as a natural unity through different images, different words, visual and linguistic representations which connect the perceptions and emotions of individuals with those of the

[6] Ibid., 16.

collective, and thus signify belonging.[7] One of the most significant fields contributing to imagining the national community is the site of cultural representation involving fiction, images, films or theater through which nationalism favors continuously the imagined national boundaries. As Stuart Hall suggests, that which holds the nation, "the imagined community" together can be regarded as a system of cultural representations and practices that produce and reproduce the meaning of the nation.[8] Cultural productions such as literary works, paintings, theater contributed significantly to imagining people as national subjects by offering different symbols, norms, values which construct and reinforce gendered national identities. Among different cultural productions, novels play a central role in having a better understanding of the continuous process of imagination. This study aims to examine how the idea of a new Turkish nation is imagined and formed through women's images in the novels among different cultural productions.

In order to have a better understanding of the importance of cultural productions contributing to the production of gendered nation, Joan Landes's successful study on the representation of gender in revolutionary print culture in France in the years between 1789 and 1795 is a significant piece of work which reveals the fact that cultural productions can be used as a way of knowing and they can advance our understanding of the gendered aspect of nationalism. Landes, in her book *Visualizing the Nation*, analyzes the representations of female body in post-revolutionary pictures and she defends that the representation of woman in the

[7] Silke Wenk, "Gendered Representations of the Nation's Past and Future," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalism and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 63.

[8] Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," in *Modernity and Its Futures*, ed. Stuart Hall, David Hell and Tony McGrew (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 273-316.

pictures after the French Revolution functioned as a symbol of liberty, equality and freedom. The representation of woman in a picture symbolizing all the Republican virtues was closely connected with the successful legitimization of the Republic according to the values of universality, equality, freedom and reason. From the analysis, she comes to the conclusion that the representations of female body were a powerful motif in shaping ideas of the nation and in imagining men and women as gendered national subjects. [9]

The representations of female body in the popular arts of the French revolution functioning as a symbol of liberty, equality and nature as discussed in *Visualizing the Nation* led me to question the broader meanings carried by the cultural productions in the analysis of the imagination of a gendered national community. A crucial point is the fact that the description of nation as an imagined community denotes that nationalism cannot be understood only as a political ideology or as political form based on the self-governance of the nation. What lies at the core is a sense of consciousness, a way of thinking and feeling. Carey-Webb explains this as "the making of the national subjects" and she suggests that the making of national subjects is a kind of discourse that involves different cultural and linguistic processes.[10] In this approach, what lies at the center of nationalism is a way of thinking which paves the way for a course of conduct. The way we act, in turn, is shaped by different cultural representations, which signify the emotions, the ideals and the perceptions of the collective. In this respect, cultural productions can be regarded as important mechanisms through which fiction, image and

[9] Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001).

[10] Allen Carey-Webb, *Making Subject(s): Literature and the Emergence of National Identity* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1998).

representation valorize certain personal behaviors, values and characteristics in relation to collective national ideals. For that reason, they constitute important research material to analyze the imagination and re-imagination of the national community in relation to the fraternal, national bond.

The contribution of cultural production to the formation of gendered national identities inspired me to examine how the making of gendered national subjects was achieved in novels and how the gendered community was re-imagined through the means of the fiction. The limited number of studies on this subject reveals the diversity in the representation of women as part of a national community. For example, through an exploration of selected plays in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, Neluka Silva analyzes how women are placed in the project of nation-building in theatre. She points out that the ideology of the nation is predicated upon a limited vision of women's roles. In most of the plays, the figure of mother whose biological and social functions become signifiers for the expectations of the nation is prominent.[11] The study of Mary Haron, on the other hand, provides an account of the representation of women in a series of cartoons with respect to nationalism and modernity. She suggests that the "urban civilized women" are often pictured as greedy, sexually uncontrolled parasites who divert men from their responsibilities and impede the progress of national development. [12] In another study, however, Devleena Ghosh who studies the images of women in the national fictions in the post-independence period in India suggests that the representations of women

[11] Neluka Silva, "Women, Culture and Nation-Building: Contemporary Sinhalese and Bengali Theater." *Contemporary South Asia*. 9:3 (2000), 339-354.

[12] Mary Haron, "Uneasy Images: Contested Presentations of Gender, Modernity and Nationalism in Pre-War Liberia," in *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, ed. Tamar Mayer (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 113-136.

illustrates a dichotomy; though modernized and educated, women are represented as retaining their traditional roles and conventional gender roles relationships are valorized.[13] These studies are influential in terms of comprehending how women's images are used in the imagination of a gendered national community in different cultural contexts and how they are manipulated in drawing imagined national boundaries.

Among different cultural productions such as theater, movie, paintings cartoons and literature, my main concern is to explore the imagination of women as a part of gendered national collectivities in the novels by analyzing women's images in order to uncover some unique features of Turkish nationalism. At this stage, a set of questions emerging from Anderson's analysis of the impact of print technology and of the emphasis of literacy as essential for nation-building are 'What is the role of literal works in the formation of gendered collective identities?', 'How are women represented in nationalist literature?' and 'What is the role of literature in the development of the idea of nationalism?'. In light of these questions, in order to have a better understanding about the representation of the gendered national subjects in literal works, I focused firstly on the relationship between literature and nationalism, which could provide a theoretical basis for the analysis of the novels. Relevant studies on the relationship between nationalism and literature such as the works of Fredric Jameson, Aijaz Ahmad, Madhava Prasad and Homi Bhabha offer important clues for the analysis of the construction of the gendered national subjects by shedding some light into the relationship between literature and nationalism. Most importantly, these readings form a theoretical framework that could be useful in

[13] Devleena Ghosh, "Water Out of Fire: Novel Women, National Fictions and the Legacy of Nehruvian Developmentalism in India." *Third World Quaterly*. 22:6 (2001), 951.

setting the analytical and conceptual framework to be used in the analysis of women's images in the novels which are subject to this thesis.

I am mainly interested in novels which I think, are worthy of analysis in terms of representing the imagined boundaries which include some elements and exclude some others; and of functioning as mediums through which cultural difference is expressed. In order to have a better understanding of the ongoing production of gendered nation in Anderson's sense, which is realized in the cultural domain, novels play a significant role, as Anderson also emphasizes the importance of novel and media in the imagination of nation by exploring some novels and newspaper.[14]

In the Turkish case, in addition to different characteristics and functions of the Turkish novel, the novel has been used as a site of nationalist imagination/ nation construction from the Tanzimat onwards. As argued by Kadıoğlu, with the inauguration of Tanzimat reforms, the dilemma of the achievement of a balance between the materiality of the West and the spirituality of the East became very apparent and the problematique of the Tanzimat writers was to achieve a balance between these reforms and Islamic teachings. [15] In the same parallel, Nilüfer Göle, in her book *The Forbidden Modern* where she studies the relationship between modernity, religion and women, makes a similar argument. She mentions that some writers of the period, such as Ahmet Mithat Efendi and Namık Kemal attempted to make a distinction between the "good" and the "bad" spects of Western civilization

[14] Anderson, Imagined Communities, 22-36.

[15] Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity." *Middle Eastern Studies*. 32:2 (1996), 180.

corresponding to its material and spiritual aspects. [16] Two important novels *Felatun Bey ile Rakım Efendi* (Felatun Bey with Rakım Efendi) by Ahmet Mithat written in 1876 and *Araba Sevdası* (The Carriage Affair) by Recaizade Ekrem in 1896 were significant examples in terms of reflecting the tension between Westernization and nationalism. Meyda Yeğenoğlu suggests that the Ottoman/Turkish novels offered a perpetual critique of "excessive Westernization" and they emphasized that westernization had to be implemented without eroding women's place in the home; and also the moral and spiritual values of the family. [17] These novels illustrated a desire to mark a difference from tradition by distinguishing the "new woman" from the old woman who had been subjected to different institutions and practices such as unwanted marriage and polygamy. In the Republican period, however, the emancipation of woman became an important characteristic of the novels identified with the idea of Westernization but in this period too, the critiques of "excessive westernization" which was seen as the main reason of moral corruption continued in the novels. [18]

This study attempts to analyze the making of women as gendered national subjects in the fiction and to develop a particular understanding of the making of women as gendered national subjects in some novels written in the pre (Ottoman-Turkish) and early Republican Period. My main goal is to elaborate on the representation of women as gendered national subjects by focusing on women's images in the novels and to analyze the formation of gendered national identity

[16] Nilüfer Göle, *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling* (Ann Harbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 33-34.

[17] Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 128.

[18] Ibid., 129.

toward explaining the specific features of Turkish nationalism such as Westernization, collective soul, education, women's bodies and sexuality.

In order to have a better understanding of the symbolic construction of women in the novels, in the first part involving Chapters 2 and 3, I seek to elaborate on the relation between women and nation by examining different examples. This relation involves several themes explaining in what ways, nationalism is gendered and in what ways, women are made gendered national subjects. These themes help me draw the analytical framework for the understanding of the imagination of women as gendered national subjects in the novels. I also try to examine how and in what sense these specific dimensions illustrating the gendered dimension of nationalism appear in the novels.

If we accept the assumption that nations are to be understood as mental constructs and as imagined political communities, they are imagined and represented in the minds of nationalized subjects. This, in turn, paves the way to the idea that how we imagine and represent the nation is closely connected with the idea of how we experience it. I think that an analysis which would interrogate the symbolic construction of women in nationalist ideologies and the imagination of women as gendered national subjects in cultural representation would be useful not only in having a better understanding of the existing power relations in the nation-state but also the emphasis on the importance of gender as an analytical tool would clarify different concepts and processes of nationalism and national identity.

As Anne McClintock suggests, "if nationalism is not transformed by an analysis of gender power, the nation-state will remain a repository of male hopes,

male aspirations and male privileges".[19] Therefore, I suggest that the analysis of women's images in the selected novels might enable us to grasp the production of gendered nationhood in Turkey and to explore some particularities of the Turkish nationalist project. Most studies that look at nation, view it as a process taking place markedly in political, social and historical sites. The originality of this study lies in the fact that women have been imagined not only in political, social and historical terms but also in cultural sphere and in cultural practices. My main contribution is to reveal that women's images in novels give important clues about some of unique features of Turkish nationalism. To put it differently, it is fruitful to analyze the formation of the Turkish nation and the production of gendered nationhood through a study of women's images in the novels in the pre (Ottoman-Turkish) and early Republican period.

1.2. Methodology of the Thesis

My objective is to look at the imagination and the making of women as gendered national subjects by focusing on women's images in some of the novels written in the pre and early Republican period. By examining women's images in the novels, one can easily trace some of unique features of Turkish nationalism. The attention will be paid to the works of some authors written in the period between 1908 and 1938. 1908 is an important date in terms of the processes for the formation of the Turkish nation-state because it marks the appearance of 'Young Turks" whose ideas played a significant role in the formation of the Turkish nation-state in the Ottoman Empire. 1938, however, marks the death of the Mustafa Kemal Atatürk after fifteenth years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

[19] Anne McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven: Nationalism, Gender and Race," in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, ed. Anne McClintock (New York: Routledge, 1995), 385.

In the analysis of novels concerning this period, I examine the works of some canonical authors by omitting the writers of popular culture. I focus on the works of Halide Edib Adıvar, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, and Peyami Safa, being aware that my conclusions might not be representative for the literature of the whole era. In other words, this study should not be taken as a generalization of Turkish novels. The most important criteria of choosing these writers is the fact that they can be regarded as representatives of canon of the Turkish nationalist literature. In this sense, they can be defined as system writers and although they were writers, they were also actively involved in the political and social issues by being integrated into the politics through different political and bureaucratic positions. By emphasizing that, I do not intend to minimize the literary value of these novels. Instead, I suggest that these novels might also be used to reach important data about the production of Turkish gendered nationhood.

The novels that I choose for the study of women's images are selected through a reading of several examples written by these writers and those novels are found more reflective in terms of representing women as part of the nationalist discourse. Women's images in these novels offer important clues in terms of understanding the production of gendered nationhood and exploring the specific characteristics of Turkish nationalism such as Westernization, notion of collective soul, women's sexuality, emancipation, education, family and motherhood. Apart from this, some of the novels such as *Handan*, *Yeni Turan* and *Seviyye Talip* by Halide Edib Adıvar; *Sodom ile Gomore* and *Ankara* by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and *Sözde Kızlar* by Peyami Safa have been also analyzed by other women scholars

studying on issues concerning women in Turkey as well as the relationship between the status of women and modernization. [20]

In the analysis of women's images, I attempt to find out how women are represented and made as gendered national subjects in the works of these authors with regard to the formation of the Turkish nation-state. In other words, what I would like to do is to bring light into some of particular components of Turkish nationalism and to comprehend more about the production of gendered Turkish nationhood. For that, I use a qualitative method. For the first part of the thesis, which involves the first four chapters, a comprehensive and critical reading on the mainstream literature on nationalism and on feminist studies on nationalism is made. A literature review is realized in order to elaborate on different dimensions and themes concerning women's involvement and women's symbolic construction in the nationalist projects and to illustrate that in different examples, gender is mobilized in discourses of national identity and nationalism. As a qualitative method, I make use of the content analysis for analyzing the content of novels in the examination of women's images articulated in the fiction. I analyze the specific representations concerning women in some works of the authors mentioned above with the help of feminist literary criticism as one of the main perspectives in literary criticism. The feminist literary criticism is important in revealing the fact that literature has an ideological force.

[20] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Slave Girls, Temptresses and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish Novel." *Feminist Issues*. 8:1 (1988), 53-50; Nilüfer Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*; Nilüfer Göle, "The Gendered Nature of the Public Sphere." *Public Culture*. 10:1 (1997), 61-81; Füsun Akatlı, "The Image of Woman in Turkish Literature," in *Women in Turkish Society*, ed. Neriman Abadan-Unat (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1981), 223-232; Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* (Halide Edib: Turkish Modernization and Feminism) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2000); Nazan Aksoy, "Halide Edib Adıvar'ın Seviyye Talip'inde Kadın Kimliği (Woman Identity in Seviyye Talip of Halide Edib Adıvar)," in *Berna Moran'a Armağan: Türk Edebiyatına Eleştirel Bir Bakış* (Dedicated to Berna Moran: A Critical Apptroach to Turkish Literature) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1997), 39-50; Bahriye Çeri, *Türk Romanında Kadın: 1923-1938 Dönemi* (Woman in the Turkish Novel: The Period of 1923-1938) (İstanbul: Simurg, 1996).

1.3. Overview of the Thesis

The thesis consists of two parts. The first part of the thesis is composed of three chapters and it derives from four main sources: The mainstream literature on nationalism, the newly emerging field of feminist analyses of nationalism, different examples explaining the relationship between women and nationalism and the studies on the ideological role of literature in the Third World. The part on Turkey, however, will include four chapters; the development of Turkish nationalism, the Ottoman women's movement, the ideological role of the Turkish novel in Turkish modernization and the representation of the gendered national subjects in the novels will be elaborated in this section of the study.

Chapter 2 involves three sections. The first section is composed of the definitions of the concepts of 'nation' and 'gender'. At this point, it should be noted that although the notion of 'gender' involves both women and men, in this study, my main concern is the symbolic construction of women into the nationalist projects. In the second section, I will discuss the theories of the founding thinkers on nationalism. I will use specific aspects of Gellner's, Kohn's, Anderson's, Deutsch's and Hobsbawm's works for the explanation of the formation of nations in the context of European modernization. I will also mention other works including those of Walker Connor and Anthony Smith, which focus more on cultural factors such as language, religion and specific histories in the formation of nationhood. All these theories will be discussed briefly in order to reveal the fact that there is a neglect of the gendered dimension of nationalism in the classical theories on nationalism. In the third section, however, I will review the feminist studies, which have played a significant role in revealing that the construction of both nations and states is a gendered phenomenon.

Chapter 3 involves the analysis of the specific dimensions of the relationship between women and nationalism in the different examples. This chapter includes several themes that illustrate the ways in which nationalism is gendered and different ways through which women are symbolically constructed in the nationalist discourse. The different examples will be useful in understanding whether men and women are equally able to make the nation only after a careful analysis of gender roles linked to nationalism. By keeping in mind the differences they might have, it is possible to assert that these examples have many commonalities with respect to nationalism and with respect to the ideological and symbolic meanings attributed to women during the nation-building process. As we will see in this chapter, in all these examples, women appear as signifiers of the national collectivity. Petmann says, "in comparing nationalist struggles internationally, we discover specifity but also remarkable similar constructions of women in relation to nation- a reminder that nationalism is always gendered".[21] Although the particular histories of nationalism are each different, there are commonalities in narrative structures, in the nation-building processes, in patriarchal patterns of control and mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion, particularly with respect to the ways in which national identities are constructed through gendered representations and gendered narratives.

Chapter 4 analyzes the ideological meaning of literature in the Third World and its role in the imagining of nations. Literature and literal texts are of crucial importance in making people believe that they are the members of the same community. As we will see in this part of the study, literature functions as a marker of national identity and as a means to draw the symbolic borders between 'us' and 'others' in the Third World. For that reason, it could not be analyzed as an

[21] Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 56.

independent sphere from the nationalist ideologies and the modernization process. Literary discourse serves as field through which a symbolic reconfiguration and representations of the national subjects are carried out. The different theories, which explore the role of literature in the Third World, will be used for the clarification of the issue. The studies of Frederic Jameson, Barbara Harlow, Aijaz Ahmad, Madhava Prasad and Homi Bhabha, which will be the focal point in the exploration of the role of literature, are important in examining the meaning of literature in the making of the gendered national subjects in the Third World. In addition to these theoretical studies, I will also attempt to illustrate the construction of gender in the literature by giving some examples of the representation of women in the novels.

Chapter 5 involves the development of the Turkish nationalism and the main characteristics forming the dynamics of the Turkish nationalism, which remains pivotal in elaborating on women's images in the novels. Both Chapter 5 and 6 which provide us a historical framework for the period concerned, are useful for having a better understanding of how women's images in fiction reflect the symbolic construction of gendered nation. The historical analyses are helpful in the analysis of women's images in the novels by supplying important clues. It is possible to find out many parallelisms between the construction of women by the nationalist imagery in political and historical sites and the symbolic representation of Turkish women in the novels. In other words, the production of gendered Turkish nationhood has connection with the construction of gendered national subjects in the works of these writers.

In Chapter 5, I will examine different phases starting from the Tanzimat period in the development of the Turkish nationalism. My main concern is to examine the most important characteristics of the Turkish nationalism and the

significant components forming the Turkish national identity. I will make this analysis with reference to the most important persons such as Ziya Gökalp who played an important role in shaping the main features of the Turkish nationalism. This chapter, which focuses on the evolution of the Turkish nationalism and on the particularities of Turkish nationalism, will form the ideological base for understanding the making of the gendered national subjects in the novels.

Chapter 6 elaborates on the historical roots of the women's movement and women's involvement into social and political life in the Ottoman Empire. The period will be between 1839 and 1935. The Tanzimat period started in 1839 and in this period, women's question appeared as part of the modernization process. 1935, however, marks the dissolution of the Women's People Party which was the first woman party after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The main objective of this part is to reveal the fact that the modernization process put the women's issue at the core and made women's visibility at the heart of the modernization project. Especially, the Second Constitution inaugurated in 1908 paved the way to the emergence of several women's associations and the feminist aspirations or some times called as "early feminism" but it did not succeed in challenging the patriarchal relations. The gender asymmetry, which was an important characteristic in the Ottoman Empire, continued after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Despite the Republican leaders' efforts to present the new regime as a complete break from the Ottoman past, there has been a historical continuity with regard to women's position both in the Ottoman Empire and after 1923. In both periods, women's activities remained very limited and defined within the context of modernization. Modernization projects by the Ottoman and Republican reformists were directed through the symbolic manipulation of women's

issues and representations. Women could not develop their independent fields of activities and even the existed ones were dominated by male elites. Although women's visibility was symbolically important in the portrayal of the new Republic as a modern nation-state, the visibility did not change symbolically the domestic and familial roles of women. For that reason, women were regarded as *demi-citizens* because they did not have an equal saying with men in the decision making-process.

Chapter 7 involves an account of the development of the Turkish novel and its ideological meanings. It examines the place of the Turkish literature in the construction of national identities and in making national subjects by creating the new set of values and norms signifying the new modern Turkish nation. With its focus on the development of novel as part of modernization process, this section provides a framework for the analysis of gender in the novels. The connection between nation, culture and civilization as formulated by Ziya Gökalp, the idea of organic solidarity and the importance of morality will be discussed as important clues in understanding the base on which the gendered national subjects have been established.

Chapter 8 elaborates on the representation of women as gendered national subjects in the novels in the pre (Ottoman-Turkish) and early Republican period between 1908 and 1938. The main objective of this chapter will be the explanation of how women have been depicted in some of the novels and which thematics have been used in the portrayal of women's images. Given the specific dimensions in Chapter 3, that explain in what ways which nationalism is gendered and in what ways women are made gendered national subjects, I will attempt to examine how the specific dimensions explaining the relationship between women and nation appear in the novels. As it will be argued in the same chapter, women characters have two

different positions. On the one hand, they appear in the fiction as equal partners of men. They are represented as speaking subjects symbolizing the modern Turkish women but on the other hand, they symbolize preservers of the traditional concept of feminity and carriers of moral values as being good mothers and wives. This dilemma based on this double coding will be illustrated by a closer look at women's images of the novels.

Chapter 9 includes concluding remarks on the analysis of the gendered aspect of nationalism and the making of women as gendered national subjects in the novels subject to this study. It is possible to come across with some of the specific dimensions explaining the gendered dimension of nationalism in the novels where the images of women can be considered important in terms of expressing the idea of collective soul. Women become symbols of national collective identity in these works. By keeping in mind that although it is not possible to make generalizations about all the novels of the era, it is possible to suggest that the female images in the novels studied can be regarded as being powerful in the construction of national consciousness and in the production of the Turkish gendered nationhood. The images of women as presented in the novels contribute significantly to what the Turkish nationalist project attempts to construct with regard to women. In this respect, it might be argued that women's images in fiction play a significant role in strengthening the formation of Turkish gendered nationhood. Like in the fiction, in reality, women loose their individuality by being considered as a part of the Turkish national collectivity. It is possible to suggest that the imagination of women as gendered national subjects is a continuous process, which has been realized in different terms. Women remain fictive in every sphere, in political, social, historical

and cultural terms. The construction of women on men's norms and men's values result in the reestablishment of patriarchy and the subordinated position of women.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMATIZING GENDERED NATIONALISM: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER AND NATION

2.1. Introduction

The relation between gender and nationalism has been a controversial issue since the 1980's when the feminist analyses have brought to light several ways in which women are implicated in nationalist projects. As many feminist studies emphasize, gender is an important component in the analysis of nation-building and nationalism. Gender not only shapes the meaning of the nation but it also clarifies the process of national identity formation and cultural reproduction. The main concern of this chapter is to examine the gendered nature of nationalism by exploring the relationship between gender and nation. My starting question is whether the nation is a gender neutral idea as it pretends to be. I think that the examination of the relevance of gender in the formation of national identity will be helpful in comprehending how gender-sensitive analyses improve our understanding of the gendered dimension of nationalism.

This chapter consists of three main sections. In the first section, I will define the concepts of 'nation and 'gender' which will provide us a theoretical framework and it will be helpful in clarifying the relationship between gender and nationalism. Following the definitions of these concepts, in the second part of the chapter, I will attempt to explore briefly the theories of the founding figures lying at the core of the study on nationalism. My purpose is to illuminate the fact that these theories of

nationalism lack gendered perspective. After a critical examination of these theories on nationalism, which are based on the distinction between primordialists and modernists, there will be a literature review on feminist literature on the gendered dimension of nationalism mentioning that the emphasis should be shifted towards gender. I will attempt to analyze how feminist studies have sought to highlight women's involvement in nationalist movements.

2.2. Defining 'Nation' and 'Gender'

For the sake of setting the stage for discussion and providing a common language, it will be useful to define the concepts of 'nation' and 'gender'. The most important contribution has been made by feminist analyses, which distinguish between sex and gender. In these feminist analyses, sex refers to the physical attributes that construct a biological man and woman. Although sex means the physical identity, gender is not a biological but a cultural phenomenon. Gender is defined as the socially constructed dichotomy of masculine-feminine (man-woman, maleness-femaleness) shaped only in part by biologically construed male-female distinctions. It refers to a structural relationship of equality between women and men based on perceived sex differences, which is manifested in economy, polity and in cultural production. [22]

Gender as a construction shapes who we are, how we think, how we perceive our life and how we recognize the society where we live. All aspects of social life are gendered and they have been produced by different gendered meanings. As Spike Peterson points out, gender is a particularly powerful lens through which all of

[22] Valentine M. Moghadam, "Gender, National Identity and Citizenship: Reflections on the Middle East and North Africa." *Hagar International Social Science Review*. 1:1 (2000), 43.

us see and organize reality.[23] Gender is a social construction, which produces subjective identities through which we experience the world and gendered meanings of reality. As Harding points out:

> Once we begin to theorize gender-to define gender as an analytic category within which humans think about and organize their social activity rather than a natural consequence of sex difference, or even merely as a social variable assigned to individual people in different ways from culture to culture- we begin to appreciate the extent to which gender meanings have suffused our belief systems, institutions, and even such apparently gender-free phenomena as our architecture and urban planning[24]

The concept of gender is of crucial importance in terms of analyzing meanings imposed on the body and in understanding how women and men are "made not born". [25] Joan Scott describes gender as the social organization of sexual differences but this does not mean that gender reflects or implements fixed and natural physical differences between men and women but rather gender is the knowledge that establishes meaning for bodily differences. According to her, when the sexual difference acquires a socially or culturally constructed meaning, this meaning situates itself in societal processes and it is diffused into power relations. These meanings vary across culture, social groups and time. In addition, it directs the identity formation of subjective male and female. She says, "Gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power. Changes

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[23] V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, eds., *Global Gender Issues* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).

[24] Sandra Harding, *The Science Question in Feminism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1986), 17.

[25] V. Spike Peterson, *Gendered States: Feminist (Re)Visions of International Theory* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner, 1992). Simone De Beauvoir's dictum that "One is not born, but rather becomes a woman" was used by many feminists. See Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (London: The New English Library, 1962).

in the organization of social relationships always correspond to changes in representations of power".[26]

In a similar way, Lorber offers a new paradigm of gender, which is developed around a conception of gender as "a social institution". Like other institutions, it has a social rather than a natural origin. Lorber defines gender as "an institution that establishes patterns of expectations for individuals, orders the social processes of everyday life, is built into the major social organizations of society, such as the economy, ideology, the family and politics and is also an entity in and of itself."[27] Gender is an institution like family or marriage and it not only organizes social life and social relations but it also creates socially significant differences between women and men. To put it differently, she suggests that gender is a human invention like language, kinship religion and technology; like them, it organizes human social life in culturally patterned ways. Most importantly, it organizes social relations in everyday life as well as the major social structures, such as social class and the hierarchies of bureaucratic organizations.[28]The patterned structures of work, family, culture, education, religion and law are gendered. Through gendered personalities and identities, these patterns are internalized and willingly reenacted.[29]

Another description underlines the fact that gender refers to the array of socially constructed roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviors,

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[26] Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 43.

[27]Judith Lorber, *Paradoxes of Gender* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), 1.

[28] Ibid., 6.

[29] Ibid.

values, relative power and influence that society ascribes to the two sexes on a differential basis. The institution of gender continues to create and maintain socially significant differences between men and women and the most important reflection of these differences is the exploitation of women.[30] Gender, however, is relational and refers not simply to women or men but to the relationship between them. Gender is organized into systems of power "which reward and encourage some individuals and activities while punishing and suppressing others".[31] In a way, gender is a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated.

Gender as an institution has an important role in the formation of national identity, which has been neglected for a long time. In other words, characteristics associated with masculinity and feminity are of crucial importance in establishing the gendered national subjects. The specific meanings of and values given to masculinity and feminity contribute to the construction of nation as a community. In short, gender is about power and power is gendered.

Nation is also a socially constructed entity like gender. There are many definitions of nations. Ernest Renan defines nation as "a soul, a spiritual principle":

> Two things, which, strictly speaking are just one, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is past, the other is the present. One is the common possession of a rich legacy of memories; the other is actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the heritage that has been received in common.[32]

This spiritual principle refers to the idea that the members of the community believe in the existence of this soul. Another definition of nation connected with this

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[30] Beth B.Hess and Myra Marx Ferree, *Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research* (London: Sage Publications, 1987).

[31] Lorber, *Paradoxes*, 10.

[32] Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?." in *Nationalism in Europe 1815 to the Present*, ed. Stuart Joseph Woolf (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 57-58.

spiritual principle underlines the importance of nation as an ethnic group whose members believe in their common origins and in the uniqueness of their common history and in a common destiny.[33] According to this definition, the members of the community share myths of descent, historical memories, a territorial association and a sense of solidarity. In other words, a nation is a socially mobilized body of individuals who believe in themselves to be united by some characteristics that make them different from others. This body of people has a collective consciousness because of their sentiment of uniqueness. Max Weber, on the other hand, defines a nation as "a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in a state and which holds notions of common descent, though not necessarily common blood".[34] The basic difference in these definitions of nation resides in the commonly made distinction of nation, which is between the statist model and the ethnicist model. The former defines nation as a territorial-political unit, the latter however defines nation in terms of a common descent and culture.[35]

Connected with this distinction emphasizing different reference points for the definitions of nation, nationalism is most frequently described in two related sense: first as allegiance to and promotion of a particular nation and its interests; second as belief in the desirability of coterminous political and cultural communities. In the first one, nationalism involves a group's perception of itself as distinct from others

[33] The definition of nation as an ethnic group and the focus upon the notion of ethnicity or *ethnie* have been emphasized by Smith and Connor. See Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[34] Hans Heinrich Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 172-179.

[35] Anthony Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Duckworth, 1983).

and it describes the awareness of its members as components of the group. The idea of nationalism refers to the group's desire to preserve its identity and to improve its power and status as nation.[36] A common heritage, such as a common language, common historical experiences or a common religion whether real or imagined, serves for the perception of the group as a separate national community and for nationhood. It is suggested that nationalism is a group ideology. It is a condition created by culture and tradition that leads to a psychology of loyalty to the nation. It sets the nation apart asserting the innate superiority of the group to those outside.[37]

The second use, however, refers to the existence of a political principle, of a state. In addition to the definition of nationalism as a condition enforced by the existence of a common culture, in this second use, the importance was attributed to its relation to the notion of the state. A nation is a cultural entity bound together by shared values and traditions, for example a common language, religion and history. A state is a political association, which enjoys sovereignty. The goal of nationalism in this respect is that the nation and state should as far as possible coincide; each nation should possess a political voice and exercise the right of self-determination. [38]

From these definitions, it is possible to argue that nationalism is both a belief in collective commonality and also a goal to achieve statehood. This distinction has been an important starting point for theories of nationalism.

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[36] Max Skidmore, *Ideologies: Politics in Action* (Florida: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1993), 254.

[37] Ibid., 255.

[38] For more, see Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 141-142.

2.3. Theorizing Nationalism

Prominent theorists of nationalism including Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Anthony Smith, Karl Deutsch and Eric Hobsbawm explore different dynamics in the analysis of nationalism and although some important paradigms have been developed from their writings, their works fall short of a gendered understanding of national discourse. They fail to recognize the centrality of gender to definitions of the nations.

An examination of the current debates on nationalism ranging from its specific origin to the nature of its manifestations reveals an essential dichotomy between 'traditionalists' and 'modernists' or 'primordialists' and 'constructionists'.[39] According to modernists or constructionists, nationalism is explained based on modernity. In this analysis, there is a tendency to link the spread of national sentiments and movements to modern factors or processes like industrialization, capitalism or secularization. Connectedly, nationalism can be described as a product of the modernization process associated with the rise of industrial capitalism such as urbanization, secularism, the emergence of bureaucratic state. In this perspective, nationalism was planned by intellectuals and political elites who attempted to provide a cultural homogeneity within a growing and urbanized population, thereby protecting the instrumental needs of a modernizing industrial society.

Among these modern theories of nationalism is Gellner's analysis of nationalism. In *Nations and Nationalism*, he claims that nationalism is a modern phenomenon closely connected with industrialization.[40] He describes nationalism as

[39] Rick Wilford, "Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism: Surveying the Ground," in *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism*, ed. Rick Wilford and Robert L.Miller (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 9.

[40] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

the outcome of societal processes of social homogenization, which are undertaken by the state in order to forge a labor force suitable to industrial society. According to Gellner, industrialization was an important stimulus for the emergence of nationalism. The social organization of agrarian society was not favorable for the nationalist principle because culture in agrarian society was much more pluralistic.

The transition to industrialization paves the way to the emergence of a high culture on society, which means the diffusion of universal literacy, the requirements of bureaucratic and technological communication. It also describes the establishment of an anonymous impersonal society composed of atomized individuals.[41] He claims that the industrial society necessitated homogenous society and the division of labor for the realization of economic growth. He declares that nationalism is not "the awakening of an old, latent, dormant force"[42] but it is the consequence of a new form of social organization based on deeply internalized and education-dependent high cultures. At the basis of this theory is the insistence that an industrial society depends upon a common culture and language and certainly upon sharing an extended cultural codes.[43]

Like Gellner who explains his theory of nationalism based on the development of industrial society as a modern innovation, another 'modernist' is Hans Kohn. Kohn shows how almost all the important innovations of the early modern era favored the rise and the development of nationalism. Among them were such factors as the disruption of the medieval Church and the establishment of

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[41] Ibid., 57.

[42] Ibid., 48.

[43] Ibid.

national churches, the appearance of national literatures, the rise of national armies, the emergence of middle class, the development of mercantilism and the rise of capitalism. According to Kohn, nationalism began to assume much of its character when the middle class presented the idea that the nation belonged not merely to the king but to the property owners.

Kohn also holds the view that the idea of nationalism was a product of the positive intellectual developments of Western Europe, which he believes, were rationalism and liberalism.[44] In the West, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment were vital movements that extended beyond cultural or religious factors. He suggests that the Enlightenment brought liberty, tolerance, constitutionalism and a community of free citizens under law and the rationalist placed great stress upon democracy and liberalism. He points that the rise of nationalism in the West in the eighteenth century took place at the same time as the growth of political, civic and individual rights. Connectedly, nationalism in the West was a product of indigenous forces that emerged in the late eighteenth century and accordingly, the purpose of nationalism was to create a liberal and rational civil society. [45]

Another variant of the modernization theories on nationalism is the so-called communication approach developed by Karl Deutsch. Deutsch takes social communication as the backbone of his model. In his book, he suggests that modernization in the forms of increases in urbanization, industrialization, schooling

[44] Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A study in Its Origins and Background* (Toronto: Collier Book, 1967).

[45] Ibid.

and communication would lead to the assimilation of different ethnic groups; and the nation is a result of communication among individuals.[46] He declares that:

> We may say that assimilation is gaining ground if, in a given territory, community is growing faster than society. In other words, assimilation progresses if the ability to communicate over wide ranges of subjects is spreading faster among men than is necessitated directly and by the limited but direct communication, which this entails.[47]

He argues that the most important factor in national assimilation is the process of social mobilization, which accompanies the growth of markets, transportation systems, industries and towns, the development of technology and eventually of literacy and mass communication.

Another important theorist analyzing nationalism with regard to modernization is Eric Hobsbawn. Hobsbawm, in his book *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*: *Programme, Myth and Reality*, explains the emergence of nationalism based on French Revolution, which represents the starting point for the development of liberal ideology. He defends the idea that there was no room for nations and nationalism in the pre-modern era and he points out that "nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalism but the other way round". [48]

Hobsbawm suggests that both nations and nationalism are parts of liberal ideology and they are products of "social engineering". In order to explain this social engineering process he uses the expression of "invented traditions" where he means, "a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a

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[46] Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (New York: MIT Press, 1966).

[47] Ibid., 125.

[48] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 10.

ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past". [49]

The "invention of tradition" was the strategy adopted by the ruling elites to counter the threat posed by mass democracy. He suggests that national traditions have been invented by state-building elites who play a significant role in mobilizing and organizing the national community by referring to some important symbols and cultural values. According to Hobsbawm, the national elites select the most important aspects of the group's culture, they attach new value and meaning to them and thus, they use them as symbols to mobilize the group. In the mobilization of the group for the development of national culture, he singles out three major innovations, which are the development of primary education, the invention of public ceremonies and the mass production of public monuments all, which played a significant role.[50]

Benedict Anderson, on the other hand, claims in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, that nationality and nationalism are "cultural artifacts" that were created, imagined at the end of the eighteenth century. What distinguishes communities is the style in which they are imagined and the substance and form of style is itself rooted in culture. For Anderson, the concept of nation should be seen as belonging to the same family as "kinship" or "religion". For that reason, his definition of nation is "an imagined political community and it is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign". [51]

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[49] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

It is imagined because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion".[52] It is imagined as limited because each nation has finite boundaries beyond which other nations lie. It is imagined as sovereign because it is born in the age of Enlightenment and Revolution. Finally, it is imagined as community because "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship".[53]

He points out the importance of mass produced books and newspapers in vernacular languages, print capitalism in his terms, in the creation of the imagined community of nation. He argues that the creativity of nation building and nations are not entirely invented but constructed out of already existing elements of culture, society and mythology. In his focus upon the construction of the nation, he does not make any reference to the imagination of the national citizen because not only is the nation imagined but at the same time, it is imagined to be peopled by citizens appropriately cultured for this mission.

The theories mentioned above examine nationalism with regard to the notion of modernization. Although they all stress different factors in their accounts of nationalism, all of them agree that nations and nationalism are the products of modern processes. In addition to these modernization theories of nationalism, some other theories are conducted based on primordial ties according to which great emphasis on the modernizing potential of nationalism overlooks the importance of ethnic roots. These theories offer a critique of the tendency to evaluate the

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., 7.

nationalism based on modernization and the factors connected with the modernization. These theories developed by such theorists as Anthony Smith, John Armstrong, Walker Connor, focus on the role of pre-existing ethnic sentiments in the formation of modern nations.

In this camp, Anthony Smith defends the idea that the study of nationalism needs to be reoriented, to take into account not only the forces associated with the French and Industrial Revolutions but also the retention of older ties and sentiments. He defends the idea that the study of nationalism has to take into consideration the ethnicity and the ethnic identity while not neglecting modern factors like capitalism, urbanization and science. [54]Smith's point of departure is that nations themselves are products of the conditions of modernity and that they are rooted in the history of various human groups.

The core of Smith's theory is that of *ethnie*. He explains the idea of nationalism on the basis of ethnic identity which, he argues, is not a recent invention. His term "ethnic nationalism" appears when an ethnic group becomes a nation. He declares that as the degree of politicization increases, a demand for autonomy appears which constitutes one of the components of nationhood. He insists on the idea that although many *ethnies* did not go on to become modern nations, the reality of pre-modern ethnic identity does matter for modern nations. He mentions that the modern nationalist intellectual or politicians elaborate upon such existing ethnic identities. [55]

[54] Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*.

[55] Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 154-173.

Walker Connor, in the same way, criticizes the theories on nationalism developed on the basis of modernization as "an unwarranted exaggeration of the influence of materialism upon human affairs." [56] He also refuses the acceptance of the assumption that greater contacts among groups lead to greater awareness of what groups have in common. He defines nationalism as an emotional attachment to one's state or country and its political institution. He emphasizes the importance of the primordial ties and of an ethnic consciousness in the construction of national identity. [57]

According to Connor's theory of nationalism, which he calls as "ethnonationalism", ethnicity is an inalienable component of nationalism and it provided an important source of personal and group identity before modern nations appeared. Connor argues that a nation is simply a self-aware ethnic group: "an ethnic group may be readily discerned...but until the members are themselves aware of the group's uniqueness, it is merely an ethnic group and not a nation. While an ethnic group may be other defined, a nation must be self-defined". [58]

John Armstrong, in a parallel analysis of nationalism, argues that ethnic consciousness has a long history: it is possible to come across with its traces in ancient civilizations.[59] In this sense, contemporary nationalism can be regarded as the final stage of a larger cycle of ethnic consciousness reaching back to the earliest

[56] Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism*, 64.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., 103.

[59] John Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

forms of collective organization. According to Armstrong, the most important feature of this consciousness is its persistence. In this ethnic consciousness, he states that groups define themselves not with reference to their own characters but by comparison to "strangers". This means that there can be no fixed characters or essence for the group; the boundaries of identities vary according to the perceptions of the individuals forming the group. The key to this understanding of ethnic identification is the "uncanny experience of confronting others".[60] It is possible to understand that the definition of ethnic group depends on the idea of exclusion, which is drawn by symbolic boundary mechanisms. For him, "myth, symbol, communication and a cluster of associated attitudinal factors are usually more persistent than purely material factors".[61]

All these analyses, whether they have been explained on the basis of modernization or they have been analyzed by the primordial ties by the prevailing theories remain short of gender analysis. There is a total disregard for women's contribution to the process or of how they may have been affected by it. Feminist scholars have sought to remedy this neglect by emphasizing the importance of gender as an analytical tool in having a better understanding of the dynamics of nationalism.

[60] Ibid., 5.

[61] Ibid., 9.

2.4. Feminist Analyses on Gender and Nationalism

Feminist scholarship's[62] identification of gender as a category of analysis has led to the exploration of the relationship between nation and gender. Since the mid-1980s, scholars have begun to demonstrate that the analysis of nationalism could not be fully achieved without understanding that gender is an integral part of it. Critiques of gender-blind approaches to the treatment of national and ethnic phenomena are based on the premise that such approaches limit the understanding of the complex material, political and symbolic processes involved in the articulation of various national projects. [63] The scholars attempted to reveal that power, control and hegemony exist not only in the relationships between nation and state but also in the relationships between gender and nation. [64]

The starting point for feminist analyses of the gendered dimension of nationalism has been based on the premise that political history has been "enacted

[62] Feminist scholarship is enormously diverse in orientation. For the purpose of this study, I would like to undertake a brief introduction to feminist studies. Two complementary, interactive and ongoing projects are frequently identified in feminist scholarship. The first one is the deconstruction of gender-biased knowledge claims which is important in making women visible and in incorporating women's activities and experiences. Secondly, they work for the reconstruction of gender sensitive theory which aims to rethink fundamental relationships of knowledge, power and community and the developing of feminist epistemologies. The assumption of men's experience as representative of human experience emerged as a systematic bias of codified knowledge and cultural ideologies. However, women's experience differs from the male experience upon which knowledge claims have been constructed. When the male experience is taken to be human experience, human thought and human social life have been distorted. For more details about the claims of feminist scholarship, see V.Spike Peterson, *Gendered States: Feminist Revisions of International Relations Theory* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992), 6-11; Rosemarie Tong, *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1989) ; Micheline Malson, *Feminist Theory in Practice and Process* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Sandra Harding and Merril Hintikka**,** eds., *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspective on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology and Philosophy of Sciences* (Dortrecht:Holland, 1983).

[63] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Guest Editor's Introduction: The Awkward Relationship: Gender and Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism*. 6:4 (2000), 491.

[64] Tamar Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage," in *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, ed., Tamar Mayer (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 3.

on the field of gender".[65] The question of women's invisibility in history has been firstly mentioned by Joan Wallach Scott who argues that the historical discourse denies women's visibility and it perpetuates their subordination and their image as passive recipients of others' acts. For that reason, Scott defends the idea that history has to be examined as part of the politics of gender representation, which will also enable us to understand better the question of women's invisibility in the written story of the past.[66] By the same token, another feminist scholar, Ida Blom points out that gender has been a neglected category of analysis in the field of historical research on nation-building, the nation-state and nationalisms. She suggests that, historically, the understanding of history, as primarily the history of nations, of governments, of kings and of statesmen, in short, of the public sphere, has been an obstacle to historical research on gender, on the private sphere and civil society. She adds that there seems to have been from the beginning, a built-in antithesis between the two fields of history, histories of nations and histories of gender but the concept of "gendered nations" is now slowly taking root in the historical sciences.[67]

The interpretation of history as a part of the politics of the gender system has become an important point for the emergence of different feminist analyses on the gendered construction of nationalism. Feminist research has revealed the need to think about issues of gender in conjunction with and not in isolation from issues of nation, race and ethnicity. In this respect, Glenda Sluga says, "the theorization of

[65] Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 31.

[66] Joan W. Scott, "The Problem of Invisibility," in *Retrieving Women's History*, ed. Jay Kleinberg (Paris: Unesco, 1988), 5-29.

[67] Ida Blom, "Gender and Nation in International Comparison," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2000), 3-4.

nationalism has relied upon engendered historical narratives which reinforce depictions of nationalism, nation-building as having universal and sex-neutral significance. They have reminded us if nations are "imagined communities", then imagining has "gender dimensions". [68]

The most important contribution of the feminist studies has been to reveal the fact that men and women participate differently in the national project. They started to analyze both men's and women's relationship to the construction of the nation and the ways in which national discourse constructs man and woman. Silke Wenk, for example, declares that:

> the invention of the nation was supported by the modern construction of two sexes. Not only were national movements frequently structured from their very beginnings according to modern conceptions of gender polarity-men fight battles, women concern themselves with reproduction- but the descriptions of nations clearly cannot do without images or metaphors of gender as well.[69]

Sikata Benerjee, on the other hand, points out that nationalism is gendered because it draws on socially constructed ideas of masculinity and feminity to shape female and male participation in nation-building as well as the manner in which the nation is embodied in the imagination of self-processed nationalists. [70] In the same parallel, Susan Brownell states that nations do have a gender-usually male and that notions of gender penetrate all levels of social interaction by influencing men and women. [71]

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[68] Glenda Sluga, "Female and National Self-Determination: A Gender Re-Reading of the Apogee of Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism*. 6:4 (2000), 495.

[69] Silke Wenk "Gendered Representations of the Nation's Past and Future," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 63.

[70] Sikata Banerjee, "Gender and Nationalism: The Masculinization of Hinduism and Female Political Participation in India." *Women's Studies International Forum*. 26:2 (2003), 167-179.

[71] Susan Brownell, "Gender and Nationalism in China at the Turn of the Millenium," in *China Briefing 2000: The Continuing Transformation*, ed. Tyrene White (New York: An East Gate Book, 2000), 204-205.

Many feminist studies highlight different ways in which masculine aspirations, imaginings, contradictions and fears have been inscribed on the nationalist projects. George Mosse argues in *Nationalism and Sexuality* that there is generally a convergence in the relationship between nationalism and the interests of men. This comes into the picture as a type of hegemonic masculinity associated with conquest, control and the consolidation of power. Manliness has been the ideal on which the nation is built and the arena where a passive feminity is constructed. Even when the binarism of hetero-patriarchal norms is challenged, it virtually remains the case that it is men who claim the authority to define the nation and its boundaries, to define the process of nation-building, and to articulate what masculinities and feminities are appropriate for the nation.[72] In order to illustrate the construction of nationalism on masculinity, he gives the example of Nazi Germany. In his account, Nazi Germany was a male state, a *mannerstaat* based on the comradeship of men.

On the question of masculinity, Cynthia Enloe makes a similar observation to that of Mosse. She shows that nationalist movements have often grown out of men's experiences: "nationalism has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope".[73] She defends the idea that women have not had an easy relationship with nationalism and she points out that even when they suffered abuse at the hands of colonialists, they have often been treated more as symbols than active participants have. She argues that women are relegated to minor, often symbolic, roles in nationalist movements and conflicts, either as icons

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[72] George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (London: Horward Fertig, 1985).

[73] Cynthia Enloe**,** *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 44.

of nationhood, to be elevated and defended, or as spoils of war. In either case, the real actors are men who are defending their freedom, their honor, their homeland and their women. [74]

By the same token, V.Spike Peterson suggests that "a gender-sensitive" analysis plays a crucial role in improving our map of nationalism and in illuminating the processes of identity formation and political allegiance that are key to understanding of collective identities and their political effects. She adds that gender hierarchy of masculine over feminine, which is central to the construction and reproduction of asymmetrical relations, is closely linked with the nationalist domination of insiders over outsiders. In her opinion, nationalism is gendered in two ways. Firstly, it is gendered in terms of how the construction of group identity (allegiance to "us versus them") depends upon divisions of masculinity and feminity. Secondly, it is gendered in terms of how the "naturalization" of domination ("us at the expense of them") depends upon the prior naturalization of men/masculinity over women/feminity. [75]

There is a large literature within feminist scholarship on women's involvement in nationalist movements and it contains many insights about the centrality of gender in the formation of national identity and the gender dimensions of cultural and social constructions of 'the nation'. Feminist scholarship has focused also on the gender dimensions of cultural constructions of the nation. The most important framework outlining the main dimensions in which gender relations are crucial in understanding and analyzing nations and nationalism, is introduced by

[74] Ibid.

[75] V.Spike Peterson, "The Politics of Identity and Gendered Nationalism," in *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*, ed. Laura Neck, Jeanne A. K. Hey and Patrick J. Haney (London: Englewood, 1995), 183-184.

Nira Yuval-Davis. She mentions different ways in which women have been situated in nationalist processes. Firstly, women are viewed as the biological reproducers of group members. The central importance of women comes from their reproductive roles and it stems from the idea of a common origin, which lies at the centre of the construction of most ethnic and national collectivities.[76] One usually joins the collectivity usually by being born into it. Secondly, women are viewed as cultural carriers. This means that they serve as the symbolic markers of the nation and of the group's cultural identity. She says, "a figure of a woman, often a mother, symbolizes in many cultures the spirit of the collectivity, whether it is Mother Russia, Mother Ireland or Mother India". [77]

Davis points out that the gendered representation of the identity of a national collectivity, has also brought about the construction of women as the bearer's of the collectivity's honor. Related to this, women in their 'proper' behavior, their proper clothing represent the line, which signifies the collectivity's boundaries. Davis mentions that in many societies, women are murdered or tortured because of their behaviors, which are viewed as bringing dishonor or shame to the community.[78] In addition to that, it is possible to say that, women also have a crucial role in the ideological reproduction of collective identity. Under patriarchal relations, women are the primary socializers of children both within the family and in elementary schools. They are responsible for inculcating beliefs, behaviors and loyalties that are culturally appropriate. This involves learning the mother tongue, as well as group symbols, and rituals.

[76] Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997), 26-38.

[77] Ibid., 45.

[78] Ibid. 46.

Thirdly, Davis analyzes the position of women in the national projects and processes in terms of citizenship.[79] Although citizenship is a criterion for membership in the national collectivity and there is a formal equality of women in their political rights as citizens, Davis argues that other modes of exclusion in the political, social and civil spheres continue to be effective. This is the dualistic nature of women's citizenship; on the one hand, women are always included, at least to some extent, in the general body of the citizens of the state, on the other hand, there is always a separate body of legislation, which relates them as women.[80]

In parallel with the arguments of Nira Yuval-Davis, Charlotte Aull Davies mentions that women are involved in nationalisms in a dual capacity, as activists in the organized manifestations of nationalist movements and in the gender specific-roles that they are commonly assigned as nurturers of the nation. According to Aull Davies, the first category includes all levels of deliberate involvement whether as rank and file member, political activist or terrorist. The second category refers to women's involvement, not primarily through their individual actions, but through the significance assigned to them as women. This significance derives from an interpretation of women as nurturers. Thus, women may be assigned primary responsibility for biologically reproducing the next generation of nationalists or for culturally transmitting the characteristics of the nation.[81]

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[79] Ibid., 68-92.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Charlotte Aull Davies, "Nationalism: Discourse and Practice," in *Practising Feminism: Identity, Difference and Power*, ed. Nickie Charles and Felicia Hughes-Freeland (New York: Routledge: 1996), 156-179.

Some studies explore the ways the community of the nation has been imagined and legitimated according to the gendered metaphors of reproduction. Many feminist frameworks examine how women are always a central part of nationalist constructions and reproductions by the metaphors of family. They note that the tendency of nationalists is to liken the nation to a family. It is mentioned that family is male-headed household in which both men and women have natural roles to play. While women are subordinated politically in nationalist movements and politics, they have a very symbolic place as the mother of the nation. [82]

The family analogy is adopted to give the impression that the nation is as 'natural' as the biological family and it 'naturalizes' the social hierarchy based on the subordination of women. Anne McClintock suggests that nations are frequently figured out through the iconography of familial and domestic space.[83] She says that since the term 'nation' derives from 'natio' to be born, nations are defined as 'motherlands' and 'fatherlands'. She argues that the family offers a natural figure for empowering social hierarchy within an organic unity of interests and it presents a metaphoric figure by which hierarchical social distinctions could be shaped into a single historical genesis narrative.[84] This means that the nation has been thought as a family and as such acquired a patriarchal hierarchy within which members are

[82] Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family." *Feminist Review*. 44 (1993), 61-80; Claudia Koontz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (NewYork: St.Martin's Press, 1987); Margaret Jolly, "Motherlands? Some Notes on Women and Nationalism in India and Africa." *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*. 11 (1994), 41-59; Alexandra Halkias, "Money, God and Race: The Politics of Reproduction and the Nation in Modern Greece." *The European Journal of Women's Studies*. 10:2 (2003), 211-232; Suruchi Thapar-Björkert and Louise Ryan, "Mother India/Mother Ireland: Comparative Gendered Dialogues of Colonialism and Nationalism in the Early 20th Century." *Women's Studies International Forum*. 25:3 (2002), 303.

[83] Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds," 63.

[84] Ibid.

assigned distinct roles in accordance with their gender-as in their patriarch family, for the nation to sustain itself it needs both masculinity and feminity.

Lynn Hunt found the idea of woman as mother of the nation was central to the romance literature of the French Revolution and it signaled the shift from paternal and fraternal patriarchy. Once the French killed the king who had been represented as the father of his people, there was urgent need to find out a figure to take his place. The French revolutionaries introduced the notion of fraternity by the motto of "liberty, equality and fraternity". Thus, fraternity was used to define a kind of "us". [85] Hunt suggests, "the family romance was a kind of prepolitical category for organizing political experience. If kinship is the basis of most if not all organized social relations, then it is also an essential category for understanding political power". [86] She contends, "the most obvious material at hand for thinking politically was the family, not the family as some kind of model social experience, but the family as an imaginative construct of power relations." [87]

Feminist scholars have also observed the ways in which women's bodies are imbued with special significance as representations of community and cultural continuity. Numerous works reveal ways in which idealized images and bodies of women serve as national boundaries. Zillah Eisenstein mentions that the female/maternalized body becomes the site for viewing the nation. It is an imaginary site, which is naturalized through the symbolization of the female body. She defends the idea that "it is the bordered differentiation of women's bodies from men's bodies

[85] Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley and LosAngeles: University of California Press, 1992), 1-16.

[86] Ibid., 196.

[87] Ibid.

rather than the bodies themselves that construct the fiction of nations."[88] Connectedly, because the nation imagines women in a familial order, "women become a metaphor for what they present, rather than what they are".[89]

Both female sexuality and reproduction are of central importance to women's national identity. The regulation of female sexuality is one of these mechanisms, which has been one of the most important themes elaborated in these studies. Joane Nagel argues that women's sexuality often turns out to be a matter of prime national interest for at least two reasons. First, women's role in nationalism is most often that of a mother, the symbol of the national hearth and home. Second women's sexuality is of crucial importance because women as wives and daughters are carriers of masculine honor.[90]

In the analysis of the relationships between sexuality and nationalism, Tamar Mayer, in "*Gender Ironies of Nationalism*", suggests, nationalism, gender and sexuality are all socially and culturally constructed and they frequently play an important role in constructing one another by invoking and helping to construct the 'us' versus 'them' distinction and the exclusion of the Other. [91] She mentions that the empowerment of one gender, one nation or one sexuality always occurs at the expense and the disempowerment of another. [92]

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[88] Zillah Eisenstein, "Writing Bodies on the Nation for the Globe," in *Women, States and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?*, ed. Sita Rancho-Nilsson and Mary Ann Tétreault (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 43.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 21:2 (1998), 256.

[91] Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism", 1.

[92] Ibid.

The study of Mayer remains important in the analysis of the gendered dimension of nationalism in two respects. Firstly, she points out that despite its rhetoric of equality for all who participate in the 'national project', nation remains the property of men. This means that control over access to the benefits of belonging to the nation is always gendered; that through control over reproduction, sexuality and the means of representation, the authority to define the nation lies mainly with men. Secondly, she affirms that the nation is comprised of sexed subjects whose "performativity"[93] constructs not only their own gender identity but the identity of the entire nation as well. She affirms, "through the repetition of accepted norms and behaviors- control over reproduction, militarism and heroism and heterosexuality– members help to construct the privileged nation; equally the repetitive performances of these acts in the name of the nation help to construct gender and sexuality". [94] She also adds that the intersection of nation, gender and sexuality is a discourse about a moral code, which mobilizes men (and sometimes women) to become its sole protectors and women its biological and symbolic reproducers. [95]

The nation has been constructed as the hegemonic domain of both masculinity and heterosexuality, and thus has been a major site for the institutionalization of gender differences. Another important analysis in this respect has been realized by V.Spike Peterson who argues that heterosexism is the key to

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[93] She uses the concept "performativity" introduced by Judith Butler in order to denote that gender is reproduced through daily repetition of acts/performances. In other words, what we act repeatedly- based on norms that predate us- is what we become, regardless of biological chromosomes. For more details, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

[94] Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism", 5.

[95] Ibid., 6.

nationalism with regard to group reproduction. She defends the idea that heterosexism presupposes a binary coding of polarized and hierarchical male/masculine and female/feminine identities and it accepts heterosexual coupling as the basis of group reproduction.[96] In other words, heterosexuality is the only "normal mode" of sexual identity, sexual practice and social relations. According to Peterson, heterosexism creates a symbolic ordering, which forms the binary of male-female bodies as well as binary of masculine and feminine identities. The conceptual ordering of masculine over feminine is unsolvable from political ordering imposed in state-making and reproduced through masculinist discourse that justifies the hierarchical relations of the state. [97]

Feminist discourse has been able to provide some clarity about the gendered nature of national imaginary and feminist studies have attempted to disclose the true character of the relationship between gender and nationalism. Another subject elaborated in feminist studies with regard to gendered dimension of nationalism is the emphasis upon the identification of woman with nation. V.Spike Peterson argues that the personification of nature as female makes it easy to conceive of nation as "the Motherland as spatial, embodied femaleness: the land's fecundity, upon which the people depend, must be protected by defending the body/nation's boundaries against invasion and violation by foreign males".[98] Rape, which is used by men as a tool of war against women, is both the rape of women and the rape of nation as woman. The rape of the body/nation not only violates but also destroys the

[96] V.Spike Peterson, "Sexing Political Identities/ Nationalism as Heterosexism," in *Women, States and Nationalism*, 59.

[97] Ibid., 59-60.

[98] Peterson, "The Politics of Identity," 180.

maintenance of the community by planting alien seed or destroying reproductive viability through time. Related to this, according to Peterson, there is also an implicit agreement that men who cannot protect their woman/nation against rape lose their claim to that body, that land. From all these points, she concludes, "the nation/woman is being denied agency, rather "she" is man's possession and like other enabling vessels (boats, planes) is valued as a means for achieving male-defined ends. […] Thus, the motherland is female but the state is male."[99]

Another important contribution has been made by Julie Mostow who argues that gender and nation are social constructions, which fully participate in the formation of another. Mostow suggests that nations are gendered and that the nation is constructed in gendered terms such as feminized soil, landscapes and boundaries, and masculine movement over these places. She says:

> Efforts at nation building which seek to "recover" the unique character and purity of the nation and celebrate its ancient roots and historical continuity generally describe the nation as timeless and changeless, as a "natural" set of bonds binding people to one another. Thus, the nation naturalizes constructions of masculinity and feminity; women physically reproduce the nation and men protect and avenge it. At the same time, thins notion of nation collectivizes and neutralizes the sexuality of female (and, to some extent, male) members of the nation.[100]

In her article entitled, "*Sexing the Nation/Desexing the Body: Politics of National Identity in the Former Yugoslavia*", Mostov defends the idea that in the politics of national identity, there is a connection between two processes. On of these processes sensualizes the nation and national imagery while the other desensualizes individual members of the nation. She affirms:

> On the one hand, the metaphors and images of national glory and heroic struggle create a kind of eroticism, which is highly symbolic, abstract and seductive. On the other hand, traditional national spokesmen (clergy and national elites) espouse a

[99] Ibid.

[100] Julie Mostov, "Sexing the Nation/Desexing the Body: Politics of National Identity in the Former Yugoslavia," in *Gender Ironies of Nationalism*, 89.

> politics of reproduction and demographic control, backed by de-eroticized images of chaste and faithful wives, patriotic mothers and pure, wholesome heroes.[101]

Mostov's study is important in terms of understanding how women are identified with the image of mother and wife, of desexualized members of the community. Rada Iveković and Julie Mostov, on the other hand, in their edited book entitled *From Gender to Nation*, argue that women as members of the community are not equal political subjects because although they are held responsible for the continuance of the nation, they are in some way always suspect. To put it differently, women symbolize the purity of the nation but they are vulnerable to contamination; they embody the homeland but they are always considered as a potential stranger. It is said:

> The precariousness of a woman's place in the home/nation, which is at the same time her designated space, underlines the danger of exclusion and the pressures to conform. Her marginality is always with her-national culture and values give her a place in society, but always remind her of the potential risk of her situation, and the precariousness of playing improper roles. Women who reject the identities cast for them by the "natural" hierarchy and historical consensus are faced with the prospect of dangling unprotected between the borders of national communities. [102]

In this respect, as they point out, the situation of women within a nation is a situation of the double-bind. This double-bind situation represents the fact that the nation itself involves contradiction as its constitutive condition. This means in the nation as a community, women are subjugated within a hierarchy insuring power to some women but at the same time, these women are also paradoxically invited to be devoted to the pattern. In a way, they have to choose between being true to the nation which amounts to being true to the father-figure and being true to their own

[101] Ibid., 90.

[102] Rada Iveković and Julie Mostov, eds., *From Gender to Nation* (Ravenna: Longo Editore Ravenna, 2001), 14.

sex/gender.[103] They suggest that although a double-bind situation is imposed on women, men can never find themselves in this double-bind situation; for men the national and the sexual/gender identities coincide, and never appear as split. It is the masculine (patriarchal) "same", which is being reproduced. In this sense, as it is mentioned, man is "complete" and identical to himself only in his unity with the maternal body of the nation. Accordingly, Iveković and Mostov emphasize that women cannot be involved in the reproduction of the patriarchal sameness, unless they remove their own presence and role as individual, sex and gender; consequently, they are treated as matter or instrument. [104]

Other feminist frameworks shift scholarly attention to the gender dimensions of broader conceptual categories of 'nation', 'state' and 'citizenship'. It has been argued that nationalist and feminist practices are more commonly found in conflict than tandem. In general, nationalisms either attempt to prioritize the two practices, in effect taking feminism off agenda until nationalist goals are achieved; or even nationalist practice appears to promote feminism, any resulting feminist practice is limited to narrowly defined spheres by nationalist insistence on the importance of women's traditional roles for the nationalist project as a whole.[105]

Suad Joseph mentions that gender is at the center of state-building enterprises. She declares that nation-building projects and state-building projects have not necessarily had the same and compatible outcomes for women who have been caught between the conflicting demands of nation-building and state-building

[103] Ibid., 17.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Davies, "Discourse and Practice," 165.

projects. She argues that although the forms of patriarchy have changed, the linkage of woman/mother to nation (and man/father to state) has reinforced the reproduction of gendered hierarchy facilitating, the institutionalization of gendered citizenship in state-building projects.[106] Jean Bethke Elshtain, in the same way, puts that women are faced with the contradiction of not being allowed to be trained for civic identity but nevertheless having to transmit to their sons, a passion for exemplary families necessary to nurture that identity. She declares that mothers are regarded not as citizens but as mothers of citizens to be and of mothers to be of citizens.[107]

Many feminist analyses mention that women have experienced citizenship differently from men not only because they are women but also because they are women and members of particular classes, races, ethnicities and religions, all of which gender them. Women's experiences of citizenship have been refracted through the lens of these multiple positionalities.[108] By the same token, Sylvia Walby argues that the literature on women and nation has engaged little with the differential integration of women and men into the national project. She points out that literature on gender and citizenship/ethnic/national/race relations has shown that gender does not affect citizenship and citizenship does not affect gender. Citizenship/ethnic/national/race relations affect one another. [109]

All these feminist studies have sought ways to have a better understanding about how gender shapes the meaning of the nation and to determine women's

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[106] Suad Joseph, "Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East", in *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*, ed., Suad Joseph (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 7.

[107] Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 71.

[108] Ibid., 11.

[109] Sylvia Walby, "Woman and Nation." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. 33 (1992), 81-100.

relationships to nationalist movements. These studies raise important issues concerning the gendered dimension of nationalism. In doing so, they also offer important keys for additional theoretical and empirical exploration.

2.5. Conclusion

As an important marker of belonging to and exclusion from the national community, gender has been an influential category of analysis in the study of nation-building, nation-state, nationalisms and national identity. The feminist literature starting from the 1980's represents a turning point in the analysis of gendered aspect of nationalism by bringing to light several ways in which women are implicated in nationalist projects. These studies reveal that although women have been foundational to the nation in several phases of its creation and legitimization, membership in the nation has been a powerfully gendered faculty. Most significantly, they play an important role in illuminating how women have been imagined and involved in the idea of nationalism; and how the process of gendered national imagination has been achieved.

Although feminist studies outline some of the main dimensions in which gender relations are crucial in understanding and analyzing the formation of gendered national collectivities, there are still many points, which need to be investigated with regard to the formation of gendered nationhood and to the gendered imagination of national community. It is obvious that the imagined community is re-imagined and reproduced in different spheres and national imagination is a continuous process taking place in different historical, social, political and cultural settings. The imagination of women as gendered national subjects in cultural imagination and in cultural productions remains an important

field to be discovered for having a better understanding of gendered dimension of nationalism. There is an urgency in this task because "if nationalism is not transformed by an analysis of gender power, the nation-state will remain a repository of male hopes, male aspirations and male privileges".[110]

[110] McClintock, "No Longer," 385.

CHAPTER III

PROBLEMATIZING GENDERED NATIONALISM IN THE THIRD WORLD

3.1 Introduction

If we define nation as an imagined community whose boundaries are symbolically invented, it is possible to say that a coherent community exists because 'we' are ethnically, linguistically, religiously and ideologically distinct from 'them' characterizing the others. It is important to clarify the roles attributed to women and to understand how women have been symbolically used in this imagination process and in the description of "us versus them". Any construction of boundaries that includes some people and excludes others involves an act of active imagination. In this chapter, I will attempt to illustrate different parts of symbolic construction of community and of nationalist imagery where women occupy an important role.

My main objective is to analyze the connection between women and nation. As it will be observed in the study of different examples, the relation between woman and nation involves several dimensions explaining in what ways nationalism is gendered and how women are made gendered national subjects. This part of the thesis will not only be helpful in exploring the gendered nature of nationalism with regard to different examples but also in understanding how women in different cultural contexts have been involved in nationalism. This, in turn, will offer important clues for the interpretation of women's images in the novels in order to elaborate on some specific features of the Turkish nationalism. In others words, the

different themes illustrating gendered dimension of nationalism will provide a framework for the study of women's images in the novels in order to lighten some of the particularities of the Turkish nationalist project.

For the clarification of the relation between women and nation, I will use the examples of Egypt and Iran in an attempt towards understanding the role and the symbolic meanings attributed to women during the modernization and nationalist processes in the Middle East. I will also refer to the examples of Algeria, India, and Palestine in order to explore the role that women play during the nation-building process and to examine the main characteristics attributed to women. Apart from these examples, I will make use also some examples from the Yugoslav successor states. Yugoslavia was a socialist state and it does not fit to the category of the Third World but following the death of Yugoslavia's President Tito in 1980, nationalist movements gained momentum and ethnic nationalism was followed by the acts of ethnic cleansing. In this respect, the Yugoslav successor states provide an important account for the symbolic use of women's sexuality and bodies. They offer important examples in understanding women's integration into the nationalist projects and in exploring the issue of rape as a weapon of war against women.

This chapter will include three sections. In the first section, I will briefly examine nationalism in the Third World for having a better understanding of nationalisms' ideological relevance to gender. In the second section, the focus will be on different studies on women in the Third World and finally, the third part will be devoted to the elaboration of the specific dimensions through the different examples. The main dimensions of the gendered nationalism that I will explore will be as follows: women as objects of political discourse, women's education, the metaphorical and symbolic meanings attributed to women's bodies and sexuality,

family and motherhood, women's involvement in politics as citizens after the establishment of statehood, different feminine images in the representation of nation and the use of myth and female figures in the cultural and historical construction of nation.

3.2.Third World Nationalism

Recognizing the problematic nature of the concept of the Third World because of the economic, political and cultural heterogeneity among the Third World countries, I will be using the term to refer to countries with a colonial or semi colonial past throughout this chapter. Although there is tremendous variety in culture, experience of colonial rule, forms and levels of economic variety between and within Third World regions, one thing that they share is strong sentiments of nationalism. In this respect, it is possible to argue that Third World women seem to have much in common in their relationship to nationalism.

Given the social, political and cultural fluidity and enormous diversity of the Third World, it is important to be careful in generalizing the relationship of gender and nationalism. It is clear when looking at gender in the Third World politics that Third World women do not constitute an "automatic unitary group" but that the term Third World Women can be used as it designates a political constituency. [111] Mohanty defends the idea that what constitutes Third World women as an oppositional alliance is a common context of struggle. In this respect, she thinks that it is possible to speak of "a unity of Third World women" and it is not possible to analyze the Third World women as discrete entities separate from the structures of

[111] Mohanty, "Cartographies of Struggle," 7.

domination and different struggles against colonialism, imperialism and national liberation.[112]

In order to reveal nationalisms' ideological linkages to gender and women's involvement in Third World nationalism, it would be better to give a brief overview explaining the different processes of the Third World nationalism. Third World nationalism is defined as a "politicized social consciousness centered upon a common national identity rooted in a shared tradition, and the ideological belief in the structure of the modern nation-state as the most efficacious instrument of national unity, national independence and national interest." [113]

Most of the nationalist movements in the Third World have come into existence as a result of colonialism throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[114] It was basically a response to the experience of being controlled by the European imperialists. Third World nationalism assumed an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial character whose aim was to replace foreign rule by native governance. Therefore, it manifests itself as group loyalty and group solidarity in confrontation with the generalized other.

During the twentieth century, the doctrine of nationalism, which had been born in Europe, spread throughout the globe, as the peoples of Asia and Africa rose in opposition to colonial rule. The process of colonization involved not only the

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[112] Ibid., 13.

[113] Dawa Norbu, *Culture and the Politics of Third World Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1992), 26.

[114] At this point, it should be emphasized that the Iranian case, which is involved as a selected example for the analysis of the relevance of gender to nationalism, has differences compared to anti-colonial nationalism. Iran was not colonized during the imperialists' expansion in the 19th century but due to its geographical location, it was exposed to foreign invasions and foreign controls. Especially Britain and Russia were continuously involved in aggression against Iran because of their self-interests.

inauguration of economic dominance and political control but also the export of Western ideas including nationalism. The experience of colonial rule helped to forge a sense of nationhood and desire for national liberation.

It is notable that many Third World leaders who were educated in Europe considered nationalism as a force to fight against the colonial powers. Nationalism was regarded as a powerful ideology to mobilize the masses for decolonization and European Imperialism. The strength of nationalism was that it was an ideology capable of uniting an oppressed people, of drawing them together in opposition to their common enemy.[115] Anti-colonial nationalism was mobilized against European Empires and Western domination. It not only defined the nation against the non-representative colonial power but it also tried to build a nation to claim a state. For that reason, it played an important role in the unification of people as a "nation".

The primary goals of anti-colonial nationalist movements were, therefore, the ejection of the colonizer and the establishment or re-establishment of a sovereign nation-state with full legislative powers over the territory and people within its national boundaries. In the post-colonial period, the state had to act to legitimize the cultural authenticity and uniqueness of the nation. For that reason, one could suggest, as Jan Jindy Petman does, this frequently involved a double move-to recover 'tradition' against the West, and to modernize to be able to compete with and displace the West. Many anti-colonial nationalist movements were reformist opposing or seeking to modernize feudal and older political and cultural forms.[116] The aim of the anti-colonial nationalism was to build a new nation-state on the one

[115] John Isbister, *Promises Not Kept: The Betrayal of Social Change in the Third World* (West Hartword: Kumarian Press, 1991).

[116] Pettman, *Worlding Women*, 54.

hand, and on the other hand, it aimed at defining the national differences in cultural terms. The role of woman was important in both of these processes.

From this "double move", it is possible to state that the most important aspect of the Third World is the ambivalence of the Third World nations and Third World nationalism to modernity. Although a transformation to modernity in economic and social organization is sought and implemented by nations and nationalisms in the Third World as a desideratum of development, there is also a resistance to the totalizing implications of modernization. In this respect, Geraldine Heng points out:

> Acceptance of modernity's incursions, then, comes to operate selectively: a division in the rhetoric of nationalist discourse appears, distinguishing between the technological and economic machinery of modernization (which can continue to be deemed useful, indeed, essential to the nation), and the cultural apparatus of modernization-the alarming detritus of modernity's social effects-which may be guarded against contaminating, dangerous and undesirable.[117]

In relation to this acceptance of modernity, in countries where modernization follows the nation's emergence from Western colonial subjection, nationalist antipathy to modernity's social impact can be articulated as antipathy to the West and Western cultural modalities.[118] This resistance was realized by the emphasis upon the importance of tradition in the construction of national identity, which in turn, illustrates the national uniqueness. Anti-colonial nationalism sought to draw an absolute line between itself and colonial powers in order to create a separate national community. Although the nation-state was regarded as the most effective instrument of defending shared interests, the maintenance and the construction of boundary lines were connected with the use of 'culture' which played a politicized role.

[117] Geraldine Heng, "A Great Way to Fly: Nationalism, the State and the Varieties of Third World Feminism," in *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, ed. M.Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (New York: Routledge, 1997), 33.

[118] Ibid.

As Dawa Norbu mentions, the most important characteristic of the Third World nationalism resides in the politicization of non-political namely culture for political ends.[119] Anti-colonial struggles for national independence in many Third World countries not only rejected the legitimacy of Western colonial role but also often constructed a nationalist political identity by contrasting the indigenous culture and its values to those of the West calling for a rejection of the latter. Independence from colonial rule was perceived in a number of Third World as a return to the values and culture of an ancient past. Their culture and their traditions became focal points of what was threatened by colonial rule and they had positive rather than negative connotations. In most of the Third World, they were used to portray colonialism as merely a brief interruption in the "authentic" life of nation.[120]

This ambivalence of nationalism in the Third World is analyzed successfully with regard to Indian women by Partha Chatterjee. Chatterjee argues that nationalism as a European discourse of domination is appropriated by Third-World nations for self-empowerment in the struggle of independence. This lack of autonomy paves way to the emergence of a paradoxical situation because the people who use nationalism in order to resist the colonial rule or European hegemony invariably speak the language of colonialism. In other words, they use the concepts of modernity, progress and development. He affirms, "the very process of approximation means their continued subjection under a world order which only sets their tasks for them and over which they have no control".[121]

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[119] Norbu, *Culture and the Politics*, 17.

[120]Uma Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions and Third World Feminism* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 17.

[121] Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 10.

Chatterjee claims that the twin moves involved in the nationalist project were to "cultivate the material techniques of modern western civilization" while "retaining and strengthening the distinctive spiritual essence of the national culture".[122] In order to distinguish between levels, Chatterjee introduces two terms, the thematic and the problematic. At the level of the thematic, the nationalist thought accepts the content of that discourse by embracing Western notions of modernity. At the level of the problematic, however, it opposes the dominant colonial discourse and nationalism becomes a struggle against the West. Although there is the acceptance of the ideas of science, progress and reason originated from the West at the thematic level, Chatterjee finds that the problematic of nationalist thought is exactly the reverse of that of orientalism. The only difference is that in Orientalism, the oriental is passive subject, in nationalism however, at the problematic level the object has been considered as an active subject in anti-colonial nationalist struggle but still remaining subjugated to the ideas of modernity, progress, rationality. [123]

Chatterjee, in his study concerning anti-colonial nationalism, argues that nationalist discourse divides the world of social institutions and practices into two domains, which are the material-the outer and the spiritual-the inner domain. The material is the domain of the outside, of the economy and of state-craft, of science and technology. It is a domain, where the West proved its superiority and the East had succumbed. In this domain, Western superiority has been acknowledged. The spiritual domain, on the other hand, is an inner domain bearing the essential marks of cultural identity. He also adds that "the greater one's success in imitating Western

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[122] Partha Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question," in *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History*, ed. Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 238.

[123] Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought*, 36-53.

skills in the material domain, therefore, the greater the need to preserve the distinctness of one's spiritual culture".[124]

Chatterjee argues that nationalism declares the domain of the spiritual as its sovereign territory. It is the inner self and the inner domain, which represent the true identity of nation. In other words, questions of change and progress posed in Western attire are regarded as part of the outer aspect of Indian identity whereas the inner aspect of identity has to do with home and spirituality; and the figure of Woman was regarded the self and the 'us'.[125] This refers to the idea that the West and its ideals of material progress have to be assimilated selectively without any fundamental damage to the native and inner Indian self. The example of Indian nationalism makes use of the inner and outer distinction as a way of selectively coping with the West. Chatterjee points out that nationalism could neither ignore the West completely nor capitulate entirely.

3.3. Women in the Third World Context

The critical examinations of the complex intersections between feminism, colonialism and nationalism have been undertaken by Third World feminists. The Third World feminist scholars believe that the history of feminism was implicitly the history of white Western feminism, a narrative that excluded the struggles of women in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. This narrative was based upon definitions of feminism whose primary focus was the inequality of gender. They, therefore, emphasized the need for a focus that would take into account the

[124] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6.

[125] Ibid., 21.

intersections of the various systematic networks of class, race, sexuality and nation, which form structures of domination against which women struggle. Mohanty says:

> What I want to emphasize, however, is the urgent need for us to appreciate and understand the complex *relationality* that shapes our social and political lives. First and foremost this suggests relations of power, which anchor the "common differences" between and among the feminist politics of different constituencies of women and men. The relations of power I am referring to are not reducible to binary oppositions or oppressor/oppressed relations. I want to suggest that it is possible to retain the idea of multiple, fluid structures of domination which intersect to locate women differently at particular historical conjunctures [126]

From this analysis, it is important to note that the study of Third World women and the political activities of women's movements cannot be realized separately from "the multiple fluid structures of domination" because among these different arrangements, nationalism and especially anti-colonial nationalism occupies a significant place.

The feminist scholarship that has set out to explore the linkages between nationalism and gender has conceptualized the relationship as symbiotic: the nation upholds patriarchy while patriarchal gender systems provide a softening narrative for smoothing out nationalism's internal contradictions of time, space and identity. Anne McClintock, for example, observed that gender powerfully facilitates dual representation as both as advocate of tradition and as the vanguard of modern advancement. She defends the idea that this dilemma is resolved as natural division of gender with women serving as keepers of tradition and domestic continuity and with men as agents of the modern.[127]

In this respect, Deniz Kandiyoti points out that women's role in nationalism is more complex than it is expected. Kandiyoti suggests that on the one hand, nationalist movements appeal women to participate more fully in collective life by

[126] Mohanty, "Cartographies of Struggle," 13.

[127] McClintock, "Family Feuds," 66.

calling them as national actors namely as mothers, daughters educators, workers and even fighters, but on the other hand, they construct the boundaries of culturally acceptable feminine conduct and use pressure on women to articulate their gender interests within the terms decided by nationalist discourse.[128] The important point to note on the complexity of nationalist movements is that fighting alongside men to achieve independence does not provide a guarantee for women to be included as equal partners in the nationalist project.

Third World feminist literature examines how women's concerns are incorporated into the nationalist movements and state politics, asking whether women are "used" by nationalist movements during periods of mobilization and political struggle only to be discarded or pushed to the margins during later periods of state consolidation. This complexity becomes more evident in nationalist movements in the Third World countries. Kumari Jayawardena in her book *Feminism and Nationalism in Third World* argues, "Once independence had been achieved, male politicians who had consciously mobilized women in the struggle, pushed them back into their 'accustomed place'".[129] She argues that with the attainment of independence, the establishment of nation-states, women's movements in most of the Third World countries, either faded away or degenerated into social welfare organizations concerned with women's education, handicrafts and home care.[130]

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[128] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation." *Millenium*. 20:3 (1991), 433.

[129] Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986), 259.

[130] Ibid.

Similarly, Doria Cherifati-Merabtine argues that after the War of National Liberation in Algeria, women disappeared from the political and public scene. She calls this as the "delegitimization of heroines" and refers to the *moudjahidates*, who acted in the War as the symbols of the national liberation struggle.[131] Saraswati Sunindyo, in her analysis of Indonesian nationalism, points out that in times of national crisis, the traditional sexual division of labor may be dissolved through the encouragement and recruitment of women to participate in the war. In most examples, oncc the national crisis is over and before a new crisis emerges, both the rhetoric of equality and the representation of the nation used to mobilize women's participation in the national struggle are once again adjusted to fit another patriarchal model.[132]

On more general aspects of nationalism in the Third World, Jayawardena suggests that women signify a balance between tradition and modernity in the nation building process and in the formation of national identity in Third World countries. To put it differently, in many Third World countries, women had to show that they were the negation of everything, which was regarded as backward in the old society. This means, on the one hand, they would act as symbols representing the struggle to break off traditional constraints. For that reason, they would no longer be secluded, veiled and illiterate, but on the other hand, they still had to act as the guardians of national culture, family traditions and religion.[133]

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[131] Doria Cherifati- Merabtine. "Algeria at a Crossroads: National Liberation, Islamization and Women," in *Gender and National Identity*, ed. Valentine Moghadam (London: Zed Books, 1994), 53-54.

[132] Saraswati Sunindyo. "When the Earth is Female and the Nation is Mother: Gender, the Armed-Forces and Nationalism in Indonesia." *Feminist Review*. 58:1 (1998), 1-21.

[133] Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism*, 254-261.

Another important contribution has been made by Valentine Moghadam who focuses on gender and national identity in the Middle East. Moghadam points out that in many Middle Eastern countries, national struggles can mean the revival of traditional gender codes, which purify motherhood and celebrate male power. She identifies two types of revolutions, national liberation movements and state building projects from a gender-perspective: The emancipatory and the patriarchal.[134] In the emancipatory model, national liberation and the emancipation of women are of a piece and women's equality is equated with national development and progress. Such movements occurred within the context of the struggle against feudalism and backwardness and were some cases inspired by socialist ideals. Education, employment and unveiling were supported by the leadership in order to integrate women into the development of the country and thus, to accelerate the process of social change. In the patriarchal model however, all that is associated with the colonizer is rejected; religion culture and traditions are exalted. The construction or restoration of the rights of men or their empowerment is predicated upon the domestication of women. In the first model, men and women are constructed as equals in rights and obligations whereas in the second model, men and women are constructed as different in their rights and obligations. The former including the French Algerian and Iranian revolutions stresses sexual difference and relegates women to a subordinate status. The latter, including the Russian, South Yemen revolutions, is bound up with equality and the emancipation of women.[135]

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[134] Valentine Moghadam, *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), 69-97.

[135] Ibid.

With regard to the feminist studies concerning the relationships between gender and nationalism, there are also studies analyzing the role of nationalism. More specifically, these analyses pose the question whether or not nationalism is detrimental to the development of feminism. Feminists share the goal of national independence, which has the tendency to postpone feminist issues until after the attainment of the common goal: while feminists are encouraged to join nationalist movements, they are expected to accept the traditional division of labor.[136] On the other hand, the broader nationalist movements led by men contested the validity of women's claim to equality as being equally imperative and integral to the goals of the nationalist movement. If feminists attempt to raise feminist issues and to develop programs with the aim of taking changes in gender relations, they are faced with the warning that "now is not the time" and the accusation, both by men and women that they bring division and disunity in the nationalist struggle.[137]

For most Third World feminists in many Third world contexts, nationalism is connected to feminism, not only in the sense that nationalist movements often assisted in the birth of feminism but also nationalists and feminists collaborated in order to achieve a common role which was the nationalist independence. However, in this collaboration, male nationalists always regarded feminist agendas secondary; deferring their implementation until after the success of the nationalist struggle. In the process, Third World nationalists consistently exploited Third World feminists and feminist agendas were abandoned in the end. Thus, most contemporary Third

[136] Sherna Berger Gluck, "Shifting Sands: The Feminist Nationalist Connection in the Palestine Movement," in *Feminist Nationalism*, ed. Lois A.West (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 101-129.

[137] Ibid., 115-116; see also Norma Stoltz Chincilla, "Nationalism, Feminism and Revolution in Central America," in *Feminist Nationalism*, 201-219; Lynn M. Kwiatkowski and Lois A.West, "Feminist Struggles for Feminist Nationalism in the Philippines," in *Feminist Nationalism*, 147-168.

world feminists are skeptical of nationalism and some Third World feminists seek to eliminate nationalism from feminist discourse.[138]

3.4. Specific Dimensions of Gendered Nationalism

As formulated by Chatterjee's distinction between the "inner" and the "outer" domain, the ambivalence of the Third World nationalism brings a big burden on women because they remain in a place between modernity and tradition. The result of this ambiguity is the fact that most nationalist ideologies in the Third World incorporate both traditionalist and modernist elements. They are traditionalist because they derive the legitimacy of nation from their own culture and they defend the idea of protecting their national culture. They are modernist because they aim to promote the social and economic betterment of the nation.

This dichotomy is very well reflected in the position of women. To put it differently, views of gender and norms and practices affecting women are seen as central in this dichotomy between two cultures. On the one hand, women, as a part of the collectivity, are given the duty of representing the modernist projects but at the same time, they hold the primary responsibility of maintaining the traditional values to make the difference against the West visible. The basic difference has been constructed through their bodies. The image of woman within the new discourse of modernity as "modern yet modest" is an important feature and "the boundary

[138] The majority of Third World Feminists who address the issue of nationalism tend to be critical. See Caren Kaplan, Norma Alarcón and Moallem Minoo, eds., "Introduction: Between Woman and Nation," in *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalism, Transnational Feminism and the State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 1-16; Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), Ranjoo Seadu Herr, "The Possibility of Nationalist Feminism." *Hypatia*. 18:3 (2003), 160; Geraldine Heng, "A Great Way to Fly," 30-45.

between modernity and modesty is of necessity a socially defined and fluid one that leaves the woman herself in a perpetual state of uncertainty". [139]

In this section, I will try to illustrate the position of women and the burden they represent with regard to some specific dimensions, which explain the different ways in which women are imagined as gendered national subjects. The examples that I will use will be meaningful in brightening how nationalism is gendered and in what ways women are made gendered national subjects.

3.4.1 Women as Objects of Nationalist Discourse

The status of woman has occupied an important place in political discourses and agendas in what constitutes the Third World. As argued by Çağatay and Nuhoğlu-Soysal, in these countries in which political regimes categorize from secularist to religious fundamentalist, from military dictatorship to civilian and from capitalist to socialist, women have been the symbol of struggles over national identity, representation of cultural authenticity, reform and development.[140] In the nation-state formation, women become the markers of political goals and of cultural identity during processes of nation-state building. Women have been also utilized by political leaders as the objects of nationalist discourse after the establishment of the nation-state. Political agendas stressed the importance of women's rights in the

[139] Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran," in *Women, Islam and the State*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (London: Macmillan Press, 1991), 66.

[140] Nilüfer Çağatay and Yasemin Nuhoğlu-Soysal, "Comparative Observations on Feminism and the Nation-Building Process," in *Women in Modern Turkish Society*, ed. Şirin Tekeli (London: Zed Books, 1995), 264.

process of radical social transformation and women's legal and political rights have always been an integral part of struggles for national liberation and unity.[141]

It is said that the reforms concerning women's status and women's rights are important in terms of taking legitimacy to newly formed states. Additionally, all the changes brought by the inauguration of these reforms in the realm of gender are important indicators of the break with the old regime. However, these changes need not always be progressive or modernists. The group, who takes the power, differentiates their ideologies from the old ones by restructuring women's position in the society.[142] In many Middle Eastern countries, women are treated as the identifier of political ideologies. In the early twentieth century, intellectuals in Iran, Turkey and Egypt all debated the issue of women within the context of modernity including technological progress, secularism, the rule of law and women's emancipation. The position of women was taken into account as an instrument, which illustrates the modernity of the society.

The Iranian case brings important clues in terms of understanding the role of women in nationalist projects. In Iran in the twentieth century, nationalism provided the context in which women's position was seen as an important social issue. In Iranian political discourses whether secular or Islamic, women were regarded as being central to the future of the nation because of their biological reproducers, educators of children, transmitters of culture and participants in national life. All three states established by Reza Shah Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi and the Islamic Republic linked women's social and political status to the status of the

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid.

nation and they placed gender policies at the heart of their programs for national development and independence.[143]

In Iran when Reza Shah took power in a military coup in February 1921, he wanted to transform Iran from a dependent, backward society to a modern independent society. Like men, women were expected to contribute to the building of the new society. For that reason, many reforms included unveiling, provision of free education and the opening up of employment opportunities for women. In all these reforms, his main aim was to create a modern nation and women. In one of his speeches, he says:

> Women in this country (prior to this day of unveiling) could not demonstrate their aptitude and inherent qualities because they remained outside of society, they could not make their proper contribution to the country and make appropriate sacrifices and render their services. Now they can proceed and enjoy other advantages of society in addition to the remarkable task of motherhood…I believe that for the happiness and progress of this country, we all must work sincerely; there will be progress if government employees work, the country needs effort and work…now that you my daughters and sisters, have entered the social arena …you must know that it is your duty to work for your country. Future prosperity is in your hands.[144]

The quotation exemplifies the meaning attributed to women by different political ideologies. Reza Shah, in his speeches, emphasized clearly that women had to "go out" in order to realize services for their nation because women were mainly regarded as being responsible of the future of the Iranian state as a modern nation-state. On the one hand, women were expected to be politically and socially active but on the other hand, they had to know how to be good 'people' by being 'good wives' and 'good mothers'.

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[143] For different analyses on women in Iran, see Nayereh Tohidi, "Modernity, Islamization and Women in Iran," in *Gender and National Identity*, 110-147, Najmabadi, "Hazards of Modernity", 48-76; Parvin Paidar, "Feminism and Islam in Iran," in *Gendering the Middle East,* ed., Deniz Kandiyoti (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1996), 51-67; Fariba Adelkhah, *La Révolution Sous le Voile* (The Revolution Under the Veil) (Paris: Karthala, 1991); Nahid Yeganeh, "Women, Nationalism and Islam in Contemporary Political Discourse in Iran." *Feminist Studies*.44 (Summer 1993), 3-17.

[144] Quoted in Najmabadi, "Hazards of Modernity", 54.

The Revolution of 1979 brought a new responsibility to Iranian women, which was actually not very different from the previous period. During the rule of Reza Shah, women were regarded as representatives of a modern nation-state however, after the Revolution of 1979, there was another image of woman, the mode of Islamic women. According to this new image, whereas the traditional woman's image was being portrayed as old-fashioned, ignorant and irrelevant, the modern women's image was considered to be "Westoxicated", meaning to be under the negative influence of Western culture. It was believed that the "Westoxicated woman" was considered as a primary vehicle through which imperialism succeeded in the implementations of its plots.[145] The concept of *gharbzadegi*, which means westoxication, rejected completely the *gharbzadeh* woman, which came to embody all the social ills: she was a super-consumer of imperialist/capitalist/ foreign goods. She was not only a propagator of the corrupt culture of the West but she was also undermining the morality of the society. [146] Against this Westoxication, which was responsible for the degeneration of the moral fabric of the society, it was important to reconstruct the Islamic model of womanhood.

In this respect, the Revolution of 1979 gave a prominent place to women defining them as both mothers as citizens and regarded the establishment of an Islamic nation as dependent of islamization of women's position. The main component of this ideal Islamic woman was her opposition to Western values. The new regime attempted to hold them up as the "moral guides of the Islamic nation" and to convince the Iranian women that their particularistic claim as mothers

[145] Tohidi, "Modernity, Islamization and Women in Iran", 120-132; Elham Gheytanchi, "Civil Society in Iran: Politics of Motherhood and the Public Sphere." *International Sociology*. 16:4 (2001), 557-576.

[146] Najmabadi, "Hazards of Modernity," 64-65.

constitutes the core of the moral premises on which the idea of nation is based. The Constitution claimed that the new Islamic society would value women as the upholders of the family and the nation and give them the right to fulfill their natural instincts as well as participate in social life.

The "Woman Question" and the position of women were attributed ideological meanings in these two periods. The Iranian modernist discourses criticized the absence of women from the public and it emphasized the importance of transformation of this absence into her unveiled public presence. The Islamic counter-discourse, however, considered the modern transformations as symbolizing the loss of Islamic identity of the female through the absence of her Islamic marker, her veil. The unveiled visible woman was viewed as both a reflection of Western attacks on indigenous culture and as the means by which the attack were carried out. [147]In both stages, which have different ideological bases, woman was attributed different ideological meanings but always she became the tool for the construction of national identity.

3.4.2. Educating the Mind and Reconstructing the Patriarchy

The education of women was important in nationalist terms because education not only made it possible for women to envisage constituting a new female self through mass literacy, but it also became possible to argue that if the backward nation could become equal with Europe through modern sciences, the backward woman could become equal to the man in a similar way.[148] For that

[147] Moghadam, "Gender, National Identity and Citizenship," 41-70.

[148] Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Veiled Discourse-Unveiled Bodies." *Feminist Studies*. 19:3 (1993), 487-518.

reason, the backwardness of woman, which symbolized the backwardness of the nation, had to be remedied through the education of women.

Women's education was perceived as the most fundamental step in transforming the society and in eliminating social and cultural practices oppressive to women. It was of crucial importance for the nation's quest for civilization. However, although it might have given some opportunities to women in terms of their involvement into political and social activities, it did not dissolve the asymmetrical relations between men and women whose duties were explained in terms of domestic duties and motherhood. Although women's education was taken into consideration as an uncontroversial aspect of Western culture, women had to be also scientifically trained and educated to learn how to be modern wives and mothers. In a way, the education of women and educating mind did not result in the dissolution of patriarchy, defined as a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women but on the contrary, it helped to reinforce and to reestablish patriarchal relations and patriarchal discourses.

The ambiguity of the Third Word nationalism becomes clearly visible with regard to women's education. In most of the Third World states, reformers gave importance to the education of women because the backwardness of women could not only retard society as a whole but it could form an obstacle for the process of the modernization of nation. The status of women was tied to the status of nation and education was regarded as the major instrument, which societies could use to direct the process of change and development towards desired goals.

The new modern woman would be distinct from her traditional counterpart, which was projected as ignorant. The modern woman, on the other hand, was described as being schooled in modern sciences, educated and enlightened. The

centrality of education and the importance of science were crucial in redefining womanhood and claiming a place for women in the new public and political domains. Although the aims of education were to give women a certain measure of independence by the elimination of oppressive measures and to make them involved into social and political rights, women's roles were defined with regard to the needs of family collectivity. This is well expressed by the saying of Mahatma Ghandi "Educate a man, you educate an individual; educate a woman, you educate a family".[149]

This ambiguity can be clearly seen in the example of Egypt, which was the first to experience direct domination when British Forces occupied it in 1882. National Independence was regarded as a response to Western domination and for the realization of this aim, it was important to reform and to revitalize the society. The improvement of women's position constituted an important part of this reform. Indeed, since the end on the nineteenth century, Egyptian nationalists declared, "there can be no improvement of the state of the nation without improving the position of women".[150]

In Egypt, during the revolution of 1919 against the British forces and its aftermath, it was affirmed that women were men's equals in intellectual capabilities and as proof of women's intelligence, they pointed to female scientists and inventors[151] but it should be also noted that education was identified firstly with the

[149] Quoted in Uma Shankarjha and Premlata Pujari, eds., *Indian Women Today: Tradition, Modernity and Social Changes* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 1996), 83.

[150] Thomas Philipp, "Feminism and Nationalist Politics in Egypt," in *Women in the Muslim World*, ed. Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978), 277.

[151] Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society and the Press* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 122.

education of mother. The writings of male proponents such as *Quasim Amin* who was a central figure played a significant role in the debates about woman question in Egypt. *Amin*, in his book written in 1899 *Tharir al Mar'a* (The Emancipation of Woman), advocated the education for woman and he thought that education was the only means for women to enable them to fulfill properly their functions in society and family. Although he suggested that a woman should be prepared for some profession through education for a higher status, he favored a domestic vocation for her.[152] In one of his articles, he asked the question of "How could any people hope for progress if their women who constitute the first teachers and educators of their children are captive in the realm of ignorance?"[153]

The argument that evolved was that the basis of society was the family unit; within that unit, woman played the most important role as mother and wife. If society was to be regenerated, liberated and made progressive, it was the woman's position that had to be improved first. It was believed that only if she were educated and liberated, she in turn could educate her children to be members of a free society.[154] The idea that to educate a mother was to educate the nation was infused into the nationalist discourse as part of the struggle to free itself of colonial domination. In other words, the education of women was a component of the

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[152] Ibid., 4.

[153] Quoted in Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, ed. Lila Abu-Lughod (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 103.

[154] Philipp, "Feminism and Nationalist Politics," 277-294.

modernity of the society but at the same time it was put to the service of elevating women's family roles, especially that of mother.

Many writers of the time defended the argument that Egypt could not develop the educated male population essential for its progress without educating those who cared them. They drew on the findings of modern science to emphasize the importance of the mother in shaping the infant's character and maintaining his health. Writers also declared that an educated woman would make a better companion for her husband. [155]This illustrates the fact that the Egyptian woman was seen as a member of a social unit, the family and her right to education was based primarily on the requirements of tasks within this social unit, not her potential capacities.

After the 1919 Revolution, in Egypt, as more girls attended school, discussion focused on what they should be taught and it was argued that the curriculum in girl's schools should differ from the boy's schools as to prepare female students for their lives as wives, mothers and keepers of the home. In one of the books written in 1920, it was emphasized that both sexes should have the same academic curriculum but girls should receive additional instruction on domestic issues [156] so in a way, the education of women should be in harmony with their domestic and familial duties.

The example of Egypt shows that education functioned as an important constituent facilitating the participation of women into the public life. Women were

[155] Beth Baron, "Mothers, Morality and Nationalism in Pre-1919 Egypt," in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, ed. Rashid Khalidi et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 271-291; Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt*, 122-126.

[156] Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 63-64.

allowed different opportunities for educational advancement. This had an impact on upper and middle-class women leading to their participation in the public and social life but more importantly, these educational opportunities were used in reconstituting patriarchal practices. As Deniz Kandiyoti points out "What, if anything, singles out Middle Eastern reformers is the relentless search for local roots for their reformist ideals and the reference they make to a "tradition" that better approximates their modernist vision than do the current arrangements in their societies".[157] To put it differently, there was not any intention to lead woman out of her potential into more public arena of positions and professions. In this sense, education helped to reconstitute patriarchal practices.

In a similar way, in India, in the national movement which can be said to have started with the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the process of nation-building and the creation of a national identity were paralleled by the growth of social reform movements focusing on women's issues. The primary concern of the early Indian nationalists and reformers was with the status of Indian women. During the early phase of the nationalist movement, the need to construct a model of the new woman was realized by the nationalist leaders. The nationalist leaders realized that 'a new woman' was to adapt to the changing external situation and the contradictory pulls of modern ideas while still retaining her spiritual role in the family.

Since the status of women in society was the popular barometer of civilization, many reformers agitated for legislation that would improve their situation. Statements about the importance of Indian women's education were made

[157] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Some Awkward Questions on Women and Modernity in Turkey," in *Remaking Women,* 271.

by nationalists throughout India. It was argued that women's education was necessary for them to fulfill their roles as wives and mothers. It was suggested that "India needs nobly trained wives and mothers, wise and tender rulers of the household, educated teachers of the young […] Education was a birthright and those who denied it to women robbed themselves and the nation, for Indian women were mothers of the nation".[158] As it can be understood from this quotation, the education of women was an important necessity for woman because the priority was given to the place of women as mothers in national life.

3.4.3. Women's Bodies and Sexuality

Nationalism is based upon the invention/the construction/the imagination of a nation and this idea of nation is explained by the existence of 'any other' and 'others', which plays a significant role in the reinforcement of the nation. As it has been pointed out, "both ethnic and national collectivities are constructed around boundaries that separate the world into "us" versus "them".[159] In this representation of 'difference' between nations, women's bodies and sexuality become matters of prime national interest and they acquire a symbolic meaning in different ways in this inclusion and exclusion.

It is significant to explore these ways in which the nation is sexually constructed and how women's bodies and sexuality are nationalized. It is possible to speak of four major points in the examination of the particular ways in which

[158] Quoted in Aparna Basu, "Feminism and Nationalism in India, 1917-1947." *Journal of Women's History*. 7:4 (1995), 99.

[159] Nira Yuval-Davis and Marcel Stoetzler, "Imagined Boundaries and Borders: A Gendered Gaze." *The European Journal of Women Studies*. 9:3 (2002), 329-344. In order to illustrate the construction of boundaries of the separation of 'us' versus 'others', Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler are giving the example of the German nation whose borders were drawn so as to exclude Jews by the Nazis, 330.

sexuality intersect with nation. The first issue is the use of women's bodies as a metaphor in revealing different ideological positions. Secondly, the central importance of women's bodies becomes apparent when one considers their reproductive roles. Thirdly, the notion of honor which is assumed to be the honor of society is closely connected with the protection of women's sexuality. Finally, rape illustrates how women's bodies become the battlefield in the nationalist ideologies.

Representations of women's bodies assume political significance and certain images of women describe different political groups, cultural projects or ethnic communities. As it is put, women's bodies are the contested domain on which men construct their political regimes.[160] Connected with the ambiguity in the Third World nationalism, women's bodies and sexualities have been used as powerful political symbols of modernity and tradition. The high visibility and influence of women have been taken into the consideration as a reflection of the country's modernist outlook.[161]

It is possible to explore the ideological meaning attributed to women's bodies with regard to the issue of veiling. In many Muslim countries, the unveiled woman has signified modernity, progress and development while the veiled and domesticated woman symbolized the search for authenticity, cultural revival and reproduction of the group. [162] As Farzaneh Milani observes, women dominate the

[160] Tessie Lui, "Race and Gender in the Politics of Group Formation." *Frontiers*. 12:2 (1991), 155-165.

[161] The use of female bodies as a part of the social and political projects of modernity has been discussed in many studies such as Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* ; Beth Baron, "Unveiling in Early Twentieth Century Egypt: Practical and Symbolic Considerations." *Middle Eastern Studies*. 25 (1989), 370-386; Najmabadi, "Veiled Discourse", 487-518; Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents", 429-443.

[162] Moghadam, "Gender, National Identity and Citizenship," 44-45.

cultural imaginary by becoming emblems of national identity: "Forcefully unveiled, they personify the modernization of the nation. Compulsorily veiled, they personify the reinstitution of Islamic order".[163]

The Iranian case can be a good example in terms of offering important data to make a comparison between two different regimes. In 1936, Reza Shah banned the veil as part of his project of modernizing the country. The unveiling was regarded as a first step in granting women their rights. All the women who were veiled were arrested and their veils were removed. The issue of veiling, *hejab* became a major arena of conflict between the forces of modernity and Islamic authenticity. Between 1941 and 1979, wearing *hejab* was no longer an offense but it was still an emblem of backwardness. After the 1979 Revolution, *hejab* became compulsory.[164]

In many Islamic countries for example in both Egypt and Turkey, with the nation building process, there are depictions of veiled women as passive and unveiled women as active who become visible in every sphere of public life and especially in the nationalist movements. These new images are not related with the changing gender roles but rather they become central at the representations of the politics of modernity as well as they become powerful signifiers in the course of nationalism. Shick clarifies this point as follows:

> A photograph of an unveiled woman was not much different from one of a tractor, an industrial complex, or a new railroad; it still merely symbolized yet another one of men's achievements. Once again reduced to mere objects, women were, in these images, at the service of a political discourse conducted by men and by women. [165]

[163] Farzaneh Milani, *Veils and Words: The Emerging Voices of Iranian Women Writers* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 4.

[164] Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Women and Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran," in *Women and Politics in the Third World*, ed. Halef Afshar (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 142-170.

[165] Irvin Schick, "Representing Middle Eastern Women: Feminism and Colonial Discourse." *Feminist Studies*. 16:2 (1990), 369. Quoted in Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents", 432.

The centrality of women's bodies in the nationalist discourse comes not only from the ideological meaning attributed to them but also from their reproductive roles. Since the reproduction means the reproduction of the future members of the nation, only pure and chaste women could reproduce the nation. Women are figured as the biological and cultural reproducers of the nation and as pure and modest. Men defend the national image and protect the nation's territory, women's purity, modesty and the moral code. Thus, women are represented as the nation's social and biological womb and men as its protectors. As argued by Mayer, "only pure and modest women can re-produce the pure nation; without purity in biological reproduction, the nation clearly cannot survive." [166]

Since the nation is a male construct, women are generally regarded as the nation's properties and women's bodies are the nation's own. This necessitated another time the control of women's sexuality by men. Turner says "to control women's bodies is to control their personalities and represents an act of authority over the body in the interests of the public order organized around male values what is rational".[167]

Since every society has to reproduce its members, uncontrolled sexual activity or unreproductive sexual activity is threat to social order.[168] That is why

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[166] Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism", 7.

[167] At this point, it is worth to mention Turner's theory, which emphasized that the body as socially constructed and which equated the study of the sociology of the body to the study of the problem of social order, which can be organized around four issues. They are the regulation and reproduction of populations in time and space and the restraint and the representation of the body as the vehicle of the self. The body is involved in these processes. As Turner suggest the control of women's bodies is important in terms of constructing the social order. See Bryan Turner, *The Body and Society: Explorations in Social Theory* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 197.

[168] Ibid., 38.

controlling and regulating sexuality become primary idioms through which national identity is articulated. Reproduction is culturally constructed and fertility is approved by the nation's subjects and their leaders as a sign of both national wealth and strength.[169] The politics of family planning or abortion are indicative in terms of the control of women's sexuality.

This could be best reflected in the independence of India, which came into the existence by the partition of the country into two, India and Pakistan. In the violence that followed the partition, more than 75 000 women were abducted and raped by men of religions different from their own. [170]The two states were made aware of the problem of missing women through reports filled by their families, they swung into action and set up committees made up of social workers whose task was to go into each other country's and to find out abducted women. On the Indian side, the operation to recover abducted women was known as the Central Recovery Operation but women did not want to come back because they feared that they would not be accepted by their natal families and they would be seen to have become polluted after sexual contact with men of the other religion. [171]

The law that was promulgated (The Abducted Persons Recovery and Restoration Ordinance, which later became a law) did not allow women a choice. It took as its basis a very questionable premise; recovered women were to be returned to their natural homeland, which was defined as the country of their religion. Thus, Hindu and Sikh women were to be brought back to India and Muslim women were

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[169] Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism," 7.

[170] Urvashi Butalia "Gender and Nation: Some Reflections from India," in *From Gender to Nation*, 107.

[171] Ibid.

to be sent to Pakistan. It did not matter that they might actually have been living in what became the other country-they had to be sent back to the proper nation, the proper community and the proper family.[172]

In the Indian case, women did not want to come back to India because they had now children and they were unwilling to leave them. This was regarded as the loss of their women to the men of the other nation. This paved the way to the emergence of anxiety among Hindu men who considered themselves as weak of not having protected their women. For men who were involved in the process of creating the nation, the loss of their women to the men of the other religion, represented a big failure on their part to hold on their own. At that time, India was represented and imagined in female terms, as Mother India and the Partition as a severing of her body.[173]If the body of nation could not be recovered, at least that of its women could. This was possible if woman was alone but if she had with her a child of a mixed union, they had to be separated from their children or to have abortions in order to get rid off the symbols of impurity.[174] The example of India represents the control of women's bodies and sexualities through the politics of abortion and it mirrors the locating of honor of the nation within the bodies of women.

Since the nation is a form of identity and at the same time of difference, the idea of nation can be described by the existence of a community, which considers itself as separate from the other communities. As it is suggested, community is

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[172] Ibid., 108. See also Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voice from the Partition of India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); and Ritu Menon and Kamla Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India's Partition* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1999).

[173] Butalia, "Gender and Nation," 109.

[174] Ibid.

symbolically constructed as a system of values, norms and moral codes which provides a sense of identity within a bounded whole to its members. Anthony Cohen explains the term community as follows:

> A reasonable interpretation of the word's use would seem to imply two related suggestions: that the members of a group of people have something in common with each other, which distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups. 'Community' thus seems to imply simultaneously both similarity and difference. The word thus expresses a *relational* idea: the opposition of one community to others or to other social entities. Indeed, it will be argued that the use of the word is only occasioned by the desire or need to express such a distinction. It seems appropriate, therefore, to focus our examination of the nature of community on the element, which embodies this sense of discrimination, namely, the *boundary*.[175]

In the symbolic construction of nation, female sexuality becomes expressive in defining the boundaries between 'us' and 'others'. The use of women's bodies is important in drawing the symbolic border. Sex and women's bodies become part of the material for the construction of group boundaries. Sexuality is often seen as the vulnerable link in maintaining nationalized boundaries. The notion of 'honor' acquires a symbolic role in this respect. It becomes important for nationalist men to control their own women's sexual behaviors and domestic lives. The burden of representation on women of the collectivity's identity has also brought the construction of women as the bearer's of the collectivity's honor. Women have been responsible of symbolizing the honor of the nation and men of protecting it. Men have not only controlled women's bodies and sexuality but also all their behaviors, their actions.

The idea of honor places on women codes of modesty and they are expected to be modest and chaste. The terms of purity and chastity constitute important parts in national narratives of nation and sexuality. 'Our women' are expected to be chaste and moral while 'theirs' are considered as immoral or unchaste. Women, who fail to represent the honor by loosing their chastity, are subject to violence and honor

[175] Anthony P.Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Routledge, 1985), 12.

crimes whose the number is incredibly significant in many parts of Middle East and North Africa.

Although women's active presence and participation in the nationalist project symbolize the modernity and the civilized nature of the society in the modernization process, nationalist movements structure national and sexual identities by using tradition not only as a source of national identity but also as a way of differentiating between the indigenous culture of the nation and the influence of the alien imperial culture. Women in particular are seen as the keepers of the traditional culture that has the effect of circumscribing women in specific roles and protecting them from the outside influences.

The protection of honor and the control of women's sexuality necessitate the asexualization of women. In order to preserve the honor of their nation, women are expected to get rid off their sexualities. The asexualization of women is expressed by Najmabadi who defends the idea that in Iran, although the physical veil was discarded, it was replaced by an invisible metaphoric veil; *hijab-ı iffat* (veil of chastity). She says:

> When the female voice found a public audience, it became a veiled voice, a disciplined voice. Erasing or replacing its sexual markers, it sanitized itself. The female language and more generally the language of modernity, produced is own veiling by removing and replacing sexually marked vocabulary. In the homosocial female space, language and body could be sexually overt; stepping into the heterosocial world of modernity was coterminous with the construction of a disciplined female language and body. [176]

As this quotation explains, women are to be asexualized in order to protect the honor of the nation. This point brings us to the fourth aspect of the relevance of women's sexualities to nationalism, rape. Rape is seen as a systematic attempt to extinguish the identity of women. It is explained in terms of the perception of

[176] Najmabadi, "Veiled Discourse," 489.

women's body as belonging to a nation. The metaphor of rape to represent national humiliation reveals, "how deeply ingrained has been the depiction of the homeland as a female body whose violation by foreigners requires its citizens and allies to rush to her defense".[177]

The personification of nature as female translates easily to that of nations as woman. Since the nation has been regarded as a female adored and feminine spaces are to be caressed and nurtured but in the case of 'others', it has been regarded as a female which has to be raped. The female bodies as part of the collective body are considered as being in danger of violations by foreign males. [178]

The common masculine discourse suggests that 'their' women are to be protected while the 'other's' women are either constructed as objects of rape or other forms of gendered punishments. The rape of the body/nation not only violates frontiers but it also disrupts by planting alien seed of destroying reproductive viability. [179]The act of raping the other's women is a violation of territorial integrity. Raping degrades a nation's symbol of fertility and it prevents physically its existence by blocking its continuity.

Rape as a violation of the nation and as an act against the collective men of the enemy's becomes significant in symbolizing the impotency of nation's men and in representing a threat to male honor.[180] This has been recently demonstrated in the

[177] Andrew Parker et al., eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 6.

[178] See Mostov, " Sexing the Nation," 90-92.

[179] Spike Peterson, "Gendered Nationalism." *Peace Review*. 6:1, 1994, 80.

[180] Mostov, "Sexing the Nation", 92-96.

wars that accompanied the breaking up of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia does not fit to the category of the Third World but it remains crucial in any study concerning the relationship between rape and nationalism. The sexual violence against women was interpreted as an assault to the nation itself and as a way of humiliating the woman's male protector. This is well reflected in one of the article established in one of the Serbian journal, as follows:

> The Albanian separatists are inflicting on us the greatest dishonor by raping our sisters and mothers, by assaulting our young children. Are we-the nation that destroyed the Ottoman Empire, that broke apart the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that united the South Slavs-are we really going to stand for this?[181]

Mass rapes such as those reported by women in Bosnia are about the invasion of the Other's boundaries (the occupation of his symbolic space, property and territory) and the violation of his 'manhood'. This understanding, which is common in Croatia and Bosnia, accepts the linkage of manhood and nation character with the ability to protect one's woman/nation.[182] It is not wrong to suggest that rape represents the sexually coded language of nationalism and it shows how women's bodies are used in the service of nationalist ideology.

When nation, gender and sexuality intersect, the body becomes an important marker-even a boundary – for the nation. In the hierarchical relationship between masculinity and feminity when men control the proper behavior of women, in effect they control women's bodies and sexuality because women's bodies represent the purity of the nation and thus are guarded heavily by men, an attack on these bodies become an attack on the nation's men.

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[181] Quoted in Wendy Bracewell, "Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism*. 6:4 (2000), 572.

[182] Mostov, "Sexing the Nation," 96; see also Julie Mostov, "Our women/Their Women": Symbolic Boundaries, Territorial Markers and Violence in the Balkans." *Peace and Change*. 20:4 (1995), 515-529.

3.4.4. Motherhood

Notions of the ideal society are often linked to the notion of the ideal woman.[183] The family is often regarded as a microcosm of the ideal society and of the ideal moral order. As such, it has the symbolic value to a nation. The family provided the perfect environment for women and men to fulfill their 'natural roles' whereby women are seen as 'the mothers of the nation'. It has been pointed out that nations have been imagined through the metaphors of the family thereby replicating the patriarchy.[184]

In different cases, motherhood is taken into consideration as the primary duty of women. Most importantly, it is regarded as a national duty. The representation of motherhood enables women to align their domestic roles to the nationalist cause. The idea of motherhood is quite important because the role of women as 'mothers' is significant in terms of the fact that women souls indoctrinate members of the family with the values of nationalism. Motherhood is regarded as a woman not only loving and caring for their children but also producing healthy progeny. Woman has to undertake the task of educating her family to be the future and enlightened citizens.

The glorification of motherhood and the importance of being mothers for the construction of national identity became visible in different cases. This is best illustrated in the case of India. The British criticized early motherhood, a result of child marriages, as both a cause and result of the depraved nature of Indian men. To counter these attacks, a sanctified image of the mother was projected to convey to the British the idea of a strong civilization. Motherhood was projected as a woman

[183] Hanna Papanek, "The Ideal Woman and the Ideal Society: Control and Autonomy in Construction of Identity," in *Identity Politics and World Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*, ed. Valentine Moghadam (Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), 42-76.

[184] Geoff Eley, "Culture, Nation and Gender," in *Gendered Nations,* 32.

not only loving or caring for her children but also producing healthy progeny. It entailed the idea of the mother as the "race nourisher". She had also to undertake the task of educating her progeny to be the future, enlightened citizens of India. The responsibility of the mother toward the general populace is expressed in the literature as well. In one of the poems, it is said:

> Only those mothers will be forever happy in society
> Who will fight illiteracy and show the light of knowledge,
> Who will remove unhappiness and jealously,
> And lay the grounds for a peaceful existence with their holy arrow[185]

This poem illustrates well the fact that in the Indian nationalism, women were regarded as being responsible to the nation and were serving the nationalist cause by producing and training ideal citizens.

Even though it is used in limited contexts, especially in the Yugoslavian successor states, the concept of "patriotic motherhood"[186] used for describing the meaning attributed to women in post-socialist states is relevant to many cases in this study. The patriotic motherhood entails to the idea that the main duty of women is to be good mothers and to raise and educate children which would be the future members of the nation and which would be helpful for the national progress. Secondly, motherhood is primarily a patriotic role because women have to uphold traditional values. This notion of patriotic motherhood can be seen in the Yugoslavia and post-Yugoslavia. All the Post-Yugoslav nationalists expected women to accomplish their duty towards the nation and bear more children. Their constitutions protect women as 'mothers' and address them as guardians of ethnic purity and the basis for the existence and maintenance of the group.

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[185] This poem was written by Vaidnath Misra in 1922 and it is quoted in Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, "The Domestic Sphere as a Political Site: A study of Women in the Indian Nationalist Movement." *Women's Studies International Forum*. 20:4 (1997), 498.

[186] Wendy Bracewell, "Women, Motherhood and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism." *Women's Studies International Forum*. 19:1-2 (1996), 25-33.

When the autonomy of Kosovo within Serbia was institutionalized by the Constitution of 1974 giving the Albanian majority wide rights, this was perceived by Serb nationalists as threat to the Serbian nation because of the high rates among Albanians in Kosovo.[187] Most importantly, the high birthrate was described as the product of a plan to squeeze the Serbs out of Kosovo. In the conduct of this plan, Serbian women were regarded as having neglected their duties toward the nation and the blame was placed on Serbian women because of the low birth rate. In the nationalist construction of the image of the Serbian nation, the Others are considered Albanians who have "too many children".[188]

Whether explicitly or implicitly, this concerns non-Albanian (Serbian or Macedonian) women. Serbian women are described as not having enough children so the Serbian nation is threatened with extinction.[189] Since the early 1980s, the emotive term "white death" or "white plague" (*bela kuga*) has been widely used in order to describe the pattern of low birth rate. Nationalist ideology emphasized women's responsibility for the biological and cultural reproduction of the nation. In the Serbian case, women were responsible for the impact of the "white plague" shirking their responsibility to reproduce the nation out of selfishness. It was

[187] Ibid., 26.

[188] Ibid., 27.

[189] Mirjana Morokvašic, "The Logics of Exclusion: Nationalism, Sexism and the Yugoslav War," in *Gender, Ethnicity and Political Ideologies*, eds. Nickie Charles and Helen Hintjens (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 76. The role of women in the Former Yugoslavia and the degration of women in nationalism in that period was studied by Andjelka Milić, "Women and Nationalism in the Former Yugoslavia," in *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, ed. Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller (New York: Routledge, 1993), 109-122.

suggested that Serbian women did not wish to bear children because of their modish and narcissistic ambitions and because of that, they disregard their motherhood.[190]

Like Serbia, in Croatia, women are symbolized through motherhood through intense public usage of metaphors such as "Croatian Mother" or "Mother Croatia". Within the first year of existence, the Croatian state launched its "*Program of Demographic and Spiritual Renewal*". The main aim of this program was to promote a pro-natalist, pro-life, ethnically oriented population growth. According to this program, women's role was to be "mother-nurturer" and men's role was "guarantor of the family's and nation's well-being". [191]Women are called upon to fill their role as biological reproducers-mothers of nation of its members. This occurs by way of various state policies and through public discourse, including public population growth campaigns, which stated, "Every Croatian woman should give birth at least to four new Croats".[192] The streetcars carried posters: "each unborn baby is an unborn Croat" whereas after a political meeting, there was a strong emphasis for Croats to "go home and make a new Croat". [193]

The idea of motherhood is used as a politicized manner especially in the moment of nationalist crisis or in the building of nation. The Palestinian case offers important clues in terms of understanding how the symbolical meaning of motherhood has been used in a different way. The family and the home have become a place where much of the power struggle between the Israeli army and resisting

[190] Bracewell, "Women, Motherhood and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism," 27.

[191] Vesna Kesić, "Gender and Ethnic Identities in Transition," in *From Gender to Nation*, 78.

[192] Ibid., 65.

[193] Morokvašic, "The Logics of Exclusion: Nationalism, Sexism and the Yugoslav War," 65.

Palestinians has taken place. The family was no more a private sphere but it became a major arena for the political and nationalist discourse. The Palestinian family has become politicized. Before the Occupation, motherhood was confined to home but the Occupation and the Intifada have assigned public obligation to mothering. Motherhood in the Palestinian context no longer means simply biologically reproducing the next generations of Palestinians, rearing children or just building the social, psychological and economic well-being of children.[194]

After the Occupation, motherhood meant also politicizing children at an early age, supporting their national flight, defending them from the Israeli soldiers and being visible in the streets. It is noted that Palestinian women spend more time than men in the streets, confronting and sometimes negotiating with soldiers as a way of protecting their children. It is suggested that Palestinian women give the idea of nationalized resonance in the sentences below: "This is my duty as a mother to protect the children from the hands of soldiers, from the enemy".[195]

It is also mentioned that Palestinian mothers have become symbols of nationalism, sacrifice and strength. This has appeared more clearly in the funerals of their children where they expressed their grief and they have become more politicized by saying "if before my daughter's death I could not only think about my work and my feeding her and her brothers, now I want to continue what she and other *shaheeds* started. I want to hold unto this land ever harder […] it is the blood of the *shaheeds* that paves my national path". [196]

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[194] Tamar Mayer, "Heightened Palestinian Nationalism: Military Occupation, Repression, Difference and Gender," in *Women and Israeli Occupation: The Politics of Change*, ed. Tamar Mayer (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 78.

[195] Ibid.

[196] Ibid.

In all these examples, it is possible to understand how the idea of 'motherhood' has been used in different ways in the formation of national identity and in the spread of national feelings and in the development of national unity.

3.4.5. Both of and Not of the Nation

While women are given a special symbolic status in relation to the nation, they are often excluded from the collective 'we' of the body politics and they retain an object rather than a subject position. [197] This means that although women are members of the community, they are not considered as equal political subjects in national contexts. Women's rights were not conceived of as "part of the problematic of civil liberties and individual rights" but rather "were formulated within the framework of policies that aimed to serve the social good"[198] and the social good did not allow giving space for contradictions arising from class, ethnical and gender differences. For that reason, not all the policies and reforms, which aimed at serving the social good, could make any fundamental challenge in patriarchal relations. It is remarked that in the nation-building process, the interests of the individual are subjugated to social goods.[199]

In many instances, women understood nationalism as an opportunity and as the "honorable door" through which they could enter in order to participate at new

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[197] Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 47.

[198] Çağatay and Soysal, "Comparative Observations," 265.

[199] Ibid.

levels of public life.[200] Nationalism was taken into consideration as a legitimizing discourse for them initially as a means to "justify stepping out of their narrowly prescribed role in the name of patriotism and self-sacrifice for the nation" and as a way to "earn emancipation".[201] National liberation was regarded as a legitimate project and this project was held as a common goal by both women and men. In moments of crisis especially during the War of Independence, women's active involvement has been tolerated and for many cases, it has been encouraged. When women have organized themselves in national liberation movements, their demands were primarily national liberationist. Connectedly women's rights were defined within the framework of the national struggle. Afterwards, however, regardless of whether the struggle had ended in victory or defeat, their participation has often been repressed. Their political participation eroded after the seizure of state power.

The aspirations of women for their emancipation remained unrealized after the establishment of the nation-state. Women's active participation in the nationalist struggle was taken into consideration as a prerequisite not only for national independence but also for women's liberation. The awareness of the role of women in the nationalist struggle could not bring with itself the awareness of liberating women from the captivity of the social concepts or traditions. The formation of the nation-state was identified by the reconstruction of the patriarchy, which can be defined as the institutionalized domination of men in the society, and gender

[200] Margaret Meriwether and Judith E.Tucker, *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1999), 108.

[201] Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents," 432.

inequalities could not be overcame. As Bety Baron notes, women have served nationalism but nationalism, in some respects, has failed women.[202]

The Palestinian case offers some concrete evidence for this case. Palestinian national identity has been shaped by two major events: by the expulsion of Palestinians after the 1948 War and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank; and the Gaza Strip since 1967. Since this date, the Palestinian women have become more politicized and more nationally active. The founding of the *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO*) in 1964 was a turning point in the nationalist movement and a new era of women's activitism. Under the cover of charitable organizations, women organized literacy, sewing, first aid. Some women also began to join political parties and to participate in marches, demonstrations particularly after the 1967 Israeli invasion.

During this period, a collective identity, adopted the form of a struggle for national self-determination. In the *Intifada* which can be described by Palestinians attempts to shake off the Israeli Occupation and which involved both violent and non-violent acts, women occupied key leadership positions in organizing resistance against the Israeli military rule and in symbolizing images of national solidarity. It is documented that large-scale of mobilization occurred during the *Intifada*-Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation since 1967 but over time, the mobilization of women corresponded with attempts by both nationalists and religious forces to restrict their participation to the traditionally construed female roles such as childbearing and social services. [203]

[202] Baron, "Mothers, Morality and Nationalism," 272.

[203] For more details, see Tami Amanda Jacoby "Feminism, Nationalism and Difference: Reflections on Palestinian Women's Movement." *Women's Studies International Forum*. 22:5 (1999), 511-523; Sherna Berger Gluck, "Palestinian Women: Gender Politics and Nationalism." *Journal of Palestine*

The Algerian case is indicative of the exclusion of women from the body politic after the War of Independence conducted against the French in 1963.[204] The liberation struggle began on the first November in 1954 under the leadership of the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) (National Liberation Front). The FLN newspaper, *El Moudjahid,* stated that the only thing Algerian women needed to become free and independent citizens, was the liberation from France: "It is an independent Algeria that Algerian women will achieve in human dignity […] the full and complete development of their rights".[205] This means that Algerian Independence would automatically bring women's independence and in this way, women were motivated to take part in the struggle against France.

When the FLN was formed, there was no provision for women to enjoy any political or military responsibilities. Nonetheless, military exigencies forced the officers of the *Armée de Libération Nationale* (Army of National Liberation) to use some women combatants and a mass of women participated to the revolution. A new female image called *moudjahidat* was constructed for the purpose of war. The *fidayates* (militants responsible for the urban guerillas), the *djoundiyates* (soldiers of

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Studies. 25:3 (1995), 5-15; Amal Jamal, "Engendering State-Building: The Women's Movement and Gender Regime in Palestine." *Middle East Journal*. 55:2 (2001), 256-276; Frances S. Hasso, "The Women's Front: Nationalism and Feminism and Modernity in Palestine." *Gender and Society*. 12:4 (1998), 441-465; Kathy Grantham-Glavanis, " The Women's Movement, Feminism and the National Struggle in Palestine," in *Women and Politics in the Third World*, ed. Halef Afshar (London: Routledge, 1996), 171-185; and see also Gluck, "Shifting Sands", 101-129.

[204] For a detailed analysis on Algerian Women, see Zakya Daoud, *Féminisme et Politique au Maghreb* (Feminism and Politics in the Maghreb) (Casablanca: Editions Eddif, 1996), 129-236.

[205] Quoted in Nelli Kopola, "Definitions of Algerian Women: Citizenship, Participation and Exclusion" Paper presented at the Third Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern Studies. Joensuu, Finland, June 19-22, 1995.

the Algerian National Liberation army ALN) and *moussabilates* (urban-based FLN militants) contributed all to the emergence of this new heroine model.[206]

After the Independence, there was a sudden change towards women. On the night of the Declaration of Independence when women were out on the streets celebrating their independence, there was an announcement: "women go home".[207] With independence, many heroines not only disappeared from the political scene but the status of the Algerian woman was closely connected with the definition of Algerian nationality. It is said:

> The Algerian woman sees her status connected to the description of Algerian nationality. Her destiny is the defense of the family which is the security of the patriarchy […] She has been devoted to the role of biological and ideological reproduction.. giving birth to children, teach them with respect to the masculine structure.[208]

Although, the first political text, *La Charte d'Alger,* pointed out that equality between men and women must become real, it made only general recommendations about how it might be achieved:

> The Algerian woman should be able to participate effectively in politics and the building of socialism by joining the ranks of the party and nationalist organizations and acceding to positions of responsibility. She should be able to put her energy in the service of the country by taking part in its economic life, thereby genuinely promoting herself through work. [209]

There was not any recognition of women as citizens whose rights must be guaranteed by the state. From these two examples, it is possible to come to the point

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[206] Cherifati-Merabtine, "Algeria at a Crossroads", 41.

[207] Quoted in Kopola, 1.

[208] Monique Gadant, *Le Nationalisme Algérien et les Femmes* (Algerian Nationalism and Women) (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995), 78. The participation of Algerian women into the War of Independence has been fully analyzed in the article of Moufak. Ghania Moufok, "Les Femmes Algériennes dans la Guerre (Algerian Women in the War)." *Peuples Méditerranéens*, 70-71 (1995), 209-216.

[209] Marnia Lazreg, "Citizenship and Gender in Algeria, " in *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*, 62; see also Juliette Minces, "Women in Algeria," in *Women in the Muslim World*, 159-171.

that citizenship is an important way in which the relationship between the individual and the-nation-state has been theorized and it is not gender neutral. [210] In many instances, although some legal rights were granted to women by the state, there is no doubt that this was instrumental with the objective of making women visible but they were not based upon the need to abolish gender discrimination.

The construction of women as "*less-autonomous gendered actors*"[211] brings into the picture the issue of citizenship as an important part of the gendered dimension of nationalism. When we look at the general definitions of 'citizenship', it is possible to come across with the perception and the analysis of citizenship as a gender-neutral entity[212] but it is very clear that after the formation of different nation-states women have different relations compared to men with the practices of citizenship. There is a masculinization process in citizenship.

When the transition to statehood was achieved, citizenship gained a masculine character and membership in the nation-state has been a gendered faculty. In many cases, women have been assigned to a realm of action outside of political and state institutions. Although women are included in the establishment of the body of national collectivities, they are positioned in a different place from men in relation to their collectivities after the achievement of the state. Women are held responsible

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[210] Georgina Waylen, "Analyzing Women in the Politics of the Third World," in *Women and Politics in the Third World*, 14.

[211] Mervat F. Hatem, "The Pitfalls of the Nationalist Discourses on Citizenship in Egypt," in *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East,* 41.

[212] There are many definitions of citizenships but in most of them, the idea of citizenship is explained as gender neutral. Marhall defines citizenship as full membership in the community which includes civil, political and social dimensions of citizenship. Bryan Turner, however, considers citizenship as a set of political, economic and cultural practices which differ from juridicial citizenship. For more details see T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (London: Pluto Press, 1992); and Bryan Turner, *Citizenship and Social Theory* (London: Sage, 1993).

for the continuance of the nation but they are in some way excluded from the decision-making process, which can be described as a 'masculine area': They symbolize the purity of the nation but they are always seen vulnerable to contamination. They express the homeland but they are also excluded from this masculine area, in this sense, they are "both of and not of the nation".[213]

The main reason behind this exclusion can be the fact that women are conceptualized as 'mothers of the nation'. This is an image, which places their reproductive capacities at the centre of their service to the nation. The idealization of the nation as female and as a mother has important implications in the politics of nationalism because this symbolic metaphor not only naturalizes national sentiment but it also reinforces the idea that there is a natural division between public politics belonging to men and the private domesticity belonging to women. Additionally, this also strengthens the idea that maternity is women's primary role. It also legitimates state control and regulation on women's bodies and female sexuality. All these result in male domination and female subordination. The common theme of the nation as female which implies the gendering of the citizen as male set limits on the forms of national belonging available to women. As it is put, women are identified with the apolitical institution of the family rather than with the national polity.[214]

It is clear that although in many cases, the forms of patriarchy have changed by the inauguration of some legal rights for women, the identification of woman as mother of the nation and the perception of man as the father of the state have reinforced the reproduction of gendered hierarchy. This linkage has also made the

[213] Kaplan, Alarcón and Moallem, *Between Woman and Nation*, 12.

[214] Quoted in Cusack, "Janus and Gender", 546.

institutionalization of gendered citizenship after the formation of the state. In nearly all cases, the state, citizen and public sphere have been cast as male and the private sphere has been cast as female.

The example of Egyptian women illustrates perfectly the masculinized character of the notion of citizenship after the accomplishment of the statehood. The 1919 Revolution against the British rule represented a major turning point for women's activism. The national consciousness among the Egyptian women reached a peak in the first decade of British occupation. Before 1919, women's visibility in the public life was not so important but in 1919 as a reaction to the British occupation, women became effective in political demonstrations. The revolution was equally supported by women in Cairo as well as by women in countryside. At a moment when the nation had to be defended, patriarchal control of women was muted and women's activism welcomed.[215]

In 1920, middle and upper class women formed their first formal political organization, a nationalist organization, the Wafdist Women's Central Committee (WWCC) in order to support the *Wafd* Party, which was established with the aim of struggling against the British powers. The success of the *Wafd* has been in large measure attributed to the wide support it commanded. *Wafdist* women played essential roles in organizing, coordinating and expanding support for the *Wafd*. From 1919 to 1922, Egyptian women played key roles in the militant national independence struggle alongside male nationalists against the British rule. During these times, Wafdist women leaders took over key roles including preserving popular morale, planning protests, managing finances and maintaining

[215] Margot Badran, "Dual Liberation: Feminism and Nationalism in Egypt, 1870-1925." *Feminist Issues*. 8:1 (1988), 15-33.

communications with absent leaders, the occupation authorities and the media abroad. [216]

With formal independence, nationalist men became part of the new state. At first the official discourse articulated in the new Constitution of 1923 seemed to fulfill the equality between men and women when it declared that "all Egyptians are equal before the law. They enjoy equally civil and political rights and equally have public responsibilities without distinction of race, language or religion".[217] The 1923 Constitution established the masculine character of the nation by only recognizing adult male citizens as members. It gave them the right to vote in general elections and in this way to participate in self-government. Under colonialism, all Egyptians were concerned about issues of identity, rights and sovereignty. Under patriarchy, women were preoccupied with issues of their identity, rights and also how authority was shaped and exercised. [218]

During the independence struggle, women's support was welcomed but after the independence, the nationalist discourse of men dropped much of its feminist dimension while men competed for political power. In other words, women participated as activist in revolution as nationals which means as Egyptians but not

[216] The British occupied Egypt in 1882. Early in the century, Egypt won de facto independence from the Ottoman Empire when Muhammed Ali who had been sent by the sultan to end the French occupation broke with the Ottoman control and established himself as ruler. To protect the autonomy of Egypt and his own power, the new ruler embarked on an ambitious program of modernization at the center. By the 1860s and 1870s, the scope of modern transformation accelerated under the rule of Khedive Ismail. British colonial rule interrupted the process of economic and social development begun under the direction of the previously autonomous Egyptian state. Egyptian nationalism evolved around the idea of a territorial nation or *watan* as a galvanizing counter force to Western colonialism. For more historical background, see Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*; Badran "Dual Liberation: Feminism and Nationalism"; also Lila Abu-Lughod, "The Marriage of Feminism and Islamism in Egypt: Selective Repudiation as a Dynamic of Postcolonial Cultural Politics," in *Remaking Women*, 243-269.

[217] Quoted in Margot Badran, "Competing Agenda: Feminists, Islam and the State in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Egypt," in *Women, Islam and the State*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (London: Macmillan, 1991), 207.

[218] Hatem, "Pitfalls of the Nationalist Discourses," 35.

as gendered persons. Male nationalists accepted women's participation as equal partners with men. However, when male nationalists were on the scene and more firmly in control, they neglected women's views.

In theory, the new nation emerged as a horizontal fraternity, of adult men. Although the members of this new 'imagined national community' shared the experience of active struggle in the 1919 revolution against British colonial rule and the quest for self government, in the 1923 Constitution, there was a silence on women and their role as members of the nation and its political system.[219] Although during the 1919 Revolution, women of different classes actively participated in such revolutionary activities as public demonstrations and the Boycott of British goods, they were omitted in the constitution. Despite this very political engagement of the Women's Central Committee of the *Wafd* Party , the honorary title given to *Safiya Zaghlul*, the wife of *a'd Zaghlul*, the leader of the revolution, in recognition of her political contributions to the national cause offered an early hint of how the leadership of the revolution discursively articulated women's relationship to nation. After the exile of the national leadership of the revolution, which included her husband, *Zaghlul*, who had no children of her own, and until then was another upper-class housewife, emerged as a surrogate leader, ensuring the continuation of the national struggle. [220]

She encouraged the remaining leadership of the party to continue to meet at her house, as they had before, to plan for the different revolutionary activities. In response, she was given the title of *Um al-Masriyiin* (the mother of all Egyptians, or

[219] Ibid., 38.

[220] Ibid.

the mother of the nation). Her house was designated as *Bayt-al-umma*, the house of the nation. The description of *Zaghlul's* role as that of a "mother" underlined a socially acceptable way of interpreting her actions. Instead of maintaining the political cohesion of the party and the national struggle, she was seen as nurturing the revolution. Mothering was now transposed to the public arena where women's caretaking skills were to service the nation.[221]

Despite the symbolic female role as mothers of the nation, women are subordinated in actual political processes. The glorification of womanhood as a symbol of nation often leads to practical control over women's lives through the efforts to protect the traditional structures such as the patriarchal family. This presents the contradiction of nationalism and it remains problematic for women attempting to negotiate equal membership in the nation.

Despite these gendered contradictions of nationalism, many non-Western women reject feminism as a self-representative label for their struggles because they are reluctant to appear as imitating norms and values perceived to originate from outside indigenous culture and thus to represent inauthentic forms of legitimization. It may also reflect that a variety of other intentions as feminism is perceived as radical by creating social stigmas that seem threatening to group identity in terms of nation, ethnicity and race. The unity of communal identity makes any questioning of gender relations disloyal.[222]

In these societies, women's struggles are taken into consideration as sectional and as opposed to the universality of men's interests relating to the

[221] Ibid., 39.

[222] Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*.

masculinist assumptions of state, citizenship and nationalism. After the establishment of the nation state women are excluded from the 'masculine domains' that men search to maintain as their own primary positions of social and political. The criticism of women against the existing patriarchal system is regarded as a threat to the national identity and a challenge to national policy.

Women's strategies for representation are often formulated in the limits of gendered nationalism, as women's groups intentionally frame their demands for equality in traditional terminology or they try to be not challenging in their demands for purposes of legitimization. In many cases, however, women find that asserting their national identity through the accepted feminine roles as bearers of communal memory and children is empowering, particularly as they are bestowed with honor and communal protection. [223] This is the main contradiction of the gendered nationalism.

3.4.6. Feminine Images of the Nation

The identification of woman with nation in the construction of national boundaries and difference represents another aspect of the gendered dimension of nationalism. The image of nation has been always connected and represented by the image of the feminine. In most of the cases, the nation or its national symbol is portrayed as feminine. For a great number of veteran nations such as France symbolized by Marianne and earlier by Joan D'Arc, Great Britain as personified by Britannia and more recently, the United States by Lady Liberty.

There are different symbolic representations of the relationship between woman and nation. In some cases, the nation has been described and illustrated in

[223] Ibid., 21.

the image of a woman. This depiction of nation as female was used as an important means and symbol for the nationalists to broaden their movements of modernization. Egypt came to be represented as a woman when unveiling began to advance in the early 1900s and the urban elite women who wore a face covering had begun to unveil in the century's teens and twenties.[224] Since nationalism was meant to be a modernizing force and a fully veiled woman would not represent the modernity. Unveiling then became a metaphor for independence. For example, the most common image of Egypt in the cartoons is that of a young woman who wears contemporary European dress, gloves and high-heeled shoes along with a headscarf, a very lightface veil and a cloak. Her clothes change over the course of the decade: her dress becomes shorter, the gloves come off and her veil is removed. She travels, drives a car and mixes with men. To put it differently, she is the new woman of the age, educated and sophisticated.[225]

The symbolic use of women in the construction of national identity makes it clear that women are not equal to nation but they are symbolic of it. It is suggested that although the nation was portrayed as a female, the typical 'Egyptian' was depicted as a male. Beth Baron points out:

> While they presented the typical Egyptian as male […] they rendered the collective female. The man was the citizen: the woman was the nation. The artists who produced these images of the nation probably imagined their audience as male as well. Representing the nation as a woman was meant to tap notions of honor and instill in male viewers the sense they had the duty to support, protect and defend it. Yet honor was not the only sentiment at stake. [226]

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[224] Beth Baron, "Nationalist Iconography: Egypt as a Woman," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, ed. James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 106.

[225] Ibid., 116.

[226] Ibid., 120-121.

One could say that the use of feminity for the imagination/the legitimacy of the nation is remarkable in the perception of the order of the nation as natural. In Egypt, the portrayal of nation as female underlined the idea that the man was the citizen and the woman was the nation.[227] Since the nation is a construction based on patriarchal norms, men are expected to defend the moral consciousness and the ego of the nation. They tend to assume this role, because their identity is often so intertwined with that of the nation that it translates into a personalized image of the nation. Because men regard the nation as a single body, their own ego becomes at stake in national conflicts and they frequently seek to sustain control over reproduction and representation of both sexuality and nation and over the boundaries of the nation.

The figure of woman as the representative image of nation was also frequently used especially in the moment of national crisis. The nation which had to be saved from the foreign and colonial forces was portrayed either as a woman or as a mother representing suffer. In both Indonesia and Algeria, the nation was portrayed as a woman who had to be set free from the colonial forces. In Indonesia, the idea of *Ibu Pertiwi* which means motherland has been portrayed as a fragile feminine that has the need to be guarded from the Dutch colonial government. During the independence struggle, the Indonesian nationalist project represented *Ibu Pertiwi* as a suffering feminine beauty. These imaginings of the motherland are perhaps best presented in popular nationalist songs.[228] One of these songs called

[227] Ibid., 121.

[228] The personification of nation as woman has been analyzed by Saraswati Sunindyo, "When the Earth is Female," 1-21. In this article, Sunindyo argues that the positioning of the "national feminine" is always contradictory. On the one hand, it is gendered and domesticized, while on the other, it is employed as confirmation that Indonesia has already achieved gender equality.

Kulihat Ibu Pertiwi, which means "I saw Motherland", the suffering of the motherland was spoken as follows:

> I saw the motherland
> Deeply troubled
> Tears ran down her cheeks
> Remembering her gold and diamonds
> Of forests, mountains, rice-fields and oceans,
> Her stored wealth
> And now, the mother is suffering
> Moaning and praying[229]

What has been emphasized in the song is the need of freeing and rescuing this woman from her suffering caused by the colonial power. This female figure has been represented as a fragile feminine being that needs to be rescued, protected and guarded from the cruelty of a foreign power. As Innes has stated the allegorization of women as the nation symbolizes her as she who has "suffered, has been betrayed and awaits or seeks a true partner to rescue her".[230]

In Algeria, however, the anti-colonial struggle against the French resulted in the War of Independence in 1963. Before the beginning of the War of Independence, the Newspaper of FLN, which took the leadership against the liberation struggle, *El Moudjahid*, described Algeria as a woman who had to be saved from the enemies by Algerian men. The following image of Algeria appeared in many writings:

> Algeria-Woman is Algeria which does not want to fall into the hands of the enemies so as not to be reduced to slavery and subjugation, which does not want to be possessed by others...(and) would rather be dead than possessed by others. Finished are beautiful words and love songs; if you are men, the women cry to their own, show it on the land, in the battle. If you have red blood in your veins, prove it, don't recoil.[231]

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[229] Ibid., 4.

[230] C.L. Innes, "Virgin Territories and Motherlands: Colonial and Nationalist Representations of Africa and Ireland." *Feminist Review*. 47 (Summer 1994), 11.

[231] Cherifati-Merabtine, "Algeria at a Crossroads," 51.

Both cases of Indonesia and Algeria exemplify the manifestation of the feminine whose interests, needs and happiness have to be enunciated by the masculine counterpart. The configuration of nation as woman revealed also the metaphorization of the code of honor. As I mentioned earlier, since honor is not an individual trait but it belongs to the society, the Algerian and the Indonesian men were the vigilant guards of the nation's honor. Both these images of nation as woman were intended to generate a romantic attachment to the nation and encourage a fusion with it. By depicting the nation as a woman, nationalists hoped to stimulate love for the nation and draw male youth to the cause by drawing an image where the man was the actor, the speaker, the lover; the woman was the acted upon, the listener, the beloved. [232]

In some other cases, the nation was characterized in the image of motherhood and in motherland. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which was established as a reaction to the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, issued two documents: the Palestinian National Charter and the Palestinian Nationalist Charter. These two documents functioned as a sort of constitution, defining Palestinian political goals, Palestinian rights and the Palestinian identity. In the introduction to the Palestinian Nationalist Charter, the Zionist Conquest of Palestine is presented as a rape of the land. [233] It views Palestinians as the children of Palestine, portrayed as a mother. The Zionist enemy is clearly seen as masculine, and the wrong committed by this enemy against Palestinians is considered metaphorically to be of a violent sexual nature. The portrayal of Palestine as a

[232] Baron, "Nationalist Iconography," 120-121.

[233] Joseph Massad, "Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism." *Middle East Journal*. 49:3 (1995), 470.

mother who gives birth to Palestinians is important in terms of Palestinian identity and as a woman who was raped by the enemy is significant in terms of spreading the nationalist feeling and nationalist struggle against Israel. [234]

This understanding is in full concert with early Zionist discourse that considered the role of Zionists as fertilizing the virgin land. Jewish men called themselves as "Zionists" because the rebirth of their people and manhood depended on their claim to *Eretz Zion*, the land of Zion. For Zionists, Palestine was both the mother-land to which the Jews needed to return, and the virgin-land which the Zionists needed to fertilize and fecundate. Imagining Zion or Palestine as female turned its defenders into real men. Most surprisingly, outside the Land of Zion, Zionists referred to the Jewish people as female. In Palestine, these weak, feminized people were transformed into powerful males protecting a female land.[235]

This reveals the fact that the symbols of the nation were saturated with gendered meaning and that land became a central symbol of national redemption. The feminization of the land symbolized the survival of the nation. As Thongchai Winichahul's declares, the geobody of the nation is not an ungendered neutral entity. [236] In Iran, from the late eighteenth century through the first decades, the homeland, *vatan* was represented as a female body and nation, *millat*, as a brotherhood. This was used to construct a national identity on male bonding among a nation of brothers. Patriotic writers described Iran as a beloved and their own sentiments as

[234] Ibid., 470-471.

[235] Sheila Hannah Katz, "Adam and Adama, 'Ird and 'Ard: En-gendering Political Conflict and Identity in Early Jewish and Palestinian Nationalisms, " in *Gendering the Middle East*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (London: I.B Tauris Publishers, 1996), 89.

[236] Thongchai Winichahul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

those of the lover. In one of the novel, the narrator explains the homeland, *vatan* as a woman as follows:

> our beloved who walks as gracefully, as a cypress, who is a fresh as spring grass, with a face like an open blossom, like a hidden hyacinth; a heart-stealing beauty, who is a sympathetic friend whose skirt of chastity is spotless of any accusations, ready to greet lovers;...who appears sweated in the company of us, the friends...but only shows a face of harshness to our rivals. A union with this beloved is eternal life, is a joy of the divine paradise of which the rival is deprived. The brightness of her face guides the lovers, the gaze of her black eyes causes happiness even one is in hardship, the scent of her hair relieves tired souls, the breeze from her alley brings to life the dead.[237]

This description of homeland as a female has very important in terms of the gendered dimension of nationalism because "our beloved" as a "cypress", as "a spring grass" and as "a heart stealing beauty" refers to the idea of *vatan* as a female beloved. The nation has characterized as the "union of this beloved". The feminization of land is remarkable how it was characterized as a passive object, which needed the protection of men. It was a big shame for men who failed to defend the female body of *vatan*. Territorial losses would be grieved over as loss of honor of a man's female beloved.

3.4.7. Female Mythical Figures

The nation is constituted as "a natural unity" through different linguistic and visual representations such as verbal practices, which connect the perceptions, emotions and memories of individuals.[238] In this imagination/construction of nation as a natural entity, in addition to different symbols, images, the most significant designation is the representation of nation by the allegorization of some female historic figures or some female mystical personalities. This is another way of

[237] Afsaneh Najmabadi, "The Erotic *Vatan* (Homeland) as Beloved and Mother: To Love, to Possess and to Protect." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 39:4 (1997), 452.

[238] Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," 273-316.

inventing nations by inventing women and also of naturalizing a gendered understanding of nationalism. The crucial point is to refer to either history or mythology for the justification of what should be in terms of gender roles and of male expectations.

National narratives construct the ideal image of the nation. In order to survive and justify its existence, the nation must preserve its uniqueness; it does so by constructing myths about national creation and defining 'proper behaviors' for members of the nation. Myth is one of the basic building blocs of society and it plays an important role in the collective memory.

In India, after Independence was won, Gandhi used some female figures from Hindu mythology, which embodied a nationalist spirit. In this idealization of Indian women, the most important component was the control of female sexuality. Gandhi's uses of female sexuality were channeled through his evocations of woman's obedience and nurturance as wife and mother. Female sexuality was essentialized through Gandhi's appeal to the female virtues; chastity, purity, self-sacrifice and suffering.

In order to illustrate these virtues, he used specific mythological female figures, which represented the virtues necessary to fight for the nationalist cause. Katrak argues that:

> the notion of female suffering in the Hindu tradition is dangerously glorified through such use of mythological models. The subconscious hold of socialization patterns inculcated in girls through the popular mythological stories of the ever-suffering *Sita* as virtuous wife or the all-sacrificing *Savitri* who rescues her husband from death are all part of the preparation for suffering in the roles of wives and mothers.[239]

[239] Ketu Katrak, "Indian Nationalism, Gandian Satyagraha and Representations of Female Sexuality," in *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, 398.

Both Sita and Savitri are important female figures in Ramayana, an important epic which includes the ideas of great sociological, ethical, philosophical and political significance. It is described as an epic serving as a mirror of true way of Hindu life and philosophy as well as of the ideals and practices of Hindu social and political institutions.[240] Both Sita and Savitri become representatives of a 'national' womanhood. In order to illustrate how they exemplify the idealized Indian women, it would be more appropriate to summarize their stories.

Sita is a lady character who renounced all the luxuries and comforts of the palace and accompanied her husband Sri Rama to the forest although her husband was not in favor of taking her with him and thereby making her suffer the hardship of a forest life but she argued with her husband reminding him of the wife's *dharma* (duty) and made him to allow her to follow him. In the forest, she was abducted by King Ravana, the most powerful and diabolical ruler of Lanka but she courageously resisted all his attempts and remained entirely faithful to her husband. On her return to Ayodhyă, along with her husband, after spending fourteen years of exile, a scandal spread about her chastity and consequently she was forsaken by her husband at the time when she was pregnant. During her whole life, there was no change and devotion to her husband. Finally, she proved her chastity by entering into the mother earth by saying "If in thought, word and deed, I have never set my heart on anyone other than Sri Rama, may the Goddess Earth take me in her lap".[241]

Sita illustrates the idealization of a chaste woman by being devoted to her husband and in addition to Sita, the story of Savitri presents the illustration of an

[240] R.C Gupta, *Hindu Society and Influence of the Great Epics* (Delhi: B.R Publishing Corporation, 1991).

[241] Ibid., 39.

other chaste woman. Savitri is the daughter of King Aspavati and she herself chose Satyavan, the son of dutiful King Dyumatsena of Salva State who had turned blind and whose domain was forcibly seized by neighboring king. After losing his status, Dyumatsena used to live in forest, leading the life of a hermit. Although the sage Narada had predicted that Satyavan would die in one year, Savitri chose Stayavan as her husband. After the marriage, she cast off all her ornaments and rich costumes and used to wear plain saffron clothes. She served and pleased every one in the family. The time moved fast and the day ordained for the death of Satyavan soon arrived. By the strength of the purity of her character, her fidelity and devotion to her husband, she could easily propitiate Yama (God of Death) and snatch from his jaws the life of her husband Satyavan.[242]

The mythical figures of Sita and Savitri with all the good virtues of chaste women were representatives of an ideal Indian woman. Both these mythical figures had qualities of steadfastness, courage and the determination. The woman was projected as her husband's Ardhangini (complementary half) and Sahadharmini (helpmate). She possessed the virtues of benevolence and self-sacrifice, as well as practical knowledge of raising a family.[243] In relation to the Indian state, the construct was identified with the "motherland" where women were seen as agents of national progress and esteem, in the same way as their mythical counterparts.

The idealization of an ideal womanhood according to these mythical figures was reflected in a poem titled *Strength* in a monthly magazine, *Maharathi*. This poem refers the notion of the sacred image of the mother and wife, through the role

[242] Ibid.

[243] Suruchi Thapar-Björkert, "Gender, Colonialism and Nationalism, Women Activists in Uttar Pradesh, India," in *New Frontiers in Women's Studies: Knowledge, Identity and Nationalism*, ed. Mary Maynard and June Purvis (Bristol: Taylor and Francis, 1997), 207.

models of Sita and Savitri, symbolizing obedience to the God –like husband. The political role of women is indicated through images of Joan of Arc and *Lakshmi Bai*, a woman who fought against the British in the 1857 in India. This poem is as follows:

> Hey mother!
> It was only you in the role of *Lakshmi Bai* who had moved the grounds of the enemy
> In the role of *Sita* and *Savitri* you thought how to worship the husband
> In the incarnation of Joan of Arc, for the welfare of the nation, you burned your body[244]

Both examples reveal that national mythologies play a significant role in describing and constructing national identities because they do not explain the origins of a community but they also establish values and norms, which help individuals, orientate themselves. With respect to women, the use of mythological female figures is important in constructing the idealized womanhood with different virtues such as chastity, modesty, female purity.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I attempt to analyze the relationship between women and nationalism by examining the construction of women as part of the gendered nationalism in historical, political and social settings and to highlight the representation of women as gendered national subjects in different cultural contexts. The different examples that I study reveal specific dimensions illustrating how nationalism is gendered; and in what ways women are made as gendered national subjects. In the Chapter 8 where I analyze women's images in literary imagination, I will seek to understand how these particularistic themes appear themselves in the novels subject to this thesis with regard to women's images. As will be studied in

[244] Ibid., 208.

details in Chapter 8, among these different dimensions, 'women as objects of nationalist discourse', 'educating the mind and reconstructing the patriarchy', 'women's bodies and sexuality', 'motherhood' and 'feminine images of nation' emerge as the main themes which will form a base for the examination of women's images.

This chapter on the relation between women and nation illuminates how women are involved in nationalist projects in different cultural contexts. Upon the analysis of different examples explaining how nationalism is gendered and how women are made as gendered national subjects, it is possible to suggest that women are invisible actors at the centre of nationalist discourses in the Third World countries. They are used to symbolize both progressive aspirations of the enlightened reformers and their cultural authenticity. The involvement of women into the nationalist discourse speaks for the existence of a dilemma. On the one hand, women play a significant role in the formation of national community by being symbolic bearers of the nation. As Anne McClintock suggests, women "symbolically define the limits of national difference and power between men".[245] Women act as significant metaphors representing national collectivity and their bodies are used to define imagined national boundaries; but on the other hand, they do not succeed in achieving full citizenship rights after the formation of nation-state. In both processes, women are taken into consideration not as individuals whose rights must be granted as members of a society but as metaphors and symbols representing the national community.

Another important remark, which could be drawn from the analysis of the examples, is the fact that family represented as the microcosm of the nation, has

[245] McClintock, " Family Feuds," 62.

remained central to national symbolism. The identification of the nation with family facilitates the construction of gendered national identities. This symbolism also guarantees the continuation of traditional bonds between the members of the national collectivities.[246] Nation defines women firstly in terms of their biological potentiality rather than as social beings, particularly in relation to motherhood. As mothers, women are producers and transmitters of national culture. Consequently, nationalism comes across a patriarchal ideology that grants subject positions to men and the right to dominate at the expense of women.

[246] Ida Blom, "Gender and Nation in International Comparison," in *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order*, 8.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONALISM

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analyzed the relation between women and nation including several themes, which explain in what ways nationalism is gendered, and how women are made as gendered national subjects. As these specific dimensions illustrate, the imagination of nation takes place in different sites. In politics, it is realized by the conceptualization of a gendered notion of citizenship. In history, the reference is made to some female figures or some mythological women who play a remarkable role in the imagination process of a nation. The boundaries of the imagined community are not only defined and limited by these sites but also through the means of cultural imagination.

The imagination of nationalism is a continuous process and it repeats itself in different spheres. Culture is one of them and different forms of cultural productions such as in print culture, literary works, paintings and theatre have the power to offer the symbols, norms, values for the construction and the reinforcement of gendered national identities.[247] In other words, culture plays a vital role in ideologically entrenching nationalist politics within the collective consciousness and cultural

[247] The contribution of cultural production to the formation of gendered national identities has been analyzed by different studies. For more details, see Silva, "Women, Culture and Nation-Building," 339-354; Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*; Haron, "Uneasy Images," 113-136. The representations of women in Bombay cinema and the use of woman in the erotics of nationalism were examined by Nalini Natarajan. For more details, see Nalini Natarajan, "Woman, Nation and Narration in Midnight's Children," in *Scattered Hegemonies Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, 76-89.

production becomes a potent vehicle not only in imagining but also in spreading nationalist ideologies.[248]

Since the objective of the thesis is to explore how women are made as gendered national subjects in the novels, in this part of my study, I will focus on novels as a specific form of cultural production. To that end, I will establish the parameters of a theoretical framework concerning the role of literature in the imagination of nationalism, which in turn will enable us to examine the making of national subjects in the novels. My starting point is the fact that the nation can no longer be interpreted, as Walker Connor puts it, simply as a "social group which shares a common ideology, common institution and customs and a sense of homogeneity" [249] but it must be seen as "an imagined community" in Anderson's terms. The idea that nation is an imagined entity paves the way to the question of how this imagination of nation building was realized and through which means national identity was created. Since the scope of this imagination will be beyond the limits of this chapter, it will be restricted by literature and literary works.

This theoretical part will be useful in setting the analytical and conceptual framework to be used in the study of women's images in the novels in the pre and early Republican period. It is mentioned that the link between national formation and the novel is not accidental because the intelligentsia would appropriate the novel and they work out imaginary solutions to intractable questions. The novel could be used as a place where different and conflicting problems were discussed either by typical characters or by more properly allegorical figures. The novel can be taken

[248] Silva, "Women, Culture and Nation-Building," 339.

[249] Walker Connor, "Nation Building or Nation-Destroying." *World Politics*. 24:3 (1972), 333.

into consideration as a channel to work out imaginary solutions to different problems because it is in the novel that different and conflicting problems for the nations are discussed through the representation of some different and imaginary figures. [250]

This chapter will be composed of three parts: In the first part, I will start discussing Anderson's landmark study *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* where he views the process of imagining a nation as intrinsic to the creation of any national community no matter what its ideological or ontological base is. Anderson's study makes us think that there is not any 'natural identity' or 'a given collective identity'. No formal identity is given once. This is of crucial importance for the analysis of the construction of gender in literature. In this context, I will elaborate on Anderson's framework by briefly examining the arguments of Carey Webb, Layoun and Armstrong who contribute conceptually to the analysis of the role of literature in the making of national subjects in literature. In the second part, I will examine different theories concerning the Third World literature, which, in turn, will enable us to understand the place of literary works in the Third World nationalism. Following that, in the last part, I will elaborate on the imagination in literature with regard to the construction of gendered national subjects through the exploration of some examples.

4.2. The Making of National Subjects in Literature

My starting point for the analysis of the novels is Benedict Anderson's theory suggesting that the nation is an imagined community both politically and culturally. As I explore in the first chapter, Anderson describes the nation as "an imagined political community" and he explains that it is imagined because although

[250] Jean Franco, "The Nation as Imagined Community," in *Dangerous Liasons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*, ed. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis: Minneapolis University Press, 1998), 130.

the members of even the smallest nation never know most of their fellow members, in the minds of each member lives the image of their communion.[251] If we accept this proposal, the fact that how we imagine our community influences how we experience it and it also establishes the grammar of the nation. The imagination of nationalism is closely connected with the production of shared characteristics in the production of national culture. The production of shared characteristics can be regarded as the hallmark of nationalist discourse, which attempts to enforce a linguistic and ethnic uniformity. In other words, the imagination of nationalism necessitates the production of some characteristics shared by the community and the enforcement of national culture.

In this imagination, different metaphors and symbols used in common language are important in defining how the members of the community interact with each other, which roles they envision for themselves and which qualities they attribute for themselves. In this process, the perception of the reality is shaped largely by the representational systems and the literary canon is esteemed as the most significant form of representation in this respect, because it is possible to find out the expressions of highest ideals and aspirations in literary representation.[252]

If we return to the analysis of Anderson, in the imagination of the nation, Anderson finds the development of a capitalist market place for printed books as essential in the emergence of national consciousness. The printed books facilitated the individual process of imagination as a part of national identification and national consciousness. In the eighteenth century European imagination, two forms of

[251] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

[252] Pam Morris, *Literature and Feminism* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1993), 8.

imagining contributed significantly to this process. These are the novels and the newspaper. According to Anderson, these forms provided technical means for representing the kind of imagined community that is the nation[253]. The novel allows characters, which may not have any direct relationship with each other, not merely exist simultaneously but to be recognized by the reader as a part of a simultaneously construed society.[254]

Anderson uses the examples of a Filipino and a Mexican novel and an Indonesian short story to demonstrate how characters are regarded by the reader as living in a common society, in a national community.[255] Anderson further links the newspaper to a novel and he defends the idea that the way a newspaper links disparate events together because of their coincidence on a given calendar date is rather like the novel's simultaneous juxtaposing of different characters and events. Both the novel and the newspaper create the fiction which "seep quietly and continuously into reality, creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations".[256] From this, it is possible to say that "no form of identity is original and given once for all and our collective identity is construed within specific, historical, cultural and political fields".[257] Anderson's study is an important piece of work, which emphasizes the importance

[253] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 25.

[254] Ibid., 26.

[255] Ibid., 22-36.

[256] Ibid., 36.

[257] Carey-Webb, *Making Subject(s)*, 10.

of the literature in serving as an important institution in the imagination of the national and collective identity.

The idea of nation as "an imagined community" has a close connection with the idea that nationalism cannot be analyzed as a political form based on the idea of self-governing of the nation or as a political ideology built upon the central theme of identification with the nation. It is suggested that the most significant thing about the nation-state is not its dissemination as a political form but its infusion as a deeply held consciousness, a way of feeling, thinking and acting, accepted by a tremendous heterogeneity of human beings. People are not national by birth but they are thought to be national, to be members of a nation and to think of themselves as national citizens, in Carey-Webb's terms, "they are made national."[258]

This "making of national subjects" refers to the idea that people think themselves as nationalized. They assume to have or to be willing to have identification with the nation-state and national territory. In this way, individuals in different historical periods and in different places consider themselves as national citizens. This is a result of a process, which makes people believe that they belong to the same community and that they share common elements such as religion, culture, history and traditions. Carey-Webb mentions that this making is a complex activity of collective naming, of the inclusion of national selves and the exclusion of cultural and political others. In this sense, the making of national subjects is "a kind of discourse, one that involves not only military conquest or political negotiations and

[258] Ibid.

formal juridical institutions but also an enormous diversity of cultural and linguistic processes".[259]

Among these different processes, literary texts play a prominent role in the making of national subjects and literature functions as a machinery that serves to consolidate the nation-state. Prasad emphasizes the importance of literary texts in the making of national subjects and therefore he defends the idea that they are involved in the politics of nation. He says, "Literature and a national culture in general, is one of the representational machineries that serve to consolidate the nation-state. Its historical emergence in Europe is tied to the rise of primary capitalist nation-states and in this sense literature is national."[260]

In another article entitled "*Literature-Nationalism's Other? The Case for Revision*", Simon During points out that the institution of literature works for national ends and it has the ability to function as a signifier of national identity and heritage. In order to emphasize the importance of any study concerning the literal works, he declares that:

> Some years ago Edward Said complained: "if the body of objects we study- the corpus formed by works of literature –belongs to, gains coherence from and in a sense emanates out of, the concepts of nation, nationality and even of race, there is very little in contemporary critical discourse making these actualities possible as subjects of discussion. His remarks have born fruit. [261]

Literature is an important institution through which the imagination of nation and the consolidation of a nation-state have been realized. Geoffrey Galt Harpham's

[259] Ibid., 4.

[260] Madhava Prasad, "On the Question of a Theory of (Third) World Literature," in *Dangerous Liasons: Gender, Nation and PostColonial Pespectives*, 153.

[261] Simon During, "Literature-Nationalism's Other? The Case for Revision," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1983),138.

description of literature is an important point in the analysis of the relationships between literature and nationalism. In analyzing the role, that literature plays in establishing a consensus among the members of the nation, in his terms, "a unity", he says:

> Literature, it is said, articulates goals, instructs people on how to picture and understand human situations, moralizes action by showing its ends, provides models of motivations and a set of character types and decisional models, structures an opportunity for the reader to test his or her capacity for discovering and acknowledging the moral law, holds the mirror up the community so that it can identify and judge itself, represent negotiations between the community and the individuals, engenders a relation between author and reader, promotes explanatory models that help make sense of different situations.[262]

In this description of literature, it is possible to understand that literature, in general sense, is of crucial importance in constructing a unity in the community. To put it differently, literature can be described as a cultural practice, which is involved in producing the meaning and values; in creating a sense of shared feelings and experiences for a national community. Gregory Jusdanis points out that national culture is literary in nature because literature, in the extended sense of stories and specific meaning as fiction, is thought to mirror the nation and to encourage the acquisition by the population of socially important values and norms.[263]

This refers to the idea that literature is the imaginary mirror in which the nation reflects itself and where people experience themselves as members of such a union. It is a manifestation of the nation as well as part of the nation forming process. As a collection of narratives, the literature canon contains tales by means of which members of such a community understand their links. It is said that literature

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[262] Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *Getting it Right: Language, Literature and Ethics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 158.

[263] Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1991), xi.

can be described as the nation's diary, telling the story of its past, present and future. In other words, it is an important source for members of the community to understand their common connections in the building/imagination/invention of nations. National narratives have an important function in the creation of collective identities. In a sense, literature functions as a means for "orchestrating an ideological consensus"[264] in the creation of collective identities. It is suggested that literature promotes the collective internalization of public norms and symbols; and it brings individuals together into a common social experience, thereby enabling them to discover their shared identity.[265]

Since the idea of nationalism can be explained as a process of imagination in Anderson's terms, the main aim of this imagination is to make people believe that they belong to the same community and to emphasize the harmonious relations between them. In this respect, "orchestrating an ideological consensus" aims to create a harmony in the society and literature serves for this purpose. The creation of the shared characteristics forms the hallmark of the nationalist discourse, which aims at producing and at enforcing a linguistic and ethnic uniformity in the state through the means of culture and literature forms an important tool serving for this purpose.

Literature, in this context, also defines the limits and the rules of the *grammar of the nation*. According to Layoun, nationalism can be described as a masterful effort of narrative construction.[266] She suggests:

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[264] Ibid.

[265] Ibid., 122.

[266] Mary Layoun, "A Guest at the Wedding: Honor, Memory and (National) Desire in Michel Khleife's Wedding in Galilee," in *Between Woman and Nation*, 93. See also, Mary Layoun, *Wedded to the Land? Gender, Boundaries, and Nationalism in Crisis* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), 3-18.

> like all narrative, nationalism tells a story by articulating diverse but presumably linked elements […] it also constructs and privileges […] its own narrative perspective. Narratives of nationalism propose a grammar of the nation. That is, they propose the correct and orderly placement and use of the constituent elements of the nation. […] that grammar prescribes the proper and acceptable definition and situation of the gendered citizens.[…] The rhetoric of nationalism-as narrative persuades and convinces its multiple audiences-its implied readers and listeners-of the efficacy and desirability of its terms and of the natural relationship between those terms. The call of rhetoric is not as of the letter and word of proper order (as grammar).[267]

Layoun argues that nationalism is a narrative, which attempts to include the present as it constructs a legitimating past and as it projects a future for which the present is. The rhetorical attempt of nationalism as narrative is to give the impression of coherence, of the legitimate authority of the narrator, of the truth-value of the stories told and this process of renegotiation does not take place only in the historical, legal and political domain but also in the cultural domain.[268] Layoun defends the idea that cultural and literal narratives can be read as attempts to imagine, to articulate nationalisms and to draw boundaries and to seek to maintain them. [269]

From Layoun's argument, it is possible to come to the point that literary texts play a crucial role in affording a space for propositions and for constructing which are impossible to articulate in the contemporary political and social sphere. In this sense, literature also describes the appropriate roles for women and men by drawing the acceptable boundaries for its gendered subjects and literary works draw the symbolic border guards. Armstrong suggests that the mythical unity of 'national imagined' communities which divides the word between 'us' and 'them' is

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[267] Layoun, "A Guest at the Wedding," 93.

[268] Ibid., 94.

[269] Ibid.

maintained and ideologically reproduced by a whole system. Armstrong calls this system as "symbolic border guards". These border guards identify people as members or non –members of a particular collectivity. They are closely linked to specific cultural codes of style of dress and behavior as well as to elaborate more on bodies of customs, religion, literary and artistic modes of production.[270] In other words, in the imagination of collective boundaries dividing the people into those who belong to the nation and those who do not, literature and literary works function as means to draw the symbolic borders by articulating the main rules of this grammar in the fiction.

Literal works determine the main rules of the national community. Like the grammar of a language, which forms a base according to which people know how to speak, the grammar of the nation makes clear the rules necessary for the nation. It describes how national subjects behave, how gendered national subjects interact with each other, which roles they picture in their mind and briefly how the boundaries of the nation should be drawn. The grammar of the nation expresses also the symbolic guards of a nation which define who are 'us' and who are 'others'. In all these distinctions, literature functions as a practice, which contributes to the reproduction of the "imagined community". As argued by Homi Bhabha, nationness is a matter of social and textual affiliation, which means that the nation is constructed through narration. [271]

[270] John Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).

[271] Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in *Nation and Narration*, ed., Homi Bhabha (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 292.

4.3. The Role of Literature in the Third World Context

In the next chapter, I will examine the making of gendered national subjects by focusing on women images in the Turkish novels written in the pre and early Republican Period in order to have a better understanding of the formation of Turkish nation. For that reason, in this part of my study, I will attempt to analyze different theories concerning the relationship between literature and nationalism in the Third World. My main concern is to focus on theoretical studies elaborated by Fredric Jameson, Aijaz Ahmad, Madhava Prasad, Homi Bhabha and Barbara Harlow.

Fredric Jameson's proposal that all third world texts can be read as "national allegories" has been one of the more influential attempts to theorize the relationship of literary production to the nation and to politics. Frederic Jameson's article *Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism* depicts some general theory of what is often called third world literature. Jameson's theory of third world literary production offers a way of conceptualizing the relationship of literature to politics.

Jameson says; "all third-world texts are necessarily allegorical and in a very specific way they are to be read as what I call national allegories".[272] For Jameson, third world texts are to be understood as national allegories specifically in contrast to the situation of first world cultural and literary texts. He argues that there is a political dimension to the third world texts. He believes that in the West, the consequence of the radical separation between the public and the private, "between the poetic and the political" is "the deep cultural conviction that the lived experience

[272] Fredric Jameson, "Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism." *Social Text*. 15 (1986), 69.

of our private existences is somehow incommensurable with the abstractions of economic science and political dynamics".[273]

He claims that the literature in the first world is a matter of the private rather than the public sphere. It is also a matter of individual tastes rather than the public debate and deliberation. Towards the end of his essay, he says that First World literature is condemned to the "luxury of a placeless freedom in which any consciousness of his own concrete situation flees like a dream".[274] In the case of the Third World, literature reflects concretely its history because for the Third World writers, the narration of "the individual experience cannot but ultimately involve the laborious telling of the experience of the collectivity itself".[275] The relations between the public and the private in the Third World are entirely different. They have not undergone this separation and literal works do not represent private and individualistic tastes. In other words, they are never written on private matters. As a result of this lack of division, Jameson claims that "the story of the private individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society".[276]

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[273] Ibid.

[274] Ibid, 85.

[275] Ibid, 86. In order to support his theory about the national allegory in the works of the Third World writers, Jameson gives the examples of a novel written by the Chinese novelist Lu Xun and the Senegalese writer and film-maker Ousmane Sembene. In the novel *Diary of Madman* by Lu Xun, the story of a paranoid's nervous breakdown was explained by the paranoia of the Chinese nation bracing itself for the revolution. He suggests that pyschology should be read primarily in political and social terms. By the same token, Sembene's *Xala* which deals with a hero who marries a third wife in spite of his impotence, is also made to fit into Jameson's theory of national allegory. Jamesons explains the impotence of the hero as allegorical of the inability of different African nationalisms to regenerate.

[276] Ibid., 69.

For that reason, the text in the Third World speaks to and of the situation of the struggles for national independence and cultural autonomy in the context of imperialism and its aftermath.[277]The attempt to maintain a different form of social life while accepting the material and technological advantages offered by the West has constituted one of the major challenges faced by non-Western societies for whom modernity has been postponed. The lack of a division between public and private in the third world means for Jameson that psychology or more specifically libidinal investment should be read in primarily political and social terms. [278]

Jameson speaks of the existence of "cultural revolution" which aims to produce an authentic and sovereign subjectivity and collectivity by undoing the set of habits called subalternity. By "cultural revolution", Jameson outlines that the concept of national allegory suggests a number of things about how we should think about third world texts. Accordingly, postcolonial literary production needs to be understood as forming "vital responses to infrastructural realities […] as attempts to resolve more fundamental contradictions".[279] For that reason, it is more beneficial to look at this form of cultural production as a kind of cultural strategy. [280]

Another important work supporting Jameson's argument about the relationship between literature and nationalism in the Third World is Barbara Harlow's analysis where she calls national literature as "resistance literature"[281]

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[277] Ibid., 89.

[278] Ibid., 72.

[279] Ibid., 78.

[280] Thomas Palakeel, "Third World Short Story as National Allegory ?" *Journal of Modern Literature*. 20:1 (1996), 97-102.

[281] Barbara Harlow, *Resistance Literature* (New York and London: Merthuen, 1987).

because she finds literature as a political and politicized activity. She affirms that the resistance literature sees itself immediately and directly involved in a struggle against ascendant or dominant forms of ideological and cultural production. She suggests that post-colonial and Third World nationalisms subject the autonomy of literature and culture to the politics of official nationalism and dominant parties. She defends the idea that whereas the social and the personal have tended to displace the political in the western literary and cultural studies, the emphasis in the literature of resistance is on the political. [282]

The most well-known criticism of Jameson's essay is Aijaz Ahmad's "*Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the National Allegory"*.[283] Ahmad points out that despite several important qualifications Jameson makes, his use of the term 'third world' fails to recognize differences within both advanced capitalist countries and the formerly colonized states as well as growing similarities between them. According to Ahmad, the construction of a theory of "cognitive aesthetics rests, in turn, upon a suppression of the multiplicity of significant differences among and within both the advanced capitalist countries on the one hand and the imperialized formations on the other". [284]

He defends the idea that there is not a Third World Literature, which can be constructed as an internally coherent object of theoretical knowledge. He criticizes of Jameson's argument established on a binary opposition between the "First" and

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[282] Ibid., 30.

[283] Aijaz Ahmad, "Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the National Allegory," in *In Theory: Classes, Nations and Literature*, Aijaz Ahmad (London and New York: Verso, 1992), 95-122.

[284] Ibid., 95.

the "Third" worlds and he argues that an accurate conception of literature cannot be mapped on a basis of a binary opposition. He believes that the texts read and valorized in Europe and in America are not necessarily representative of the majority writers in Asia and in Africa. In addition, he finds Jameson's theory as a description and he thinks that any accurate conception of literature cannot be explained on the basis of this binary opposition because according to him, this description is never ideologically and cognitively neutral. He says:

> Jameson should know that when it comes to a knowledge of the world, there is no such thing as a category of the 'essentially descriptive'; that 'description' is never ideologically or cognitively neutral; that to 'describe' is to specify a locus of meaning, to construct an object of knowledge, and to produce a knowledge that will be bound by the act of descriptive construction.[285]

Instead of making a categorization based on a binary opposition and on the basis of nationalism, he suggests that literary texts are produced in highly differentiated, usually over determined contexts of competing ideological and cultural clusters. He adds that for that reason, any particular text of any complexity will always have to be placed within the cluster that gives it its energy and form before it is totalized into a universal category. He points out:

> This fact of over determination does not mean that individual texts merely float in the air, or that 'Totality' as such is an impossible cognitive category. But in any comprehension of Totality, one would always have to specify and historicize the determinations which constitute any given field; with sufficient knowledge of the field, it is normally possible to specify the principal ideological formations and narrative forms.[286]

He defends the idea that the ideological context of a text's production is of crucial importance in having an understanding and studying literal works but it should be kept in mind that these ideological contexts are not singular but always

[285] Ibid., 99.

[286] Ibid., 121.

several.[287] He underlines the diversity of ideological contexts influencing the content of literal works and this argument opposes to that of Jameson who analyzes the Third World Literature on the basis of nationalism.

The most important contribution in the study of relationship between national literature and imagination has been formulated by Madhava Prasad. In his article entitled, "*On the Question of a Theory of Third World Literature*", he argues that it would be important to reinscribe all literatures in their national context and then begin the analysis of the invisibility of the national framework in the Western context and its hypervisibility in the Third World context. He says:

> The argument in this case would be, not that Third World literature is more expressive of the political realities of this world but that for historical reasons, its critical focus is on a collective social reality more than on (say) an individual's existential crisis; and further that even the literary presentations of existential crises in the Third World context cannot be read in isolation from the national/collective framework.[288]

Prasad argues that there cannot be two distinct theories of literature, one specific for the First World and the other to the Third World and he declares that in this sense, the turn in the revised version of Jameson's text to "world" rather than "Third World" literature may be an advance toward the proper point of departure in the general that would enable an approach to the concrete. In the absence of this division between the First and the Third World literatures, he emphasizes the existence of a global theory of literature by underlying the fact that the analysis of literature should be regarded as a nationalist institution. [289]

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[287] Ibid.

[288] Prasad, "On the Question of a Theory," 155.

[289] Ibid.

Prasad argues that there is the greater visibility of the national frame of reference in the Third World Literatures because Third World nationalisms are primarily counternationalisms, which produce national identities on the model of, but also against the domination of the primary capitalist nation-states. He suggests that their efforts to attain subjecthood were due not to any internal necessity but to external pressure. For this reason, the nation as a frame of reference is a constant presence in cultural production. [290]

In the analysis of the relationship of literature to nationalism, another important contribution has been made by Homi Bhabha. In his book *Nation and Narration*, Bhabha challenges the tendency to treat Third World countries as a homogenous block. He criticizes the essentialist readings of nationality that attempt to define and naturalize “Third World nations" by means of the homogenous, innate, and historically continuous traditions that falsely define and ensure their subordinate status. He argues that this leads to the assumption that there was a shared identity amongst ex-colonial states.

By mentioning the locality of national culture, he refuses to locate Third World nations in a homogenous space or to make totalizing claims on their behalf. Instead, he suggests alternative interventions that would allow us to talk about the nation and cultural difference without reproducing the binaries of East/West and Self/Other. [291] Bhabha claims that the nation comes into the being as a system of cultural significance and as the representation of social life rather than the discipline

[290] Ibid., 158 -159.

[291] Ibid., 3-4.

of social polity.[292] He suggests that the nation is a form of cultural elaboration and an agency of ambivalent narration that holds culture as its most productive position, as a force for subordination, fracturing, reproducing as much as producing, creating, forcing and guiding.[293]

He argues that nations are 'narrative' constructions that arise from the "hybrid" interaction of contending cultural constituencies. Bhabha argues that all sense of nationhood is discursively constructed: it is narrativized. According to Bhabha, in the narratives of the nation, the performativity of language is of crucial importance in the emergence of cultural difference. As was put by Bhabha, "the other is never outside or beyond us; it emerges forcefully, within cultural discourse, when we speak most intimately and indigenously "between ourselves". [294] He defends the idea that the cultural construction of nationness is a form of social and textual affiliation and that national culture, which refers to the idea of difference, is achieved by the means of language.[295]

All these works offer important clues for the understanding of the meaning and the function of literature in the Third World as well as the construction of the gendered national subjects in literature. They also shed some light into the relationship between literature and nationalism. A deeper analysis of these relationships is beyond the scope of this study and the main concern is the imagination of nationalism with respect to the construction of gender in the novels.

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[292] Ibid., 1-2.

[293] Ibid.

[294] Ibid., 4.

[295] Bhabha, " DissemiNation," 292.

4.4. The Construction of Gendered National Subjects in the Novels

After this literature review on the role of literature in the Third World, in this part of the chapter, I will examine the making of gendered subjects in literature, especially in some novels. As mentioned above, literature is a place where the symbolic borders of a national community have been articulated and the notion of gender and the gender roles are important criteria in drawing these symbolic borders. The gender roles and gender politics of national narratives are partly structured through the imagination of literature, which produces discursively conceptions of women's agency. Since gender differences are acknowledged in the literal texts, the making of national subjects in the fiction remains significant in understanding the gendered dimension of nationalism.

Although there are not a remarkable number of studies on the construction of gendered national subjects in literature, the existent studies offer important clues in terms of the representation of women in literature. Barbara Einhorn, in her analysis about the literary presentations of women in Polish and Czechoslovakian literatures, mentions that nationalist aspirations are central to the literatures of both the Czechs and the Poles. In both literatures, national identity was fiercely celebrated in periods of historical instability. Einhorn points out that the emergence of Polish literature coincides with the time when Poland partitioned by Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1795 ceased to exist as an independent state. In the case of Czechs, literary creation has been an important part of the struggle against oppression and foreign domination.[296]

[296] Barbara Einhorn, *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movement* (London and New York: Verso, 1993), 219-220.

She argues that female characters reveal many important patterns in terms of the normative role models of the nation and the limited range of possibilities for female characters. The literary models constructed woman as synonymous with national virtue and morality. On the stage of history, woman was portrayed both victim and actor suffering and strong, weeping and offering resistance. In most of the literal works, the iconization of woman as national symbol coexisted with the portrayal of woman as being responsible of the family and caretakers of the moral and ethical values of the ethnic and national group.[297] She suggests that in the Polish novels written in the nineteenth century, which are characterized by the nationalist aspirations, female types depicted in the gendered symbolism of nationhood are often united in the figure of mother. Women became a symbol of fecundity and source of the nation's strength. Female sexuality was either sanctified in motherhood or else a powerful force, which was feared and rampant, needing to be tamed or destroyed. It is suggested that this is a literary trope common to many cultures: the representation of woman as virgin/mother or alternatively as whore.[298]

In another study on Tamil novels, Sita Anantha Raman analyzes gender relations in early Tamil novels written between 1879 and 1924.[299] The study reveals that the authors of these novels were *Brahman* or *vellala* (upper-caste) men who used fiction to challenge women's unequal access to education. Raman points out that although the male authors articulated their views on improving modern women's lives by emphasizing the importance of education or by attempting to

[297] Ibid., 218.

[298] Ibid., 224.

[299] Sita Anantha Raman, "Old Norms in New Bottles: Constructions of Gender and Ethnicity in Early Tamil Novel." *Journal of Women's History*. 12:3 (2000), 93-119.

challenge unjust customs such as child marriages, widow abuse through the female characters in the novels, they also reaffirmed patriarchal notions of female chastity and domesticity. [300]

The division between the outer/material/male realm and the inner/spiritual female world marked the contemporary discourse on Indian nationalism. Connectedly, in the fiction, the female world was the home and the purest spiritual Indians were women. Although there were many attempts to criticize boldly the illiteracy of women and widow abuse, this did not mean any challenge with respect to the traditional gender roles. In most of the novels, they constructed the icon of chaste modern woman who was an educated but "domestic goddess". [301]

In their search for a national identity outside the colonial state, the authors cast female characters as beautiful and brave women but these were also heroines who were improved by a yearning of education. The message was the fact the education of women was important in order to struggle with female illiteracy but female characters should not pose an intellectual threat to their men. Male characters were portrayed as intellectually superior to female characters and as individuals who were responsible of the protection of women. They were also presented as educators of women. Although women characters hungered to learn, they never became wiser than male mentors did.[302]

In many novels, like *Padmavati Charitram* (Padmavati's story) where the heroine Savitri remained loyal to a dissolute husband even after his death, there was

[300] Ibid., 93.

[301] Ibid., 111.

[302] Ibid., 97.

the idealization of chaste and educated woman.[303] Despite the authors' advocacy of women's education and social participation, the authors did not try to overturn all the existing norms of female sexuality.[304] Women were characterized by the idealizations of chaste and maternal women. In a way, since these male authors viewed female domesticity as essential to the social stability, their heroines performed their domestic duties in the fiction.

Many studies on the role of literature in the Magrebian countries in the nationalist struggles against the colonial power argue that the literal works functioned as a mirror reflecting the problems concerning the society and that the author had to be the speaker of the Magrebian society. The authors did not consider themselves as being separated from the reality of 'their' people. Most of the authors in the Magrebian countries participated in the struggle against colonialism and they defended the idea that their literal works should be the expressions of the national reality or a mirror reflecting the struggle against the colonial domination. In fact, they wanted to be engaged in the struggle for the progress of the nation.[305]

Hafid Gafaiti, in his book entitled *Les Femmes Dans le Roman Algérien* (Women in Algerian Novel), analyzes the depictions of women in several novels written after the independence of Algeria in 1963. Gafaiti declares that woman

[303] Ibid., 93-119.

[304] Ibid., 104.

[305] For more details see Anne-Marie Nisbet, *Le Personnage Feminin Dans le Roman Magrebin de Langue Française* (The Female Personage in the Magrebian Novel in French Language) (Sherbrook:Naaman, 1982). See also Leila Messaoudi, "Images et Représentations de la Femme dans les Contes Marocains (Images and Representations in the Marocan Tales)." *CLIO: Histoire, Femmes et Sociétés*. 9 (1999), 179-184. The most important point of this study is the existence of women by their familial duties. Messaoudi writes that in most of the Moroccan tales, women's social identities are rarely defined by their professions but they come into the picture in the performance of domestic duties such as cooking, doing washing and doing dishes.The universe of these tales relegates women to the traditional duties.

becomes an agent of break, a symbol of contradictions; womanhood also becomes an imaginary place of confrontations within the process of modernization. For the illustration of how woman remains at the centre of the dilemma with regard to modernity, he gives the example of *Le Vent du Sud* (Wind of South) which explains the Algerian society after the War of Independence in 1963.[306]

The heroine of the novel Nafissa is a young girl who conducts her education in Alger and she spends her holiday in a village where her family lives. When she learns that her father will marry her with a man that she has never met, she decides to escape from her village. Nafissa is portrayed as a female character representing a modern woman as the antithesis of traditional ones. By ignoring all the traditional rules, she criticizes the Algerian women who accept their subordination to men as their destiny. She not only rejects religious rules but she also opposes her parents because her freedom is more important than anything is. In this respect, Gafaiti mentions that the novel can be regarded as an attempt to defend women's rights and to emphasize the need of women's emancipation. The equality of sexes was perceived as women's involvement into the social life but still all the male characters were portrayed as masters of women and as being superior to women.

In these studies, the female figure symbolizes a network of significant contradictions, an artificial construction where the text integrates all the possibilities and the discourse to produce an ideal vision of woman. In this ideal vision characterized by the existence of several contradictions, the control of female sexuality is of crucial importance. The idealization of the female through the eyes of the male narrator is regarded as a strategy that allows the text to reproduce its

[306] Hafid Gafaiti, *Les Femmes Dans Le Roman Algérien* (Women in the Algerian Novel) (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 47-90.

heroine the idealized feminine. The narrator functions as an active agent who controls her action. [307]

The novels written during the period of Reza Shah's reign in Iran offer interesting insights into the construction of gender and the perception of female sexuality. It is suggested that in most Iranian narratives, women are central to the plot and they are given much space.[308] The females characters represented in Iranian novels are expected to symbolize morality and sexual purity. What becomes remarkable is the fact that the female characters, which are described by their bodies and sexualities in the fiction, make a negative connotation because they symbolize corruption and immorality in the society. Women's sexuality is viewed so powerful that if it is not controlled, it is supposed to lead inevitably to the corruption of men and of society as a whole.[309] The short novel *Buf-e Kur* (The Blind Owl) by Sadeq Hedayat is important in terms of revealing the cultural assumptions underlying male-female relations in Iran. The hero in *Buf-e Kur* is skeptical about the chastity of her wife. He disguises as one of her lovers and he makes love with her end after the sexual relation, he kills her wife who remains unfaithful to her husband. As it is pointed out that sexual fulfillment and death become synonymous. [310]

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[307] Sabry Hafez, "Women's Narrative in Modern Arabic Literature: A Typology," in *Love and Sexuality in Modern Arabic Literature*, ed. Roger Allen, Hilary Kilpatrick and Ed de Moor (London: Saqi Books, 1995), 154-174.

[308] Azar Naficy, " Images of Women in Classical Persian Literature and the Contemporary Iranian Novel," in *In the Eye of The Storm: Women in Post-Revolutionary Iran*, ed. Mahnaz Afkhami and Erika Friedl (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 1994), 115-130.

[309] Ibid., 72-82.

[310] Ibid.

4.5. Conclusion

There is no doubt that the imagination of gendered national identity is a repetitive and continuous process taking place in different sites. The exploration of several examples in Chapter 3 illustrate how women have been constructed as national subjects in political, social and historical fields by the use of several political policies, historical feminine images and mythical woman figures. However, the imagination of gendered national subjects is not only limited by these spheres.

It is possible to suggest that what holds the nation, the "imagined community", together can be understood as a system of cultural practices that produce and reproduce the meanings of the nation.[311] In this respect, culture is important in ideologically establishing nationalist politics and cultural production becomes an influential channel not only to spread nationalist ideology but also to reestablish the gendered and collective identities. The imagination of gendered nation and gendered collective identities involves a complex process in which political, social and government policies intersect with the production of shared meanings, characteristics and roles closely connected with the production of culture in gender terms.

In understanding the role of cultural imagination in the occurrence of gendered nationalism, the idea of *making national subjects*, formulated by Carey-Webb reserves a special place because it provides a theoretical basis for understanding how cultural and linguistic processes are important in the construction of gendered collective identities in cultural production. It reveals the fact that people are not national by birth but they are *made national* through different linguistic and cultural processes. Among these several processes, literature contributes

[311] Hall, " The Question of Cultural Identity."

significantly to the reinforcement of the imagination process by the creation of fictive stereotypes and to the making of women as gendered national subjects because it illustrates fictively how members of a national community should be imagined with respect to gender roles and gendered national identities. In this respect, it will not be wrong to say that literal texts remain the expressions of national collective identity and fruitful sources for the continuance of the process, which is necessary for "orchestrating the ideological consensus" and for the description of "the grammar of nation" in Layoun's terms.

In addition to the role of cultural production in the imagination of gendered collective identities, in this chapter, I also attempt to develop a theoretical framework for understanding the relevance of literature in the Third World to the ideology of nationalism. This is necessary for the analysis of women's images in the novels in Chapter 8 where I will explore how women are located as gendered national subjects in the novel and how they are made "national" through the means of fiction. For the analysis of the role of literature in the Third World, apart from Prasad, Harlow, Bhabha, I especially focus on Fredric Jameson's and Aijza Ahmad's studies on the significance of literature in the Third World.

Although the consideration of the Third World as a totality as Fredric Jameson claims, might be an important mistake, it is not easy for Third World literature to escape from national allegories. For that reason, Jameson's proposal that all third world texts can be read as national allegories is an important starting point for the analysis of the Turkish novels because it attempts to theorize the relationship of literary production to the nation and to the politics. Most importantly, this notion of "national allegories" provides a basis to consider literary texts within the economic, social and political contexts. In other words, far from reducing the

complexity of third world literary production, the concept of national allegory enables us to consider literary texts as having a political dimension. Although Aijaz Ahmad's argument about the cultural significance and the locality of cultures within the Third World is a crucial point that one has to be aware of the specificity and the differences among the different cultures, the notion of "national allegories" remains significant for the analysis of the representation of women as gendered national subjects in the novels. It is obvious that in most colonial and semi-colonial countries, struggles for women's emancipation go hand in hand with national resistance and the woman question never fails to be part of the national agenda.

It is illuminating to look at women's images in the literature in order to understand the ambivalence of the nationalism in the Third World. Nationalism in the Third World necessitates on the one hand, the emancipation and the transformation of women but on the other hand, the reconstruction of traditional roles for the preservation of "spiritual distinctiveness" which forms an important part in the construction of symbolic borders.

CHAPTER V

A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE TURKISH NATIONALISM

5.1. Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to provide a historical framework of the emergence of the Turkish nationalism, which will be useful in analyzing women's images in the novels with the aim of exploring some specific features of the Turkish nationalism. The historical analysis will offer important clues in order to have a better understanding of the making of gendered national subjects and the main thematics on which women have been constructed as gendered national subjects in the novels examined in Chapter 8. In this chapter, I will attempt to draw a picture of the development of the idea of 'nationalism' in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, which will not only help us to understand the main particularities of the Turkish nationalism but it will also provide crucial insights for the analysis of women's integration into nationalist projects. I will analyze Ottomanism, Islamism, Turkism and Republican nationalism as different phases of nationalism starting from the immediate aftermath of the Tanzimat period.

The most significant characteristic of the Ottoman Empire was the "millet system" characterized by the existence of different 'millets' which were communal religious organizations.[312] Since they were founded upon a religious rather than a

[312] The millet system emerged after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 under Mehmet II and it acknowledged that each religious community and the groups under it, had the right to coexist with the others on equal terms, regardless of size. Each religious community had its system of cultural values and loyalties. The heads and the subheads of the *millets* were the religious channels through which the central administration reached the individual member of a *millet* without tampering with his

social or ethnic basis, in this system, there was not any place for such concepts as 'race' or 'nation'. The empire was composed of religious communities such as orthodox, Jewish and protestant and in this structure, the Turks did not have a privileged position but they were considered firstly as a part of the Muslim millet. [313]

A kind of harmony existed between these different religious communities until the period of Westernization into which the Ottoman Empire entered in the eighteenth century and more apparently in the first half of the nineteenth century. The policy of Westernization which was initiated to increase the efficiency of the administration of the Empire by adopting Western methods and institutions and thus to assure the survival of the state by maintaining its power, brought many changes in concepts and outlooks that started shaking the very foundations of the Ottoman state. The idea of 'nation' originated from the French Revolution and the European originated concepts such as freedom, equality, and homeland began to affect the cosmopolitan nature of the Ottoman society and the 'millet' system. [314]

The Ottoman Empire began to confront the problem of 'nationalisms' as it happened in other empires. Christian peoples living in the Empire affected by the Western ideas started becoming restless and demanding rights of freedom and equality. Different successful revolts like the Greek uprising taking place in 1821, posed the threat of disintegration within the Empire. The subjugation of revolts by

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religious beliefs. As Karpat argues, the *millet* linked the individual to the rulling authority. For a detailed study of the "*millet*" system, see Kemal Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State* (Princeton: Center of International Studies, 1973), 31-40.

[313] François Georgeon, *Des Ottomans aux Turcs. Naissance d'une Nation* (From the Ottomans to the Turcs: The Birth of a Nation) (Istanbul: Isis, 1995), 2.

[314] David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876-1908* (London: Frank Cass, 1977), 3.

military force was not possible. [315] All these required further reforms, which came into the existence by the implementation of Tanzimat reforms, which dealt with different aspects of interaction between the state and the individual. These reforms played a crucial role in the development of different phases of nationalism, which, in turn, all of them contributed to the emergence of the Turkish nationalism.

5.2. Ottomanism

The Tanzimat which means the re-ordering or re-organization started in 1839 with the inauguration of the Imperial Rescript of *Gülhane*. This charter signified the seed-time[316] in which new ideas and institutions started emerging. The most important characteristic of these reforms was the introduction of the idea of security of life, honor and property through equal justice and the equal application of all these reforms to all subjects of whatever religion. It was stated that all Ottoman subjects would be equally treated under law regardless of their religious affiliations. This was a step toward the creation of the idea of Ottomanism, which implied granting the non-Muslim communities in the Empire, full-rights as Ottoman citizens.[317]

This new principle of Ottomanism, the affirmation of the equality of all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion was the first attempt to create an 'Ottoman nation'. It was also a decision towards the establishment of a new kind of loyalty by

[315] Ibid.

[316] The term seed-time has been used in the study of Roderic H. Davison, *Turkey : A Short History* (Huntingdon: The Eothen Press, 1988), 78.

[317] Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: Tauris, 1993) 132-134; Feroz Ahmad, The Making of Modern Turkey (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 34; Kushner, *Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, 13.

recognizing all the subjects as a common political unity and by putting all different religious and ethnic groups under the same nation. The main motive behind the formulation of this ideology was to help the population of different ethnic origin to identify itself with the state and thus, to secure its loyalty and allegiance.[318] Karpat argues that:

> The key purpose of Ottomanism was to transform the subjects of the Sultan into the citizens of the state and, that was a truly revolutionary goal. The Tanzimat and the Reform Edicts (1856) therefore made citizenship the new tie between the individual and the state and made the territory the new foundation of the state. The concept of citizenship preempted the old idea of *din-u devlet*, that the state served faith, and presumably the state was expected to serve its citizens, the total of whom constituted the "millet".[319]

Until the Tanzimat Period, the words *vatan* (fatherland) and *millet* (nation) were being used in very different meanings. *Vatan* meant a place of birth or a place of residence and *millet* meant a religious community in the Ottoman Empire but in the *Gülhane-i Hatt-ı Hümayun*, both of the terms acquired a different meaning where it was said "zeal for dynasty (nation) and love of country (*vatan*)." [320] This points out that the concept of nation-*millet* did not refer to the legally recognized religious communities such as Albanians, Greeks or Armenians but it referred to a single political unit, Ottoman nation composed of all Ottoman subjects equal before the law regardless of their religion.

The idea of Ottomanism was a significant challenge from a state centered faith to a state based idea of a 'nation'. The creation of a new 'Ottoman' identity was to supersede religious, ethnic and local divisions by recognizing all inhabitants as

[318] Kemal H. Karpat, "Historical Continuity and Identity Change or How to be Modern, Muslim, Ottoman and Turk?," in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 6.

[319] Ibid.

[320] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 132.

Ottoman citizens. This was just a formulation to the problems, which could appear as a result of the social structure of the empire characterized by the existence of different ethnic groups. It was an effort to prevent the nationalist movements and to preserve the Empire intact. [321]

In the spread of this new principle of Ottomanism, a group of Ottoman intellectuals played a significant role. This group, called 'Young Ottomans', consisted of philosophers and scholars such as Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, Ziya Paşa as a reaction to the Tanzimat reforms because these reforms which aimed at greater efficiency and centralization of the state, left the Ottoman state more authoritarian and monolithic[322] and this, in turn, paved the way to a great resistance. As it is suggested, the Young Ottomans were not opposed to the modernization of the Empire but they were reacting to Tanzimat statesmen for failing to provide an ideology to justify their institutional innovations.[323]

The Young Ottomans in general terms, regarded all the measures taken in this period insubstantial. These people, who were mainly affected by the Western ideas, defended the need for the formation of a synthesis between the ideas of Enlightenment and Islam. They supported the compatibility between the Islamic ideas and the Western science and technology. In addition, they held the view that an Ottoman Constitution and parliament should be introduced. Most importantly, apart

[321] For more details, see Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations*, 86-87; Kemal Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789-1908." *International of Journal of Middle East Studies*. 3:3 (1972).

[322] Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962); Davison, *A Short History*, 80; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 71-73, Lewis, *Modern Turkey*, 196-207.

[323] Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, 4.

from their democratic claims concerning the representative institutions, they tried to formulate concepts of fatherland, of nation and loyalty to the state. [324]

The attempt to define these concepts became the main theme of the writings of Namık Kemal who was a member of the movement of Young Ottomans. Namık Kemal's play *Vatan yahut Silistre* (the Fatherland or Silistre) was an important literary work where he used some patriotic symbols and feelings. [325] The definition of fatherland (*vatan)* by Namık Kemal had important reflections because for the first time it provided a basis for the idea of an Ottoman nation. In his article, Namık Kemal describes the notion of *vatan* as follows:

> The *Vatan* does not consist of imaginary lines drawn on a map by the sword of a conqueror or the pen of scribe. It is a sacred idea, sprung from the union of many lofty sentiments, such as nation, freedom, welfare, brotherhood, property, sovereignty, respect for ancestors, love of family, memory of youth. [326]

The new description of *vatan* contributed to replace the previous Ottoman concept of different peoples living side-by-side but still separate with that of a union of the population. This signified a change from "equal but separate status" to becoming fully integrated Ottoman citizens". [327] In this way, he attempted to describe an Ottoman nation embracing all the Ottoman people regardless of religion.

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[324] Ibid.

[325] Namık Kemal, *Vatan Yahut Silistre* (The Fatherland and Silistre) (İstanbul: Remzi, 1983).

[326] This article of Namık Kemal was published in *İbret* in 1873. It was quoted in Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 337.

[327] Hugh Poulton, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic* (London: Hurst Company, 1997), 56.

It is possible to suggest that the Young Ottomans tried to promote the principle of Ottomanism which was characterized by the creation of an Ottoman identity to supersede religious, ethnic and local divisions and the establishment of an Ottoman nationality under which everyone would enjoy full the benefits of the state services and the equal protection of the laws. Mardin points out that the main contribution of these people was the establishment of a climate of opinion where discussions centered on the concepts of liberty, fatherland, and nation.[328]

5.3. Islamism

The principle of Ottomanism resulted in failure because firstly, it was nearly impossible to hold different ethnic groups together because of the spread of the Western ideas such as homeland, freedom and nation. Secondly, this new principle was regarded by both Muslims and Christians with suspicion. Christians saw Ottomanism as a means of perpetuating Muslim power and as a device to keep them tied to the system. Muslims, on the other hand, were suspicious of their government's Islamic credentials. They saw the idea of secularism represented in the new principle as a threat undermining their culture. [329]

The War of Russia and the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 resulted in important territorial loses which changed the substance of the state. The loss of these territories reduced the number of Christians in the Empire and increased the number of Muslims proportionately. Additionally, the migration of a great number of Muslims

[328] Mardin, *Young Ottoman Thought*, 80.

[329] For a detailed analysis, see Karpat, "Historical Continuity and Identity Change," 7-9.

into the Ottoman territory played an important role in the ethnic change in the Ottoman state.[330]

All these factors contributed to the formulation of the government's policy under Abdülhamid II (1876- 1908) who put the emphasis on the Islamic character of the state by strengthening the institution and the symbol of the caliphate. His main argument was the fact that Islam should be perceived not only as a belief system but also as a religion of law providing the main source for the rule of the state. Connectedly, it should be the basis for reordering the worldly life for all Muslims.[331] Many policies were taken in order to strengthen this ideological force, Islamism, which called for a return to the fundamental values of Islam. For example, the resources of the state treasury were used to build up the Muslim schools to enable young Ottoman Muslims to compete with their non-Muslim counterparts. Pensions, salaries and other revenues paid to the *ulema* were increased. The use of Arabic as a language of culture and even administration was encouraged. Islamism thus became an ideological weapon wielded by the sultan to counter the minority nationalist movements threatening the Empire.[332]

This was a new policy from the part of the Ottoman Empire to preserve the Ottoman state because until the nineteenth century religion was not used as a political ideology but as a tool to mobilize the Muslims to fight against the enemies. For the first time, Islam was manipulated to regenerate the Empire based on Islamic

[330] Karpat, *An inquiry into the Social Foundations*, 106-107.

[331] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünçe Tarihi* (The History of Modern Thinking in Turkey) (İstanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1994), 202.

[332] Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 259-260.

practices. [333] This principle of Islamism aimed at promoting the idea that all Ottomans of the Muslim faith were actually a single nation bound to defend its faith, culture and identity. Karpat argues that Ottomanism underlined the importance of a national unity and the idea of territorial nation without giving it any inner psychological dimension or any sense of belonging to any other entity other than religion but the ideology of Islamism provided a psychological core suitable only to the Muslims for the emergence of the so-called Ottoman nation.[334]

5.4. Turkism

From the late 1880s onward, the Young Ottoman bureaucrats and intellectuals who had been educated in European college and affected by Western liberal ideas became increasingly restless under the impotence of the government and they attempted to overcome the problems that would lead to the dissolution of the state. These people founded the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in 1889 and they were known as Young Turks abroad. The Yong Turks started a campaign against the autocratic regime of Abdülhamid with the aim of establishing a constitutional, parliamentary regime. They held the view that such a representative government would not only prevent the emergence of national separatist movements in the Ottoman Empire but also, it would restrain the intervention of Europe in the internal affairs of the Empire.[335]

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[333] Zürcher, *Turkey,* 132.

[334] Karpat, "Historical Continuity and Identity Change," 17.

[335] Erik J.Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists: Identity Politics 1908-1938," in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, 6.

Between 1889-1908 the Young Turks intensified their opposition to the personal tyranny of the sultan. During this period, the Young Turks did not think of dissociating themselves from the minorities by supporting nationalism manifestly, and minorities were supporting the opposition policies of the Young Turk movement with the expectation of gaining their independence after victory.[336] They thought that nationalism could be disruptive in a cosmopolitan population and it was feared that the adoption of nationalism might provoke the non-Muslim communities to seek their salvation.[337]

Although until the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Period, the Young Turks had a tendency toward Ottomanism, at the same time, as a reaction to the different separatist movements and as a result of certain developments, a new sense of Turkish identity began to develop. In the study of Turkish nationalism, both Ottomanism and Islamism are important phases in the emergence of the Turkish nationalism but the most significant step was Turkism. Georgeon suggests that the development of Turkish nationalism in the Ottoman Empire originated from the idea of Pan-Turkism whose objective was to create a cultural unity.[338]

The ideology of Pan-Turkism was developed among the Turkish- Tatars population in the Russian Empire who were subjected to the Russian domination and pressures. The national awakening of the Turks in Russia was born as a reaction to

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[336] Kemal Karpat, *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi* (History of Turkish Democracy) (İstanbul: İstanbul, 1967).

[337] Majid Khadduri, *Political Trends in the Arab Worlds: The Role of Ideas and Ideals in Politics* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), 14.

[338] Georgeon, *Des Ottomans aux Turcs*, 5.

these policies and it became an impetus to the Ottoman awareness with Turks living outside the Empire. [339]

The most prominent figure of the intellectuals, who played a greater role in the awakening of a Turkish national identity, was İsmail Gaspıralı. He underlined the importance of the unity of all the Turks in the face of Russian nationalism and he tried to develop a unification of language. In his newspaper, *Tercüman* established in Crimea in 1883, he defended the idea of "unity in language, thought and action". [340] Although his attempts were not directly related with the establishment of a pure nationalism, he contributed significantly to the development of Turkism. He influenced many intellectuals such as Yusuf Akçura or Ahmed Ağaoğlu, who immigrated to the Ottoman Empire from Russia and who became very influential in the cultural and political domains. It is clear that these people played a striking role in the formation of the Turkish nationalism.

In addition to the activities of these intellectuals in Russia and the immigration of their followers to the Ottoman Empire who stimulated the beginning of a Turkish national feeling, many studies in the field of language inside and outside the Empire contributed to this process. The European studies on Turcology mentioned the oldness of the Turkish culture and it revealed the importance of the pre-Islamic period in the history of Turks. Among these works, two works had a considerable value. One was *A Grammar of the Turkish Language* published in 1832 by Arthur Lumley Davids and the other is *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie: Turcs*

[339] Jacob M. Landau, *Pan-Turkism: From Irredentism to Cooperation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 7-28.

[340] Ibid., 10.

et Mongols des Origines à 1405 (Introduction to the History of Asia: Turks and Mongols from Their Origins to 1405) written by Léon Cahun in 1896. [341]

The former was important not only as the first systematic grammar of Turkish to be published but also a historical work. Its introduction contained a history of Turkish peoples, a survey of Turkish languages or dialects and an account of the cultural and literary output of the Ottoman Turks by emphasizing the Turks' role in civilization. [342] The latter publication, *Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie* (Introduction to the History of Asia), was influential in the growth of a national consciousness among the Turks. As was mentioned by Ali Ağaoğulları, Léon Cahun argued that Turks had degenerated through Islamization and he described the positive features of the early Turks and their cultural endeavors.[343]

Within the Empire, many literary figures started studying the purification of language. Ahmed Vefik Paşa, author of *Lehçe-i Osmani* (Ottoman Dialect) was the first to take up Turkish as an entity distinct from Ottoman. He pointed out that Turkish history did not start with Ottomans. Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa, on the other hand, in his book published in 1869 *Les Turcs Anciens et Modernes* (The Ancient and Modern Turks), mentioned that Turks belonged to the Touro-Aryan race with the objective of establishing a racial unity between Turks and Europeans.[344] All these studies contributed to a new perception of the role of the Turkish people in the

[341] Kushner, *Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, 9-10. See also Mehmet Ali Ağaoğulları, " The Ultranationalist Right," in *Turkey in Transiton: New Perspectives*, ed. Irvin C. Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 180-181.

[342] Kushner, *Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, 9.

[343] Ağaoğulları, "The Ultranationalist Right," 180.

[344] Kushner, 9.

history of Asia and Europe and acquainted Ottoman Turks with their language and ancient history. They provided various sources of inspiration for the growth of the idea of Turkishness.[345]

The development of ethnic consciousness among Turks became very apparent with the proclamation of the Second Constitution and the defeat of Abdülhamid's despotic regime, which provided the ground for the emergence of the Turkish nationalism. The Young Turk Era 1908-1918 was the last phase of the Ottoman state. It was also the final stage in which the last conditions necessary for the emergence of a national secular Turkish state were created[346].

Although after the inauguration of the Second Constitution, the Young Turks tried to maintain the existing Ottoman multinational state, their political organization, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) started to consider itself as the representor of the Turks. They were convinced that the maintenance of the Empire would be based on the mobilization of the element 'Turk'.[347] This mobilization was fortified largely by the establishment of several associations and newspapers where the emphasis on the idea of 'Turkishness' was related to the idea of Pan-Turkism.[348] The Association *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) founded in 1911 started launching a periodical in its name with the aim of contribution to

[345] Ağaoğulları, "The Ultranationalist Right."

[346] Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations*, 111.

[347] Georgeon, *Des Ottomans aux Turcs*, 32-33.

[348] The periodicals issued from 1908 were analyzed in Masami Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1992). In this study, he focuses on four periodicals; *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association), *Genç Kalemler* (Young Pens), *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland), *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth) and *İslam Mecmuası* (Islamic Review).

improving the intellectual standard of Turks and to making them enterprising.[349] Three of the six founding members of the associations were from Russia and for the first time in the journal, they started to advocate their views alongside Ottomans. The main goals were to contribute to Turks' economic and moral improvements, to make Turks aware of their common destiny, to arouse fraternal feelings in all parts of the Turkic world, to develop the Turkish national sprit among Ottoman Turks and to defend the interests of the Turkic world. In the following year, another new organization, *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Heart) that became an influential nationalist organization in the Young Turk era was established. Its aims were to advance the national education, to raise the economic, social and scientific level of the Turks and to work for the betterment of the Turkish race and language.[350]

In all these associations, there was a reference to the idea of Pan Turkism. In fact, this idea of the unification of all the Turks in the world was not practical as a political ideal but its cultural dimension put the emphasis on Turkishness among Ottoman Turks. To put it differently, the Pan- Turkist movement can be taken into consideration as an important stage in the emergence of the Turkish nationalism, which enabled the Ottoman Turks to consider themselves as separate from other groups in the Empire.

5.5. Intellectual Influences

5.5.1. Yusuf Akçura

In the Turkish national movement, those who advocated a Pan-turkist nationalism, played an important role. As I mentioned before, these were immigrants

[349] Ibid., 48-70.
[350] Ibid., 71-82.

from Russia. The most prominent figure who was recognized as one of the principal exponents of Turkish nationalism was Yusuf Akçura, a man of Tatar descent. Akçura, in his article entitled "*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*" (Three Ways of Policies) published in 1904 in Cairo, examined different policies aiming at empowering the Ottoman state. This was an attempt to analyze the ideologies of Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Turkism in order to find a plausible answer to the question "how can the state be saved?" The solution was the idea of a political Turkish nationality based on race.[351]

As suggested by François Georgeon, the idea of nation introduced by Akçura can be best explained with reference to German nationalism and from this perspective. Georgeon states that "*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset"* by Yusuf Akçura marks a transformation from French nationalism expressed itself in the formation of the idea of "an Ottoman nation" to a German nationalism.[352] Akçura's definition of nation was mainly based on cultural elements. He described the nation based on a common race as the unity of Turks who have similar language, traditions and even religion. Akçura constructed his theory on the notion of "*ırk*" (race) which referred to the purity of blood and to the entity of Turks as a separate ethnic identity. Until that, the terms utilized traditionally to distinguish the Turkish element defined Turks as *cins* (genre) and as *kavim* (people) belonging to the Islamic community.[353]

[351] Yusuf Akçura, "Üç Tarz- ı Siyaset (Three Ways of Policies)." *Türkiye Günlüğü*. 31 (1994), 9-18.

[352] François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)* (The Origins of the Turkish Nationalism: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)) (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1986), 44.

[353] Ibid., 42-44.

In developing his theory, Akçura elaborated three bases of unity in the Empire on the basis of their failures and their advantages. He suggested that both Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism were inappropriate for forming a new basis for the continuity of the Empire. Ottomanism was not applicable because the old traditional Ottoman state was able to accommodate a large variety of different ethnic groups with different cultures and also Islamic and non-Islamic creeds but the idea of Ottomanism called for a national homogeneity which could create a conflict of interests between these populations. In other words, the interests of the Turks, non-Turks and non-Muslims were not concurrent. It was inevitable to recognize the national aspirations of the non-Turks and non-Muslims; and the Turks should disregard being Ottomans and recognize their own national sentiments.[354]He declared that Pan-Islamism, on the other hand, would be difficult to be realized because of the European powers. He defended the view that Islam was a powerful force, but the idea of the unification of Muslims was a very difficult project because of the interventions of the external powers. In his words:

> It is possible to repeat without any fear that Islam is still very powerful. In the achievement of *tevhid-i Islam* (the unification of Islam), the internal difficulties can be resolved but the external ones are very powerful. In reality, on the one hand, all the Islamic states are under the domination of the Christian states. On the other hand, apart from a few exceptions, all the Christian states possess the Muslim population.[355]

The only option was the adoption of Pan-Turkism, which would seek to realize a national union of all the Turkic groups based on race. David Thomas points out that Akçura proposed the Turks of the Ottoman Empire to recognize their national aspirations, to forget about being Ottomans and to adapt a policy of Turkish

[354] Akçura, "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset," 10-11.

[355] Ibid., 17.

nationalism as the focus of their collective identity.[356]By underlying the importance of a Turkist policy and by introducing the concept of the nation as a cohesive bond in place of religious dynasty, Akçura offered a third alternative to the doctrines of Ottomanism and Islamism.

He considered Turkism as the most prominent option to both Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism; and he attributed a functional role to the religion, which would serve the formation of nationalities by providing enthusiasm and emotions. This in turn, would be the basis for the unification of the Turks. In other words, he defended the idea that Islam could function as a basis to support the emotional and patriotic sentiments for the unification of the Turks. He suggested that although the unification of the Turks was a new idea, the sentiments and enthusiasm of Islam would provide a solid unity. He pointed out that:

> Although nationalist ideas became noticeable among the Turks under the Western influence, this phenomenon is quite a recent one as mentioned above. The ideas of Turkishness, Turkish literature, the dream of unifying the Turks are a newborn baby. The well-established organization, the ardent sentiments and enthusiasm that we see in Islam, other matters and preparations which could provide a solid unity, do not exist in Turkishness. Today, most of the Turks are unaware of their past but it should not be forgotten that the great majority of Turks which might unify, are Muslims. In this regard, the Islamic religion can be an important element in the formation of a greater Turkish nationality.[357]

Although Akçura's arguments have been rejected by the Young Turks who continued to support the policy of Ottomanism in the beginning of the Second Constitutional Period, they had a significance in initiating the idea of Pan-Turkism, the idea that a Turkist policy would rally the loyalties of the dominant Turkish race and reinforce with it the unity of Turks.

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[356] David Thomas, "Yusuf Akçura and the Intellectual Origins of 'Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset'." *Journal of Turkish Studies*. 2 (1978), 127.

[357] Akçura, "Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset," 17.

After the 1908 Revolution where the CUP ended the rule of Sultan Abdülhamid II, the Young Turks adopted secularism as part of their nationalist-modernist philosophy. This was the result of a long process of social transformation, which had ended in the commitment to modernization as well as in a new form of political identity.[358] They started favoring Turkish nationalism. Ottomanism was discredited because it failed to create cohesion among diverse groups who had conflicting national identities.[359]

Especially after the development of the Arab separatist movement in 1911 and the Balkan Wars between 1912-1913 where the Ottoman Empire lost many territories, the nationalist aspirations of the Young Turks increased. At the end of the Balkan Wars, most remaining Ottoman Christians and many Muslim Albanians got their independence. This marked a clear cut from the idea of Ottomanism and put the emphasis on the idea of Turkism, which started to gain an enormous support because the expectations to preserve the unity of the Empire had vanished with the increasing loss of territories and with the rising nationalist movements of the non-Turkish nations. [360]

This was followed by the attempts of the Young Turks to impose new loyalties on all the non-Turkish elements of the empire with a policy of Turkification. The Turkification policies consisted of the imposition of the Turkish language on Arabs, Albanians and other non-Turkish Muslims and the expansion of

[358] Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations*, 111.

[359] Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 218-219.

[360] Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations*, 112.

the control of the central government in İstanbul in Arab areas.[361] These Turkification policies can be regarded as a shift from the idea of Ottomanism, which allowed the survival of different ethnic groups with different ethnic culture to a separatist nationalist process, which ignored the cosmopolitan character of the Empire.

In addition to the Turkification policies, the program of the "National Economy" launched in 1914 was another indicator showing how the idea of Turkism became dominant within the Empire. The process of creating a national economy started in 1908. The CUP took many measures to accomplish their goals such as boycotting the Austrian and Greek goods in 1908-1909 and encouraging the consumption of local manufacturers. They began to construct a network of roads and railways to integrate a national market [362] but the most radical measures were taken with the nationalization of the economy in 1914. The program basically aimed at eliminating non-Turks and foreign tradesmen, bankers, financiers and industrialists and at building a national bourgeoisie.[363] All of these show how the Turkish nationalism began to be shaped and how the idea of Ottomanism was abounded in favor of Turkism.

The Young Turks were influenced by the ideas of Auguste Comte and its ideology of positivism. As it is known, the idea of positivism emphasized the importance of the adoption of positive or scientific method and it replaced religion

[361] Ibid., 219.

[362] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993), 44-45.

[363] On this policy, see Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat* (National Economy in Turkey) (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982).

with notions of progress. This also influenced many Young Turks. The most important doctrine of the Young Turks was the need for Westernization. As one of the members of the Young Turk, Abdullah Cevdet mentioned, "There is no second civilization; civilization means European civilization and it must be imported with both its roses and thorns".[364] What was important was the limits of this westernization and this problem has been tried to be resolved by Ziya Gökalp.

5.5.2. Ziya Gökalp

The most important theoretician who contributed to the formation of the main characteristics of the Turkist movement was Ziya Gökalp. He was an outstanding figure who mainly systematized ideas shaping the content of the Turkish nationalism. Gökalp was deeply influenced by Durkheim's sociology. Like Durkheim, he believed that societies pass through different stages of evolution from primitive societies based on mechanical solidarity to organic societies based on social solidarity and advanced division of labor. As Davison mentions, Gökalp suggested that the economic, political, industrial and demographic changes were bringing about structural and functional differentiation in the world at two levels. The first level was within culture-nations what Durkheim called societies. The second, however, was the level of civilization described by Gökalp as the supranational grouping to which different nations belonged.[365]

[364] Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 231.

[365] Andrew Davison, "Secularization and Modernization in Turkey: the Ideas of Ziya Gökalp." *Economy and Society*. 24:2 (1995), 201.

The most repeated subject in Gökalp's writings was the question of how the Turks should adopt Western civilization, and how this effort should be in harmony with their Turkish and Islamic backgrounds. He analyzed what the Turks as nation and Islam as their religion would look like under the conditions of contemporary Western civilization.[366] He said, "We belong to the Turkish nation, we are aware of the community of Islam and we are a part of Western civilization".[367]

This was basically an attempt to combine three ideological components which were Turkification, Islamization and Westernization. In this formulation, Islam was considered as a part of national culture and as an important source of ethics, and it was fully capable of being modified to meet the needs of the time. He pointed out that in primitive societies; the religious institutions performed the functions of state and nation. Therefore, all institutions sprang from religion. However, in organic societies, in nations in Gökalp's terms, religious rules existed but they covered only the ideals and sentiments, which had to remain spiritual and sacred. [368]

This emphasis on the cultural aspect of Islam brought the necessity of separating the state from the religious laws. In other words, in order to rescue the nation as well as religion, they had to be separated. This could make possible the preservation of Islamic fundamental values and principles side by side with a

[366] Ziya Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*, trans. and ed. by Niyazi Berkes (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1959), 13.

[367] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (The Principles of Turkism) (İstanbul: Trend Yayın, 2004), 105.

[368] Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism*, 184-255.

modern and Turkish national culture.[369] Accordingly, in Gökalp's approach, the religious law had to be supplanted by secular law.[370] At this point, it is worth to mention Heyd's argument. Heyd defended the idea that Gökalp transferred all the divine qualities he found in society to the nation. This means that in Gökalp's thinking, religion became not Islam but nationalism because he qualified nation as "deified" by being the source and model for all the ethical values. [371]

In Gökalp's thinking, the concepts of culture and civilization occupied a major position. The connection between nation, culture and civilization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7 "Setting the Conceptual and the Analytical Framework for the Analysis of Women's Images in the Novels". It suffices to note that Gökalp defended the idea that each nation should maintain its existence by protecting its own national character and it would be inevitable to be degenerate for a nation if it regarded other nations superior. By protecting its own culture, it would be possible to be a part of civilization

The ideas of Ziya Gökalp made a great contribution to the formation of Turkish nationalism not only in the Ottoman Empire but also after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. At the core of the Turkish nationalism lies the attempt of making a synthesis between culture and civilization. This has been realized on the

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[369] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Turkism, Islamism and Modernism) (İstanbul: Türk Kültür Yayınları, 1974), 32.

[370] In this secularization, he defended the idea that legislation had to be rescued from the limitations of the religious law and religion should be left to the ulema. He held the idea that the religious schools and courts had to be abolished to end the dualism between secular and religious elements that existed in the Ottoman society. For more information, see Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 302-304.

[371] Uriel Heyd, *Türk Ulusculuğunun Temelleri* (The Foundations of the Turkish Nationalism) (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1979), 197.

basis on the distinction between "bad" and "good" aspects of Westernization. In this "cosmetic westernization"[372], it was believed that modernization was possible without resorting to Western codes of conduct. What was important was the adoption of the material dimension of the West by preserving the cultural essences.

5.6. Republican Nationalism

The most remarkable challenge in the development of the Turkish nationalism appeared at the end of the First World War where the Ottoman Empire was defeated and the country was occupied by the Allied forces. In 1919, French and British troops occupied parts of South Central Anatolia; Greeks landed in Izmir and Italians in Southwestern Anatolia. This gave way to the emergence of a national resistance movement from Anatolia. The members of the Young Turk Committee of Union and Progress who had been in power before and during the war prepared ground for the armed resistance. "Societies for the Defense of the National Rights" were found in many different places. The Turkish War of Independence was accomplished by the participation of Anatolian people to save the Holy Land against the Allied Forces. [373]

During the War of Independence under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who was a member of the Young Turks, there was a shift from the idea of Pan-Turkism to an understanding of a territorial nation. The idea of the unity of all Turks, which played an important role in the emergence of the idea of Turkishness,

[372] This term "cosmetic westernization" has been used by Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity." *Middle Eastern Studies*. 32:2 (1996), 181.

[373] Davison, *Turkey: A Short History*, 122-123. For the War of Independence see also Zürcher, *Turkey*, 138-172.

was left for the idea of a territorial nation, which takes its basis from a sense of territory and according to which all those within the same territory are considered to be members of the nation sharing a common history. Membership of the nation is seen as a quality of all those who live in the same national territory.[374]As it is suggested, the most important feature of the concept of the territorial nation is its legal aspect. Accordingly, the nation is defined as a community of laws and legal institutions and its members are bound by a common code and have uniform rights and obligations. [375]

The first proof of the aspiration toward a territorial nation was the adoption of a manifesto called *Misak-ı Milli* (the National Pact) which was the official statement of the objectives of the resistance movement and which formulated the basic demands for territorial integrity and national independence. The issue was first taken up during the Erzurum Congress of 23 July-17 August 1919. The principle of National Pact was adopted in January 1920 and it defined the borders of Anatolia as the final official borders of the new nation. This was an important transformation in the development of Turkish nationalism because as it is pointed out, the concept of territory is an emotional component and it is considered one of the main features of national identity.[376]

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[374] Anthony Smith refers this as Western model of nation and summarizes its components as "historic territory, legal-political community, legal-political equality of members and common civic culture and ideology. For more details, see Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), 11.

[375] Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins*, 134-136.

[376] Anthony Smith described territory as an important feature in the definition of nationalism because he held the view that "historic territory" is of crucial importance in the formation of a national identity. See Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, 19. See also Didem Mersin Alıcı, "The Role of Culture, History and Language in Turkish National Identity: An Overemphasis on Central Asian Roots." *Central Asian Survey*. 15:2 (1996), 217-231.

Connectedly, in one of his speeches in Eskişehir in 1921, Mustafa Kemal declared "Neither Islamic union nor Turanism may constitute a doctrine or legal policy for us. Henceforth the Government policy of the new Turkey is to consist in living independently relying on Turkey's own sovereignty within her national frontiers".[377] Thus, it is possible to say that the idea of Pan-Turkism lost its significance as a result of a new policy which described the frontiers of the new nation by Anatolia and which regarded the national interests as the most relevant ones. This new approach emphasizing the frontiers of the nation is important for two reasons. First, it was used as a manifestation of power in order to reconstruct itself after the war. Second, it could be used as an emotional entity that would enable the nation to conceive itself as a nation.

Another important act was the elimination of the Islamic basis of the state. In other words, Islam, which was the principal component in the ideology of the Ottoman Empire, would be removed from the political discourse in order to adopt a secular nationalism. Secularism became involved with the definition of the nation as a homogeneous, uni-ethnic, uni-linguistic and uni-sectarian entity but in order to build the nation, cultural markers would be used and Islam was viewed as one of these cultural markers, which would make individuals to imagine themselves of being a part of a nation.[378]

For that reason after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, many radical measures were taken in order to legitimize the Republican regime. The Caliphate was abolished in 1924. In the following year, all the religious shrines and

[377] Quoted in Landau, *Pan-Turkism,* 74.

[378] Ümit Cizre Sakallıoğlu, "Parameters and Strategies of Islam-State Interaction in Republican Turkey." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 28:2 (1996), 234-235.

dervish convents were closed down. In 1926, the Swiss Civil Code was adopted. These were followed by the abolition of the fez and the adoption of the Western calendar. All these reforms aimed at secularizing and modernizing society by disposing Islam and by abolishing the fundamental institutions of the Ottoman Empire. This was necessary for the consolidation of the new Republic, which would signify a break from the Ottoman Empire, and for the formation of a new Turkish national identity.

Since the Ottoman past would not be a reference point for the idea of Turkishness and for the creation of a new national identity after the establishment of the Republic, different theories about the past and cultural traits of a Turkish nation were constructed. An example of this is the foundation of the Turkish Historical Research Society in 1931. It is suggested that this was an effort to analyze the history of Turks who were not Ottomans.[379] I think, this was a significant attempt to interpret history in a specific manner in order to enable the people to imagine that they had a common historical culture.

Connectedly, a history thesis called *Turkish Historical Thesis* was propounded for the first time. The theory held the view that Turks had originally lived in Central Asia which means that they had existed long before the Ottoman Empire. As a result of different natural disasters, they had to move to immigrate to different areas such as China, Europe and the Near East carrying civilization with them. As a result, they were ancestors of several civilizations such as Sumerians, Hittites. In brief, the theory aimed at showing that there was a Turkish civilization before the entrance of Islam and Anatolia was the original homeland for the

[379] Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (Turkish Modernization) (Istanbul:İletişim Yayınları, 1991), 292.

Turks.[380]The main motive behind the creation of a "national history" was to arouse the feeling of attachment to a historical homeland, which was originally Central Asia for all the Turks, to consolidate the national consciousness and to destroy the loyalty to the Ottoman Empire.

Another significant reform was made in the issue of language as a crucial part of culture. The first step taken in this direction was the establishment of the Turkish Language Academy (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) in 1932. One way of moving away from the Ottoman heritage towards the Turkish nation was purifying the language of foreign words. The new purified national language would come to symbolize the Turkish nation as unique, having a particular language and a particular culture of its own.[381] This led to the formulation of *Sun Language Theory* (*Güneş Dil Teorisi).* The theory suggested that all languages derived originally from one primeval language, spoken in Central Asia, that Turkish was closest of all languages to this origin and that all languages had developed from the primeval language through Turkish.[382]

All these measures served as signifiers implying that the Turkish nation had historic, linguistic and cultural roots. They attempted to emphasize the existence of a cultural heritage and to glorify this heritage. They were necessary to construct a cultural basis on which the new Turkish nation would be based and thus, to enable the people to imagine that they had a common history, culture and language.

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[380] See Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey,* 359-361; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 198-199; Davison, *A Short History*, 135-136.

[381] Alıcı, "Central Asian Roots," 228.

[382] Zürcher, *Turkey*, 198.

5.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to trace an historical outline of the emergence of the Turkish nationalism by describing different phases and transformations that Turkey underwent in the transition from a multi-ethnic empire to a secular nation-state. When the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was challenged by the emergence of several nationalist revolts, there emerged a shift from the idea of the non-national state to the modern nation state. In this change, the first stage was the creation of an 'Ottoman nation', which was expected to replace the old loyalty to the community and to prevent potential discontent. Since the Empire involved different national and religious groups, this new loyalty was perceived as a chance for avoiding the disintegration of the Empire. This policy was not successful but it gave stimulus to the formation of Islamism and to the development of the idea of Turkism, which in turn played a significant role in the emergence of the Turkish nationalism. It is possible to suggest that although the Turkish Republic rejected the Ottoman past and it attempted to keep itself at a distance, Turkish nationalism has been affected by these different stages.

Two remarks can be drawn from the analysis of the Turkish nationalism. Firstly, it can be suggested that the Turkish nationalism has a dual structure, which means that it involves both civic and ethnic elements. The civic or political nationalism equates the citizenship with membership in the nation. Members of the nation are unified by their political status and by their will as individuals to be part of the nation. The ethnic nationalism, however, emphasizes the importance of the idea of a common heritage and a common culture that bring people together to make

a nation.[383] In this sense, it will not be wrong to say that the Turkish nationalism represents a combination of the elements defining both of them.

With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the Turkish nationalist discourse defined the nation as an assemblage of citizens, a body of equal citizens and underlined the importance of the ideas such as secularism, progress, rationalism but at the same time, it emphasized the existence of a singular nation and a particular culture, which can be identifiable from other nations. In this respect, it can be defined as an example of eastern nationalism which tries to combine the French and German models and thus, as a combination of political and cultural nationalism.

To remind briefly, political nationalism is identified with French nationalism and it is characterized by the main features of the French Revolution such as rationalism, progress and scientific knowledge. Political nationalism is mainly concerned with the existence of a nation-state composed of legally equal individuals. Cultural nationalism, however, is associated with German nationalism, which emerged as a reaction to the French Revolution and the ideas introduced by Enlightenment. Cultural nationalism however, connotes a different notion of nation,

[383] Scholars of nations and nationalism have commonly argued that there are many characteristics, that can provide the foundation for national unity and identity. A classificatory scheme has arisen that distinguishes nations as civic, political or territorial on one hand versus ethnic or cultural on the other. This classification was firstly developed by Friedrich Meinecke, in his book, *Cosmopolitanism and the National State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970). This was popularized by Hans Kohn who makes the distinction between Western nationalism and Eastern nationalism in his book *The Idea of Nationalism*. He argues that inspired by Enlightenment ideas of liberty and equality, Western nationalism struggled against the dynastic rule and equated citizenship with membership in the nation. Members of the nation were unified by their equal political status. Thus in the Western model, the state precedes the nation. However, in the Eastern model, the nation precedes and seeks to create the state. The idea of *volk* (people) places the notion of citizenship. For more details, see Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Origins and Backgrounds* (Toronto: Collier Book, 1967). Many scholars employ this distinction between civic/political and ethnic and cultural nations originated by Meinecke and Kohn. In Smith's Western model, national unity is based on a historic territory, laws and institutions and most importantly, the legal-political equality of members that expresses itself in a set of rights; however, Smith's non-Western ethnic nation is based on a common descent and thus is seen by its members as "a fictive family". See Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London: Penguin, 1991), 9-12.

a *Kulturnation* [384] regarded as a product of a common history, language, religion and tradition.

Although it would be difficult to suggest that the Turkish Republic succeeded in constructing a nation as a body of legally 'equal' citizenship, a Turkish nation-state was established and it is claimed that this Turkish nation-state is composed of Turkish citizens. This was the aspect of *staatsnation*.[385] The aspect of *kulturnation*, however, was emphasized by the fortification of different theses such *Turkish Historical Thesis* or *Sun Language Theory* which all underlined the importance of a common Turkish history and a common Turkish culture. According to these theories, many people of antiquity were Turkish and all languages were derived from Turkish. [386]

The most important leitmotiv in Turkish nationalism has been Turkish modernization. Since the initiation of the Tanzimat reforms, there was a great effort to make a balance between the materiality of the West, which has been accepted as the perfect aspect of Western civilization, and the spirituality of the East. The moral values of the West have been rejected as being considered as the wicked side of the West**.** This, in turn, paved the way to an anomalous situation, which occupied an important place.

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[384] The distinction between *staastnation* (political nation) and *kulturnation* (cultural nation) which is often used by scholars discussing nationalism was made in 1907 by the German historian Friedriech Meinecke. For more details, see Meinecke, *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*, 9-22. These two models of nation are often used to show the differences between French and German understanding of nation. See also, Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and in Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

[385] In the notion of *staatsnation*, there is an emphasis upon a conceptual of a political or civic community in the form of a constitutional state.

[386] See, Poulton, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf and Crescent*, 101-114; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 198-199.

It is possible to suggest that the Turkish nationalism started in the outer domain, in Chattarjee's terms because the Turkish nationalist discourse formed the core of the Turkish modernization and all the reforms in the early years of the Republic such as the abolishment of the Caliphate, of the office of Şeyh-ül-Islam and of the Sharia and the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code took place in the outer domain. To put it differently, they were initiated by the state elites. After the establishment of the Turkish nation-state, the spiritual domain was also established. The outer domain determined the inner domain or the spiritual domain. The cultural markers were changed and were constructed according to the outer domain, which was shaped by the idea of modernization and westernization.

CHAPTER VI

THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

6.1. Introduction

The establishment of the Turkish Republic was followed by the introduction of several measures, legal and constitutional changes which aimed to eliminate the Islamic basis of the state and to emphasize the development of a secular ideology. Among these reforms, the adoption of the Swiss code in 1926, the enfranchisement of women to local elections in 1930 and to the national elections in 1934 were important steps in recognizing women as individuals. Although all these prepared the ground for Turkish women to participate in the political and economic realms as 'citizens', none of these reforms brought equality to women. This means that although some legal measures facilitating the access of women into the public realm were taken, these reforms did not change the position of women in the private realm where women remained subjugated to men. In the new state, the women continued to be described according to their traditional female roles and this prevented the perception of women as being equal partners of men. [387]

In this chapter, I will try to trace the historical trajectory of women's

[387] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case." *Feminist Studies*. 13:2 (1987), 317-338; Yeşim Arat, " The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seatlle: University of Washington Press), 1997), 95-112; Yeşim Arat, "Gender and Ctizenship in Turkey," in *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East*, ed., Suad Joseph (Syracuse and New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000) 275-286; Zehra Arat, "Turkish Women and the Republican Reconstruction of Tradition," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Power, Identity and Tradition*, eds., Fatma Müge Göçek and Shiva Balaghi (New York:Columbia University Press, 1994) 57-78; Şirin Tekeli, " Women in Turkish Politics," in *Women in Turkish Society* ed. Nermin Abadan-Unat (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1981), 279-299; Meltem Müftüler-Baç, "Turkish Women's Predicament." *Women's Studies International Forum*. 22:3 (1999), 303-315.

movement and to focus on the historical roots of women's involvement into the social life in the Ottoman Empire starting from the Tanzimat period, which, I think, signifies an important starting point for the analysis of the woman question. The drive for modernization in the Ottoman Empire is closely connected with the Tanzimat period and all the developments from 1839 will clarify how the woman issue lied at the core of the modernization and how woman's visibility was connected with the perception of women as the instruments of modernization. My main argument in this chapter is that although some 'feminist aspirations' or a kind of 'feminism' appeared especially after the Inauguration of the Second Constitution in 1908, it is possible to suggest a historical continuity regarding the status of women before and after the establishment of the Republic. I argue that the movement of Ottoman women cannot be regarded as an independent movement against the patriarchal order or as a revolt against the societal structure. On the contrary, it was shaped by male-dominated modernizing state policies. The modernization process did not change the traditional roles of women who remained ever and forever-good mothers, wives and *demi-citizens*. I am using the word *demi-citizen* to connote that the full citizenship of women has not been realized after the establishment of the Republic because although they represented a new type of woman, the limits of their citizenship have been described by men.

6.2. Effects of Tanzimat Reforms on Women

The modernization in the Ottoman Empire was the result of a necessity to find out radical measures for the decline of the Empire signaled by military defeat and territorial losses. The Tanzimat Edict inaugurated a number of reforms in the fields of legislation, administration and education. All these reforms marked a significant change in the political and social life but at the same time, they provoked the debates for the reasons lying behind the decline of the Ottoman Empire. On the one hand, there were people who favored the ideas introduced by the French revolution such as freedom, equality emphasized the importance of modernization for the creation of a secular state. On the other hand, some others found the abandonment of Islamic rules and the adoption of materialistic values of the West as the main causes for the decline of the Ottoman Empire. To put it differently, the reforms initiated by Tanzimat brought a cleavage between these two ideological positions.[388]

From the early stage of the Tanzimat period, the issue of women was debated within the context of modernization. Women's status became a powerful symbol and a criterion of a society's modernity. The conditions of women were addressed as reflections of backwardness. Connectedly, the amelioration of women's conditions and women's rights were considered as an important component of development and modernization. The emancipation of women would mean symbolically a solution to get rid off the backwardness. [389]

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[388] Deniz Kandiyoti, "End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey," in *Women, Islam and the State,* 24; Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns," in *Woman-Nation-State*, eds. Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989), 126-149.

[389] For more details, see Sibel Erol, " Feminism in Turkey." *New Perspectives on Turkey*. 8 (1992), 109-121; Ayşe Durakbaşa, " Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey," in *Deconstructing Images of "*

Between 1839 and 1876, different reforms, concerning the status of women were undertaken. In 1858, the Land Law extended and consolidated women's rights of inheritance. The Imperial decrees issued in 1854 and 1857 banned female slavery.[390] All these were important steps concerning the status of women but the most important reforms were taken in the educational field. Since the subordinate role of women was treated as a cause and symptom of societal backwardness, public education was of crucial importance. Women had to be scientifically trained and educated to learn how to be modern wives and mothers. A woman could not run her household well unless she acquired a certain level of intellectual and cultural knowledge.[391] Women needed education because as mothers, they were responsible for shaping their children's mind and the future generations of the nation.

The first development in women's education was the opening of a school for midwives in 1842. A council of Education established primary and secondary state schools alongside the religious schools and tried to unify the system.[392] Starting from 1858, secondary schools for girls (*Kız Rüştiyeleri*) started to give education. In 1870, a female teachers' college (*Dar-ül Muallimat*) was opened.[393]

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the Turkish Woman", ed. Zehra Arat (NewYork: St.Martin's Press, 1998), 139-153; Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, 25-42.

[390] The laws concerning the status of women are well discussed in Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyet'in 50.Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları* (The Rights of Turkish Women in the 50th Anniversary of the Republic) (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1973); Şefika Kurnaz, *II.Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını* (Turkish Woman in the Second Constitutional Period) (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1996).

[391] Meriwether and Tucker, *A Social History of Women*, 100.

[392] Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, 27.

[393] Taşkıran, *Türk Kadın Hakları*, 27-28.

The most serious achievements for female education were realized in the Abdülhamidian period (1876-1909).[394] During his reign, the modern elementary school *ibtidai* (preparatory) took place of *subyan* schools, which still continued to exist.[395] The expansion of female schools in the provinces, including both *ibtidais* and *rüşdiyes* (secondary schools) was strongly encouraged.[396] The number of *rüşdiyes* for girls increased significantly. During thirty-three years of reign, 76 *rüşdiyes* were opened with 6 in Istanbul and 70 in the provinces and the total number of these schools reached to the number of 85. [397] The first *idadi*, which was inaugurated in 1880, was also another important development on female education in terms of giving high school education to girls.[398] Apart from these accomplishments, three *Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Industrial Schools for Women) were inaugurated with the objective of making orphan girls gain different skills and survive by being productive members of society. [399]

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[394] For more details about the education in this period, see Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire (1839-1908)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Modernleşme Döneminde Kız Eğitimi (Female Education in Ottoman Modernization Period)." *Kebikeç*. 10 (2000), 223-238; Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Modernization from Empire to Republic and Education in the Process of Nationalism," in *Ottoman Past and Turkey*, ed. Kemal H.Karpat (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 47-132.

[395] Alkan, " Modernization from Empire", 68.

[396] Somel, *Public Education*, 185.

[397] Berrak Burçak, "The Status of the Elite Muslim Women in Istanbul Under the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)", unpublished master's thesis, Ankara: Bilkent University, 1997, 67.

[398] Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, 83.

[399] Ibid., 101.

6.3. Women in the Second Constitutional Period

After the Inauguration of the Second Constitution in 1908, the social position and emancipation of women began to be addressed as main components of three ideological positions. As Göle mentions, the three ideological outlooks of the period; Westernist, Islamic and Turkist which all defined their ideological bases for the re-establishment of the Empire, differed from each other for their approaches about women's rights.[400]

The question of women remained powerful in determining the limits of the orientation toward the modernism set by the ideological movements of this period. For the Westernists, the status of women was a symbol for the development of the society. In this respect, women should be educated and enlightened for the betterment of future generations. Arranged marriages, polygamy, the segregation of sexes were seen as constituting the major obstacles obstructing the liberation of women.

Salahaddin Asım as an example for the Westernist outlook criticized the perception of women as mothers and wives in his book *Türk Kadınlığının Tereddisi veya Karılaşmak* (The Deterioration of Turkish Woman or Womanization).[401] Asım criticized the fact that Turkish women committed only their motherhood and their domestic duties. He suggested that women should be independent individuals participating in every aspect of social life. Asım defended the idea that if a woman was detached from social functions and if she understood domestically and wifely

[400] Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 36.

[401] There is not any publication date of his book in its first edition but it is suggested that it might have been published around 1910. For this, see Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* (Halide Edib, Turkish Modernization and Feminism) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), 70.

tasks as her main duties, she would remain a 'woman'. Accordingly, a woman was womanized when she fulfilled her reproductive function. [402] For that reason, he suggested that the emancipation of women was an absolute necessity to liberate women from the status of female being in order to become human beings.

Asım regarded religion as the most important reason behind the *womanization* of Turkish women, which signified a kind of social degeneration. He argued that all the laws, decrees, organizations in the Ottoman Empire were of religious origin and that the description of the position of Turkish and Muslim women in Islam prevented women to be emancipated from social restraints, to become liberated and civilized members of the society.[403]

Asım believed that the practice of veiling lied at the core of the backwardness of the society because in Ottoman society, woman meant veiling which determined all the moral codes, values and the relationship between men and women. He severely criticized veiling, representing honor and morality of women, of being the main handicap for development and civilization because it not only destroyed the individuality of women but also it made a distinction between men and women in the social life, which was not natural at all. This unnatural separation of women and men diminished the power and the potential of the society. For that reason, he called for the abolishment of veiling.[404]

From all these, he came to the conclusion that women would be recognized as civilized human beings and independent persons when they fully participated into

[402] Salahaddin Asım, *Osmanlı'da Kadınlığın Durumu yahut Karılaşmak* (The Situation of Woman in the Ottomans or Womanize) (Istanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1989), 16-17.

[403] Ibid., 22.

[404] Ibid., 27-32.

the social life and unless they remained "womanized" by surviving as the slaves of their husband and their children.

Contrary to Westernists, Islamists underlined the importance of religious laws for the protection of moral purity of women, which symbolized the ethical values of the society. The Islamists attacked several innovations of the westernization process; especially they were against the participation of women into the public life because women were representing the health and the honor of the society. For that reason, they were completely against the idea of being visible in the society. For example, they considered theater as a source of immorality and they accused Afife Jale, the first Turkish actress, of being unchaste.[405]

Musa Kazım who was holding the office of sheyh-ül Islam, in his article *Hürriyet-Eşitlik ve Kadın Hakları* (Liberty-Equality and Women's Rights), summarizes Islamist argument well.[406] Kazım suggested that the main responsibilities of women were to bear children and to educate them. He said that:

> it is obvious that the happiness of a family is dependent on two kinds of duties both of which are of crucial importance. One of them is familial duties and the other is concerned with outside responsibilities. These two kinds of duties cannot be submitted only by women or only to men. In this case, we have to divide these duties between men and women. It is obligatory to give domestic responsibilities to women and the ones outside home to men. [407]

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[405] Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünçe*, 203-204. The Islamists such as *Mustafa Sabri, Aksekeli Ahmed Hamdi* emphasized the obligation of veiling as an Islamic rule. Mehmet Akif, on the other hand, accused the imitation of Western manners as the main cause in the moral corruption. See Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *İslamcılık Cereyanı: İkinci Meşrutiyetin Siyasi Hayatı Boyunca Gelişme* (The Movement of Islamism: Development in the Political Life of The Second Constitutional Period) (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1962). Some Islamist writers such as İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, Ahmet Naim, Bursalı Tahir and Ali Ekrem published several periodicals such as *Sebilürreşad*, *Volkan* and *Saday-ı Hak* where they articulated many issues concerning Islam. For more details, see Ülken, *Çağdaş Düşünçe Tarihi*, 200-205.

[406] Musa Kazım, "Hürriyet-Eşitlik ve Kadın Hakları (Liberty-Equality and Women's Rights)," in *Türkiye'de İslamcılık Düşünçesi* (Islamism in Turkey), ed. İsmail Kara (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1997), 121-129.

[407] Ibid., 126.

According to Musa Kazım, in order to keep this balance, everybody should perform her or his duties but if women started to achieve social functions, which were assumed responsibilities of men, this would be an attempt to change 'the state of nature'. [408]

Kazım argued that human beings should conduct their lives according to religious laws and the practice of veiling is one of the essential religious rules for women. The veiling not only protected women to be considered as sexual objects but at the same time it guaranteed the morality of the society as well as the happiness of the family. Musa Kazım declared that the *Sharia* considered by Islamists as the main source in regulating the social relations, offered different rules for human beings to live together in a society. The *Sharia* ordered education for both men and women but although men were obliged to have a university degree, for women, primary and secondary education would suffice. This should be based on Islamic laws because women were created to reproduce and to educate their children.[409]

It is possible to say that for the Westernists, the social participation of women and their unveiling were important indicators and prerequisites of a civilized life, however, the Islamists defended the idea that only the virtues of women could guarantee the preservation of traditions, thus the morality of the society.[410] The Turkist movement, on the other hand, started in the Second Constitutional Period and continued to be influential in the Republican period tried to establish a link between Western civilization and national culture.

It was Ziya Gökalp who contributed significantly to the formation of the

[408] Ibid.,

[409] Ibid., 128.

[410] Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 43.

main characteristics of the Turkist movement. Gökalp's distinction between the concepts of civilization and culture necessitated that women should be on the one hand, the carriers and protectors of culture; but on the other hand, they should be transmitters of civilization. Fleming points out that Gökalp's interest in women stemmed from his objective to (re)discover the original ethnic foundations of Turkish culture. This was in line with his main concern to address the question of how the Western civilization should be adopted while synthesizing it with the Turkish culture. For that reason, Gökalp's interest in women was based on his idea that they were repositories and guarantors of the past.[411]

In the discussion of national culture, Gökalp mentioned the necessity to return to the original sources of culture and to return to the pre-Islamic societies where he argued that women and men were equal. He suggested that the history of pre-Islamic Turkish societies offered evidence to support the existence of egalitarian families, and monogamous marriages. He defended the idea that in the primitive societies, two different types of religious practices existed. There were magic and religion, which had the same importance for the society. Among the early Turks, women dominated the world of magic while religion was the domain of men. The equal value assigned to each system led to the legal recognition of equality between men and women. He said:

> Among the ancient Turks, the magical system was represented by shamanism and the religious system by *tore*…. As these two systems had an equal value among them, there was equality between men and women…The non-equality between men and women in some other societies was connected with the unequal status of magic and religion. The more antagonism between religion and magic deepened, the more the inequality of men and women widened.[412]

[411] K.E.Fleming, "Women as Preservers of the Past: Ziya Gökalp and Women's Reform," in *Deconstructing Images of "the Turkish Woman"*, ed. Zehra Arat (New York: St.Martin's Press, 1998), 128.

[412] Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism*, 254.

In order to harmonize the Western civilization with the Turkish past, Gökalp argued that the magic reappeared under another name, "civilization", during the Tanzimat period that women began to gain higher status.[413] In Gökalp's thinking, family was taken into account as one of the main foundations of the society and in this respect; women were distinguished as forming the basis of the family.

These three ideological positions took women's issue as a component of their ideological bases in support of the restoration of the Empire. They did not consider the issue of women as the emancipation of women but on the contrary, women were taken into the consideration as 'materials' of their ideological debates. To put it differently, they regarded the position of women as a vehicle for the expression of their ideological views. Kadıoğlu mentions that they had two features in common. Firstly, all of them regarded women as "objects" of their projects. Secondly, although they motivated women to be visible in the public life, they all defined women within the sphere of family.[414]

While these ideological debates were going on, another important characteristic of the Second Constitutional Period concerning women was the appearance of several publication and women's associations. The women periodicals and journals have significance not only in the elaboration of women's movement in the Ottoman Empire but also in the analysis of women's history. All these publications not only represent their ways of living, their main interests, hobbies, their understanding of social problems and the solutions they offer but they also

[413] Ibid., 255.

[414] Ayse Kadıoğlu, "Cinselliğin İnkarı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları (Denial of Sexuality: Turkish Women as Objects of Big Societal Projects)." In *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler (Women and Men in the 75th Anniversary of the Turkish Republic)* by Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı. İstanbul: Numune Matbaası, 1998, 89-100.

highlight the perception of the issue of women's emancipation by women, themselves. In this respect, the publications are of crucial importance to study.

6.3.1. Women's Periodicals and Women's Associations

Starting from 1868, several newspapers and periodicals, which were oriented toward women, appeared in the Ottoman Empire. Demirdirek mentions that for the period prior to the establishment of the Republic, it is possible to identify forty publications. Most of these journals were owned and published by men. Some of them had male owners but women were publishing them.[415] In most of these periodicals and journals, the main topics were responsibilities of women as mother and wives, domestic work, childcare, cooking, familial problems, the need of education and the position of women in the society.

Mahasin (Beauties) which started to be published in 1908 is an example of women's periodicals. The periodical published by Asaf Muammer and Mehmet Rauf defends the idea that the position of women within a society should be strengthened by education. At the same time, it gives information about, home decoration, health, fashion and hair treatment. [416] The most significant name in this periodical is Zöhre Hanım who for the first time, speaks of an ideal Ottomanism. Accordingly, she holds the view that each nation should create its own woman specific to itself through the educational means. In this respect, the most important duty that an Ottoman man

[415] Aynur Demirdirek, "In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women's Movement," in *Deconstructing Images of "the Turkish Woman"*, 65-81. See also Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi (The Ottoman Women's Movement*) (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996).

[416] Yıldız Akpolat Davut, "Kadın Dergisi Mahasin (A Woman's Periodical Mahasin)." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 156 (1995), 42, Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 35-36; Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi* (A Story of the Ottoman Women's Demand for the Right to Life) (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1993), 32-42.

expects from woman is her ability to cook and the most significant social responsibility is motherhood. Women should be educated with regard to these responsibilities. She argues that she should know mathematics in order to be able to do shopping, she must be literate to read letters of her husband, and she has to know music to make her husband rest when he comes back at home. [417]

Although in most of the periodicals and journals, the articles were written on the subjects, which were assumed of being women's interests, there were also a few publications which aimed at questioning the status of women within the society and at demanding some rights in order for women to participate in the public life. In 1895, the first Turkish women periodical *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Newspaper Special to Women) began to be published. All its contributors were women and among the different publications, it activated for a long time. [418]

Fatma Aliye, a well-known Ottoman female novelist[419], was one of the main contributors of this publication. It is argued that women, who were involved actively in social life in the early nineteenth century in the Middle East, were almost all educated and from middle and upper class backgrounds and that their education acted as a catalyst, encouraging them to seek change and giving them the ability to

[417] Davut, "Kadın Dergisi Mahasin," 43-44.

[418] İrfan Karakoç, "İstanbullu Muharrire Hanımlar (Women Writers from İstanbul)." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 39:231 (2003), 18; see also Ayşegül Başbuğu-Yaraman, *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine: Elinin Hamuruyla Özgürlük* (From Official History to Women's History) (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1999), 40-44.

[419] Fatma Aliye was considered as the first female Ottoman writer in many studies but it was Zafer Hanım who wrote *Aşk-ı Vatan* in 1877 was the first female writer. For more details, see Zehra Hanım, *Aşk-ı Vatan* (Love of Motherland) prepared by Zehra Toska (İstanbul: Oğlak Yayınları, 1994); The short summary of this novel can be also read in Nükhet Sirman, "Gender Construction and Nationalist Discourse:Dethroning the Father in the early Turkish Novel," in *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus*, ed. Feride Acar (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 164; see also Firdevs Canbaz, "Fatma Aliye Hanım'ın Romanlarında Kadın Sorunu (Woman's Question in Fatma Aliye Hanım's Novels", unpublished master's thesis, Ankara, Bilkent University, 2005.

act.[420] Fatma Aliye was the daughter of Ahmet Cevdet Paşa who was a member of the ulema and the author of *Mecelle*. She got a Western education at that time. She was an important figure in elaborating on different women's issues such as the role of women in the society, the importance of education, women's position in family, marriage and the issue of veiling in her writings. As it is put, Fatma Aliye argued as early as 1895 that it is men who prevented women's access to education, enlightened thought and faculties that were given on all humanity by God. [421]

In her biography written by Ahmet Mithat in 1911, *Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarın Doğuşu* (The Birth of an Ottoman Writer), Mithat put together some of her own essays and letters as well as his personal knowledge of her.[422] Mithat suggested that Fatma Aliye was an important figure who defended the idea of equal rights of education to both sexes. According to Fatma Aliye, women should be educated for being good wives and good mothers. She suggested that the education was of crucial importance for women in order to train children and to grow future generations. In addition to that, she held the idea that women should participate into the labor force and they should be equal in the family. In her opinion, Islam as a religion was not an obstacle for all these.[423] According to Fatma Aliye, Islam allowed women some

[420] Ellen L.Fleismann, "The Other Awakening: The Emergence of Women's Movements in the Modern Middle East, 1900-1940," in *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East,* 100.

[421] Nükhet Sirman, "Feminism in Turkey: A Short History." *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 3:1 (1989), 7.

[422] Ahmet Mithat, *Fatma Aliye: Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarın Doğuşu* (Fatma Aliye: The Birth of an Ottoman Woman Writer) (İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık, 1994).

[423] The life of Fatma Aliye and her opinions about the status of women have been studied in many articles. For more details, see Nükhet Esen, "Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarın Doğuşu (The Birth of an Ottoman Woman Writer)." *Journal of Turkish Studies*. 24:1 (2000), 115-120; Yaprak Zihnioğlu, "Fatma Aliye ve Emine Semiye (Fatma Aliye and Emine Semiye)." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 31:186 (1999), 4-11; Mübeccel Kızıltan, "Öncü Bir Kadın Yazar: Fatma Aliye (A Pioneer Woman Writer)." *Journal*

rights, which were removed by men. As it is argued, Fatma Aliye claimed that the salvation of the Ottoman women lied in staying essentially faithful to the religion of Islam.[424]

After a novel *Muhazarat* (Womanhood) written in 1892 which was about a talented young woman who was prevented from realizing her fully potential backward traditions and laws, Fatma Aliye wrote *Nisvan-ı Islam* (Islamic Women) which was composed of three parts. *Nisvan-ı Islam* is a book where Fatma Aliye attempts to correct the insufficient and false information of the European women about Ottoman society and the position of women in the Empire.[425] In each part of the book, Fatma Aliye elaborates on important issues concerning Ottoman women such as the institution of concubine, polygamy, marriage and veiling. In general, she held the view that women should be educated and allowed to participate in society.[426]

Fatma Aliye concentrated on different issues in her articles published in different journals and periodicals but most importantly, she wrote on women's education, the status of women in the society and also women's position in the family. It is important that *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* to which Fatma Aliye was an important contributor underlined its function on its title page as serving three

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of Turkish Studies. 14 (1990), 283-323; Bahriye Çeri, "Bir Kadın ve Ahmet Mithat Efendi (A Woman and Ahment Mithat Efendi." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 203(2000), 29-34; Mediha Gölbenli, "Fatma Aliye Hanım ve Şair Fitnat Hanım." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 203(2000), 35-40.

[424] Burçak, " The Status of Elite Women," 45.

[425] See Canbaz, "Fatma Aliye Hanım," 10.

[426] Fatma Aliye, *Nisvan-ı İslam*, transcribed in Latin alphabet by Mübeccel Kızıltan in 1993. For details, see Fatma Aliye, *Nisvan-ı İslam (Islamic Women)* (İstanbul: Mutlu Yayıncılık, 1993).

principles: being a good mother, a good wife and a good Muslim.[427] All these examples can be regarded as indicators showing how the women's question was understood and perceived at the time.

Among the periodicals, another example, *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) tended to describe itself as a feminist publication and to define feminism by its own terms. The view that women in the Ottoman Empire had important problems, lied at the core of all the articles published in the journal. [428] Women questioned their situation in the society by criticizing the traditional structures and rules. Ulviye Meylan, the editor of *Kadınlar Dünyası* and the founder of *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* (The Society of Defense of Ottoman Women's Rights) was an important personality in defending women's rights in this period. In many articles, she argued that men regarded women not as women but as female creatures who were subject to humiliation and that women were disregarded not only in the family but everywhere in public; tramway, theater and restaurants. She emphasized that the main objective of publishing the periodical and of founding the association was to make women more conscious about their interests and their rights. According to Meylan, this could be achieved only with the realization of the equality between man and woman.[429] This marks an important stage for women's emancipation because this can be regarded as a struggle against the traditions, the

[427] Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," 27.

[428] For more details, Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*; see also Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi* (A Story of the Ottoman Women's Demand for the Right to Life) (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1993).

[429] Serpil Çakır, "Kadın Tarihinden İki İsim: Ulviye Meylan- Nezihe Muhittin (Two Names in Woman's History: Ulviye Meylan-Nezihe Muhiddin)," in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete* (From the Ottoman to the Republic) by Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı (İstanbul: Numune Matbaası, 1998), 274-278.

limitations that made women inferior and as an attempt for the liberation of women.

It is possible to argue that after the Inauguration of the Second Constitution, some women from urban and upper class backgrounds started to call into the question the situation of women and the problems they were experiencing. I am not sure if this movement can be described as a feminist movement or as "early feminism" as some scholars do, [430] but it is important to note that a female voice started to be heard; which marked really an important turning point in Ottoman women's lives. I think this can be best defined as "feminist aspirations shared among urban Ottoman women".[431]

In these feminist aspirations, one of the most dramatic women's activities in the analysis of women's movement in the Ottoman Empire is 'White Conferences'. 'White Conferences' is a series of meetings held by women in Istanbul in 1911, where they exchanged views on different issues concerning the emancipation of women and they tried to examine their status.[432] Fatma Nesibe Hanım who was the lecturer of these conferences, defended the idea that women were the oppressed sex and the conditions of women should be developed for the happiness of the society. In one of the meetings, she stated, "We should look for the causes of our disasters in our stupid mothers. They had pity, they were tender and peaceful, and they did not

[430] The term "early feminism" has been used by Yaprak Zihnioğlu, "Kadın İnkılabı (The Woman's Revolution)." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 25:207 (2001), 27.

[431] Zehra F.Arat, ed., *Deconstructing Images of "the Turkish Woman"* (New York: St.Martin's Press, 1998), 10.

[432] See Nükhet Sirman "Feminism in Turkey," 8-9; Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışı,* 93-104, Serpil Çakır, "Osmanlı Kadın Dernekleri (The Ottoman Women's Associations)." *Toplum ve Bilim,* 53 (1991), 150-151; Serpil Çakır, "Kadınlığın İlk Tarihi Şikayeti: Beyaz Konferanslar (The First Historical Complaint of Womanhood: White Conferences)." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 39:231 (2003), 40-47.

like noise. Such a blind politics is this!" [433] She continued arguing that women were nothing more than "a tool of pleasure", "a machine producing child" and "a sweet meat". [434]It seems that the argument is quite radical when the period is concerned because she did not only accuse women, especially mothers, of being passive and responsible for their inferior position but she also formulated policies exclusively for women.

Several missionary works enable us to have important clues in understanding better the movement held by women in this period. Two teachers Ellen Deborah Ellis and Florence Palmer of the American College for Girls in Istanbul spoke of the work of these women in an article entitled, "*The Feminist Movement in Turkey*", written for the British journal *The Contemporary Review.* They considered these feminist aspirations as the most remarkable phenomenon for feminist movements all over the world.[435] However, in another article published in 1906, Lacarne, a foreign visitor, brought the speech of two women, an Ottoman Muslim and her Christian friend. The Ottoman woman mentioned that the happiness of the family was much more important than some rights. She continued as follows:

> What do they want me to do? Why don't they leave me alone? […] Why should I complain? I was married at a very early age. My husband was loving and admiring me as he does today. What makes us happy, contrary to what is thought, is our ignorance about the social life of our husbands. […] You say us to get our rights and to demolish our happiness of our family."[436]

[433] Çakır, "Osmanlı Kadın Dernekleri," 151.

[434] Ibid.

[435] Pelin K. Başcı, "Shadows in the Missionary Garden of Roses: Women of Turkey in American Missionary Texts," in *Deconstructing Images of "the Turkish Woman"*, 111.

[436] Burçak Evren and Dilek Girgin Can, *Yabancı Gezginler ve Osmanlı Kadını* (Foreign Travelers and Ottoman Woman) (Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1997), 265.

The most remarkable characteristic of this feminist movement is the fact that it was held by a small number of educated women who were coming from middle or upper class and the perception of problems concerning women was not understood in the same way by all the women in the society. Nezihe Muhiddin, the founder of *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (Women's People Party) founded in 1923, resembled the existence of women after the second constitution to stones threw away in a disordered way by a piece of glacier. She said, "the women's activities became visible in the Second Constitutional Period but when we look at the origin and development of these movements, it is impossible to find out a definite, precise objective concerning women."[437] She defended the idea that the Ottoman women had to establish a common platform in order to discuss women's needs and to investigate solutions to different problems that they faced. What she defended was the need for the unification of women to protect their rights. [438]

The appearance of different periodicals and journals was followed by the emergence of different women's associations. Although a few number of organizations were founded after the inauguration of the First Constitution, it was after 1908 that many women's associations ranging from philanthropic to those committed to struggle for women' rights were organized. Serpil Çakır categorizes all these associations into six categories, which are philanthropic, feminist, culture

[437] Nezihe Muhiddin, *Türk Kadını* (The Turkish Woman) (Istanbul: Numune Matbaası, 1931). In Aysegül Baykan-Belma Ötüş Baskett, *Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk Kadını* (Nezihe Muhiddin and the Turkish Woman) (Istanbul: İletişim, 1999), 109.

[438] The detailed analysis concerning the life of Nezihe Muhiddin and her feminist aspirations can be found in Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkilap* (Revolution Without Women) (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003). This book is very important in understanding the role of women in Turkish modernization. In the introduction part, Zihnioğlu mentions that through the analysis of Nezihe Muhiddin and her activities, it is possible to understand the politics in the early Republican period excluded women from the political arena. She also argues that especially the period between 1923 and 1927 is of crucial importance in terms of explaining how a gender hierarchy was established.

oriented, political, national and those, which aimed at educating women.[439]

I think that it is possible to emphasize two common points with regard to women's associations of the time. It is obvious that these organizations are important associations interested in different concerns of women if the conditions of the time are considered. More or less, they contributed to women's integration into the social and political life. Women began to become visible in social life and to join the public sphere but on the other hand, it should be also emphasized that apart from a few ones, the traditional female roles such as being good wife, good mother were never questioned.

The first women's associations were charity organizations whose main objectives were described as helping people who needed help and who were in a difficult situation. In addition to philanthropic associations, there was an extensive increase in the number of associations concerned with the education of women because the enlightenment of women became an important concern of the reformists, the members of the Committee of Union and Progress after 1908. Women had to be "scientifically" trained and educated to learn how to be modern wives and mothers. As Jayawardena points out, "the new bourgeois man, himself a product of Western education or missionary influence, needed as his partner, a new woman […] who was 'presentable' in colonial society […] yet whose role was primarily in the home".[440] Connectedly, several associations, which were intending to give education to young girls, to organize Turkish, English, French and German courses, to teach how to play instruments and to give conferences on different issues concerning

[439] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 43-78.

[440] Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism*, 12.

women came into the picture. [441]

Although it was not the first one but *Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (The Society for the Elevation of Women) founded in 1909 by Halide Edib was one of the important ones. The aim of this association was described to enlighten and elevate women by respecting national culture and protecting cultural values.[442] Halide Edib noted, in her memories that "the objective was rather the intellectual development. In its small center, English and French courses were given as well as information about childcare and housework".[443]

The function of the association as indicated in Halide Edib's words, changed as a result of the needs of the time and the wars obliged most of the associations to become units of social solidarity. *Teali-i Nisvan* also transformed a house where women started of practicing the profession of nursery. For example, during the Balkan Wars, the association organized two big meetings to which more than 5000 women participated. Women and men took place together in the discussion of national issues, for the first time of the national history, in these meetings. Halide Edib articulated her view about this integration of women in social and political life as follows:

> In the past, women were not interested in such national disasters to which they remained mainly indifferent. Now, for the first time, women of the nation, as being mothers and members of the nation, are participators to this disaster; they are sad because of it and they come together in order to discuss the problem and find out a solution to it.[444]

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[441] Çakır, *Kadın Hareketi*, 46-50.

[442] Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını '1839-1923'* (The Turkish Woman Before the Republic '1839-1923') (Ankara: Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Başkanlığı, 1991), 78-79.

[443] Halide Edip Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev* (Memoirs) (Istanbul: Özgür Yayınevi, 1996), 188.

[444] Quoted in Ayşegül Yaraman, *Türkiye'de Kadınların Siyasal Temsili* (The Political Representation of Women in Turkey) (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1999), 45.

It is possible to say that the involvement of women in the social and political life was realized to some extent through the means of different periodicals and associations. The integration of women should be in harmony with their role of motherhood and their domestic duties but at the same time, they should take part in the society. For that reason, another important association, *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* (The Society of Defense of Ottoman Women's Rights) was established in 1913 with the aim at forming women as wives and as mothers but at the same, it targeted to emancipate and motivate them as citizens.[445]

The foundation had different objectives such as improving the rules of marriage, consolidating the domestic situation of women, making mothers capable of training their children according to modern pedagogy and encouraging them to earn their lives. All of the objectives were oriented towards the emancipation of women but as it was reflected in its program, there was not any attempt to struggle in order to gain some political rights. In the program of the association, it was stated that women could not yet understand politics of men or get involved in the politics but by the unification, they could arrange their lives as well as increase their knowledge. [446]

In my opinion, as it is seen in the example, the common point concerning all these women activities, is the fact that although there was a willing attempt to change the situation and the problems of women, the solution was defined within the existing patriarchal structure, without questioning the power relations in the society. To put it differently, women perceived their emancipation in the same way men did. They could not bring any challenge to the existing gender configuration.

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[445] Çakır, *Kadın Hareketi*, 57.

[446] Ibid., 58.

In the study of the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti*, another significant point was its decision about forming a national way of dressing which would be very simple in appearance and thus, facilitates women's work. The creation of a 'national fashion' was one of the main concerns of women. When the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) came into the power in 1908, the modernization and westernization became the dominant ideology. The reformers of the time underlined the necessity of women's integration into public life, which would signify a break from the *ancien régime* but at the same time, women's bodies would represent their ideological position. For that reason, a "national fashion" which meant the way of clothing of Ottoman women in a civilized way, became one of the main concerns of women of that time.

In an article published in *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) and entitled "*National Fashion*", the woman writer C.H. suggested that the historians should provide information about the clothes of Ottoman women and then, fashion stylists would be able to produce new and modern clothing according to these information. She also defended the view that after creating new models, doctors would consult if these new clothes would be appropriate to the health and then they would be represented to women in stores.[447]

As Şeni pointed out, after Tanzimat where the drive to modernization got started, women' dress has been used as a symbol to indicate a position for and against modernization and to signify a societal choice that goes way beyond the issue of the condition of women.[448] Connectedly, another association *Sade Giyinen*

[447] Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Sade Giyinen Kadınlar Cemiyeti (Women Wearing in A Sample Manner)." *Tarih ve Toplum*, 35:207 (2001), 30.

[448] Nora Şeni, "Fashion and Women's Clothing in the Satirical Press of İstanbul at the End of the 19th Century," in *Women in Modern Turkish Society*, 27.

Hanımlar Cemiyeti (The Society of Women Wearing in a Simple Manner) was founded in 1918.[449] The search for a national fashion is a good example which indicates how women's bodies become the material for the symbolic construction of the nation and its boundaries and why the control of women and especially their sexuality is strategic in the maintenance and reproduction of identity and difference. In this context, a particular ideological weight is given to women's appearance and sexual purity.

In addition to the creation of a 'national fashion', the importance of the formation of a "national family" was also stressed. I think the family is perhaps the only societal institution that is conceptualized as "essential" and "natural". It can be also described as an institution responsible of the prosperity because it is the family who brings up children according to the moral codes and values which bound the members of the society; and who determines the quality of the future generations. In this respect, it is easy to understand the leitmotiv behind the search for a national family form, which would produce a healthier nation.

Since the Second Constitution, the institution of the family was taken into consideration as part of the reforms. It was believed that the radical reforms should also include some regulations aiming at protecting the family as the most important social institution and also at creating the notion of a national family. For this purpose, for the first time, *Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi* (The Islamic Association for the Employment of the Ottoman Women) made the marriage obligatory for its employees.

After the First World War, there was a loss of male labor, which in turn, created a demand for women's labor. A law passed in 1915 by the Ministry of Trade

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[449] Karakışla, "Sade Giyinen Kadınlar Cemiyeti".

instituted a form of mandatory employment, which expanded the ranks of women workers. Connectedly, *Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi* was founded in 1916 by Enver Paşa with the aim of finding out employment for women and providing working conditions under which women could earn their lives in an honest way.[450]

The Islamic Association for the Employment of Ottoman Women did not only make possible the militarization of women; although women took part in the battalion, it took also the responsibility of protecting the family. For that reason, the association made the marriage obligatory for its employees. Accordingly, marriage was mandatory for women by the age of 20 and for men by 25. Many incentives were offered for the married couples and different encouragements were done for the birth of each child. The members, who passed the marriage age, were taken away from the membership.[451] This effort of establishing a new type of family as a part of the reforms in the society was followed by the 1917 Family Code, which was an expression of these policies and the first penetration of the state into the realm of the family.

The association became an important institution providing employment to women. The most remarkable practice of the organization was the formation of *Birinci Kadın İşçi Taburu* (the First Woman Worker Battalion) where women became volunteer soldiers. The conditions to be elected as a woman worker were to be Ottoman, physically strong and to be certificated of being an honest and

[450] For more information, see Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 316-319; Zafer Toprak, "Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti: Kadın Askerler ve Milli Aile (The Islamic Association for the Employment of the Ottoman Women: Woman Soldiers and National Family)." *Tarih ve Toplum*, 9:51, 1988, 34-38; Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Osmanlı Ordusunda Kadın Askerler (Woman Soldiers in the Ottoman Army)." *Toplumsal Tarih*. 11:66 (1999), 16-17.

[451] Toprak, "Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti," 36-38.

honorable person by local administrative. Three hundred women were inscribed to the battalion and there was a male dominance over women who were controlled by six male soldiers.[452]

6.4. Women and the War of National Independence

The defeat of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War and the occupation of the country by the Allied Forces made the visibility of women apparent and accelerated the mass participation of women into the national struggle. When the War of Independence started, women took very active roles in the war. Indeed, wars changed the women's emancipation movement more than any reform. Women, along with men, became ardent nationalists and actively participated in a series of activities outside their traditional roles. Grace Ellison, an English journalist who was in Istanbul at that time, mentioned the efforts of women in the national war as follows:

> During those years of waiting, when out of nothing Turkey's ruler organized his army, preached the religion of nationalism and went forward to the cry of freedom or death, the Pasha had time to appreciate what the women could do and he determined their work should continue. Cold, hunger, work, any privation they suffered gladly; they carried the munitions themselves from Ineboli, the landing place, to the front; they made munitions; they nursed the sick; those who had plenty gave to those who were in need; and those women and men who stood by the Pasha had but one thought-Victory.[453]

One of the most dramatic manifestations of women's national activity was the large-scale meetings where women addressed the masses. For example, in the meeting of Sultan Ahmet held on May 23rd of 1919, Halide Edib made a very enthusiastic speech to many people and in her speech she declared that the Turkish nation had a spiritual power that nobody could dissolve and that the fight would

[452] Karakışla, "Osmanlı Ordusunda Kadın Askerler," 16-17.

[453] Grace Ellison, *Turkey To-Day* (London: Hutchinson, 1928), 148.

result in the victory of the Turks.[454] Grace Ellison, in her book, *Ankara'da Bir İngiliz Kadını* (An English Woman in Ankara) speaks of Halide Edib as an example of the involvement of women in the nationalist movement and of their courage, strength and ability. She says, "we are facing the photographs of Halide Edib at every place of the Anatolia. Turks regard her with respect as their *Jeanne d'Arc* among the other heroines of the Revolution".[455]

Halide Edib is an important figure in the War of Independence but at the same time, she is one of the most remarkable personalities in the history of women and of feminism in the Turkish history. For that reason, I find her description of feminism illustrative in understanding how the nationalist requirements predominates the feminist demands of women. Halide Edib regarded feminism less important than the struggle men and women waged for a nationalist cause. According to Halide Edib, the most distinguishing dimension of women's liberation movement in Turkey was that it was inseparable from the national independence movement.[456]

Apart from the example of Halide Edib, many women took part in the nationalist struggle in different ways. They not only participated actively in the meetings but they struggled against the Allied Forces and they fought actively in the war. Another domain in which women participated was armed conflict. They concealed weapons, hid men in their homes; they provided medical and food aid to

[454] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı (The Turkish Ordeal)* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1994), 31-34.

[455] Grace Ellison, *Ankara'da Bir İngiliz Kadını* (An English Woman in Ankara) (Istanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1999), 245.

[456] Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib,* 198. Please note that Halide Edib talks about the unique dimension of the Turkish nationalism on the same page and that Durakbaşa cites from Halide Edib Adıvar, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (Lahor: S.M.Ashraf, 1935).

combatants and occasionally, took up arms alongside men.

6.5. The Early Republican Period

The War of Independence resulted in the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk effected important transformations in all domains of society. One of the first of numerous laws enacted by the new Republic was the abolition of the Islamic caliphate. The adoption of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926 was an important step for women because it encouraged women's recognition as individuals within the polity. The Family Law, composing an important part of the Swiss Civil Code, abolished polygamy and identified women as legal equals in courts, in inheriting and maintaining property. It also granted women the right to choose their spouses and to divorce.

All these can be regarded as important transformations affecting the lives and the position of women within the society but the woman question as it has been suggested was a "pawn" in Atatürk's struggle to establish a republican notion of citizenship through the modernization, secularization and westernization.[457] In other words, the participation of women into the political and economic realms became possible through different reforms undertaken after the establishment of the Republic but the main/real intention was not to emancipate women or to bring them in an equal position with men. This became very apparent when the first women's party was established.

[457] Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," 38.

6.5.1. Women's People Party

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the first organization of women in political terms was realized through the establishment of *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (Women's People Party) in 1923 by Nezihe Muhiddin.[458] The main motive behind the establishment was the belief on women as an important social force having the potential to contribute to the welfare and the betterment of the society. Although Women's People Party was described as being a party, the main objectives of the organization were not recognized in political terms. It was stated that the party would work for the enlightenment of women to facilitate their integration into the public life and to prepare them to their traditional roles of motherhood and to their familial duties. The aim of getting political rights was one of the long-terms objectives of the party.[459]

Nezihe Muhiddin, in her book *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Woman) published in 1931, elaborated on women's movement starting from the Second Constitution until the establishment of the Republic and at the same time, she explained the foundation and the objectives of the Women's People Party. What remains crucial in her book for this study is her understanding of feminism.[460] She held the view that there was no point to suggest that women and men did not have physical differences. The differences between men and women made the harmony possible in the society. She pointed out that women and men had to take part in the social life for the betterment of the society. The "new woman" was expected not to live like the "old woman"

[458] The autobiography of Nezihe Muhiddin has been analyzed by Yaprak Zihnioğlu, "*Bir Osmanlı Kadın Hakları Savunucusu, Nezihe Muhiddin* (An Ottoman –Turkish Women's Right Defender, Nezihe Muhittin)." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 32:183 (1999), 132-139.

[459] For a better understanding how Nezihe Muhiddin interprets feminism and the status of women, see Muhiddin, *Türk Kadını*, 69-116.
[460] Ibid., 69-74.

who was a *belle au bois dormant* (sleeping beauty) but this does not mean that she encouraged women to be independent individuals. On the contrary, she completely refused any individualistic interpretation of feminism because she defended the idea that women should get some social and political rights in order to have new roles in the public life but at the same time they should contribute to the society by being good mothers and good housewives.[461]

Accordingly, in her writing "*Why I established the Women People Party?*", she noted that "one of the most important points behind this idea was the fear that Turkish women would loose their enthusiasm and would become indifferent after having taken part actively in the national struggle and the second one was the decision to fight against the backward traditions".[462] It was suggested that the political rights would be achieved sooner or later but what was of crucial importance was the socialization and the education of women especially of the Anatolian women. For this purpose, the members of the party would struggle against the ignorance by enlightening Anatolian women. In addition, the duties and responsibilities as being mothers and wives were also regarded by the organization as the most important roles of women.[463]

The establishment of the party was not welcomed in an exited manner by women. Muhittin spoke of her disappointment by saying that she was expecting the unification of all the intellectuals and talented women around this organization but unfortunately, her dreams did not come through. Only 500 women registered to the

[461] Ibid.

[462] Ibid., 116.

[463] Zafer Toprak, "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası (Women's People Party)." *Tarih ve Toplum*. 9:51 (1988), 158-159.

party. [464] It was mentioned that the men of the time, however, found the unification of women under a party meaningless and they considered the party as an obstacle to the emancipation of women. They defended the idea that women would be able to express themselves easily without a party.[465]

The Women's People Party did not get the authorization from the government. The Republican People Party was not yet established and the organization of such a women's party was regarded divisive. Thus, the emergence of such an autonomous women's political party was discouraged. After the refusal, the party was turned into an association, to the Turkish Women Association, which was banned in 1935 after having hosted the 12th International Congress of Women's Federation. After the dissolution, its president Latife Bekir rationalized the closure of the association by pointing out that there was not a woman's problem in Turkey, both men and women had to work together for the benefit of the country and she added that there was no necessity for the association because women had achieved full equality as a result of the constitutional guarantees.[466]

I think that the case of the Women's People Party demonstrates how the emancipation of women was perceived in the early years of the Republic and how the state restricted and controlled the women's movement. The regime did not introduce emancipation with the aim of liberating women and making them 'individuals'. As Kandiyoti argues, Turkish women were "emancipated but

[464] Muhiddin, *Türk Kadını*, 118.

[465] Toprak, "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," 159.

[466] Kandiyoti, "End Of Empire," 41-42.

unliberated".[467] This was indeed, a fictitious emancipation constructed by men who attempted to motivate women to be a part of the society along with their men and to work together for the benefit of a newly established nation.

The participation of women in the public sphere had symbolic connotations. The dissolution of the Turkish Women's Association after the Twelfth Congress of the International Federation of Women was not by coincidence. The visibility of women in public sphere concretized the fact that the Turkish Republic was a democratic state, if not, a candidate for becoming a democratic state. This indicates that it was the state, which determined the limits of the women's emancipation with regard to modernization.

It was a masculine perspective which defined the borders of women's movements and which shaped the content of the feminist movement. Any woman's movement questioning the status of women was discouraged by the state. For example, after the establishment of the Republic, there have been different attempts to differentiate Anatolian women from those in Istanbul who were heading the women's movement. Mustafa Kemal, in his speech in 1923, pointed out the sacrifices of the Anatolian women in the nation-building process and he mentioned that the nation was grateful to these women because of their endless efforts.[468]

In an article in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (National Independence) published under the control of Mustafa Kemal, it was pointed out that a Turkish woman was an Anatolian woman who worked hard in the national war. In another article published

[467] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case." *Feminist Studies*. 13:2 (1987), 317-338.

[468] Afet İnan, *Atatürk ve Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması: Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının Hak Ve Görevleri* (Atatürk and Gaining Turkish Women's Rights: The Rights and Duties of the Turkish Woman Through History). (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, 1968), 103.

in *Tevhid*, it was declared that the women in Istanbul could never represent Turkish women because they were mainly concerned with having fun and being indifferent to the issues about the society.[469] Halide Edib gave an answer to the arguments stated in the article as follows:

> Going to teas, being interested in fashion or even dancing do not mean that a woman does not think seriously about the issues concerning her country. The urban and intellectual women will also analyze and defend the interests and the rights of the majority of rural women who carried the burden of the country on their saint shoulder.[470]

This comparison between the urban and the rural women is indicative of how the liberation of women was understood. The identification of Turkish women with Anatolian women and the inclusion of women in İstanbul reflect the extent to which women were included in politics before and after the establishment of the Republic. During the War of Independence, there was not such a distinction because the ideal was to conduct a national struggle against the Allied Forces who had occupied the country. Both men and women participated into the war in different manners but when the Republic was established, the motivation was limited and women who wanted to have active roles in the political realm and who started organizing were accused of having different ways of attitudes and thinking compared to those of Anatolian women who remained in silence. This was an indicator revealing the limits to any women's activitism and to women's autonomy.

Women had to wait until 1930 to acquire their political rights. The process through which women's political rights were officially recognized has been realized

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[469] The attempts to differentiate Anatolian women from those living in İstanbul is discussed in Zehra Toska**,** "Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar (The Republic's Ideal of Woman)," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler (Women and Men in the 75th Anniversary of The Turkish Republic)* by Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı. Istanbul: Numune Matbaası*,* 1998, 71-88.

[470] Ibid., 81.

in two stages.[471] In the first stage, women were enfranchised for the local elections in 1930. The second stage was the enfranchisement of women in national elections in 1934. Tekeli points out that it was not surprising that the enfranchisement happened in a period where Germany was suffering from the Nazis. The Nazi's credo was *Kinder, Kirche and Küche* which means child, church and kitchen. If women's full enfranchisement was recognized at a time when the Nazis were secluding German women out of political life then, this would reveal that Turkey's single party regime was different from the fascist regime. The women's suffrage was a symbolic move, which would differentiate the single party regime from Hitler's rule in Germany. As Tekeli argues, women's enfranchisement was used as an instrument to reveal the image of the new regime. [472]

In the 1937 national elections, 18 women constituting 4.5 percent of the parliamentary seats were elected [473] but it should be emphasized that women's enfranchisement and their inclusion into the Assembly did not result in any autonomous women's activity or any independent political act because all these 18 women were chosen by Atatürk and were described as "domicile" who did not cause any problem in the parliament and who accomplished their duties and their responsibilities without questioning or speaking much.[474]

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[471] The study of this process has been elaborated in Şirin Tekeli, "Women in Turkish Politics," in *Women in Turkish Society*, ed. Nermin Abadan Unat (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1981), 279-299 ; Şirin Tekeli, "Emergence of Feminist Movement in Turkey," in *The New Women's Movement: Feminism and Political Power in Europe and USA*, ed. Drude Dahlerup (London: Sage, 1986), 179-200.

[472] Tekeli, "Women in Turkish Politics," 297-299.

[473] Ibid., 299.

[474] Zehra Arat, "Turkish Women and the Republican Reconstruction of Tradition," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East*, eds. Fatma Müge Göçek and Shiva Balaghi (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 67.

6.5.2. Reconstruction of Tradition

All these points clarify the fact that the mobilization or the emancipation of women was done for ideological purposes. The visibility of women in the public sphere and the symbolic existence of women in social, political and economic life were perceived as formal requirements of a democratic state. It was the state, which found the emancipation of women appropriate for them without questioning any traditional female characteristic attributed to them. What was intended was the realization of a visible and obedient population of women. I am not refusing the idea that, as many scholars suggest the political, social, economic and political rights initiated after the establishment of the Turkish Republic gave many opportunities and occasions for women to develop their capacities, to get professional lives and to be educated. [475] Rather what I am suggesting is the fact that the emancipation of women was an artificial or manufactured process, which had important symbolic meanings. I think the word 'manufactured' fits very well to the case because on the one hand, it encouraged women to become teachers, doctors and engineers but on the other hand, it "reconstructed tradition"[476] by describing women as good wives, good mothers and also as carriers of culture.

It is possible to give several examples to understand better the picture. The example of Girls' Institutes founded by the Ministry of Education in 1928 reveals

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[475] See the articles of Zehra Arat, "Turkish Women and the Republican Reconstruction of Tradition"; Yeşim Arat, "Women's Movement of the 1980's in Turkey: Radical Outcome of Liberal Kemalism," in *Reconstructing Gender*, 100-103; Yeşim Arat, "The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle:University of Washington Press, 1997), 95-112.

[476] The expression "reconstruction of tradition" has been used used by Arat, "Turkish Women and the Republican Reconstruction of Tradition". Arat points out that the Kemalist state continued to employ a traditional definition of female roles by underlining reproduction and childcare as the primary functions of women. In this respect, women were treated as tools of modernization and Westernization. For more details, Arat, "Turkish Women," 72.

how the traditional female roles were reinforced by the state. According to the official statements, these schools aimed at "providing girls with theoretical and practical education that would train them in managing hygienic, orderly, economical and tasteful homes, allowing them to establish cheerful and happy marriages and therefore making them contributors to the social development of the country."[477] As Yeşim Arat mentions, this showed that the state encouraged a number of elite women but it sent a message to an increasing number of women that they were expected to contribute to the process of modernization by being housewives "à la West", bringing order, discipline and rationality to homemaking and the Girls' Institutes were instituted for this objective.[478]

The need to combine the "inner" and "outer" domains that I explained in Chapter 3 as well as the political attempt to deal with the traditional and the modern became the main motto of the Republican State for women. This ambiguity between being modern and traditional became also apparent in the press in the early years of the Turkish Republic. The writings of Sabiha Sertel who was a journalist writing on the issues concerning women such as the conditions of work, traditions of marriage, women's rights as well as on the social and political problems of the society in different journals and periodicals are of crucial importance in this respect.[479] In one of her articles, entitled "*Turkish Feminism*", she elaborated on the idea of 'feminism' as follows:

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[477] Ibid., 68.

[478] Arat, "The Project of Modernity," 100.

[479] The life of Sabiha Sertel was explained by her daughter Yıldız Sertel. See Yıldız Sertel, *Annem Sabiha Sertel Kimdi, Neler Yazdı?* (Who Was My Mother Sabiha Sertel? What Did She Write?) (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995).

> When it comes to us, there is no doubt that the question of women's rights as it appeared in the West is out of the question. The demand for rights and positions that are not in harmony with our way of life and our mentality is nothing more than running utopias [...] In the new life, in order to have successful improvements, we have to be prepared according to the needs of the future. We have to pass through different stages of the civilized nations in a way which fits our spirit and our self.[480]

In another writing, Sertel made a distinction between three types of women, housewives, professional women and worldly women that she called as *femme du monde* (mundane woman). What remains significant in this distinction is the fact that she found *femmes du monde* as problematic for the future of the society. This type of woman was problematic for the society because she defended the idea that a woman, a *femme du monde*, was a woman who spent her time for the entertainment and who neglected to care her children. She concluded that the main responsibility and duty of a woman had to care her children and to educate the future generations as healthy members of the future society.[481] Surprisingly, although Sabiha Sertel has been considered as 'a feminist' writer and most importantly, she was the first woman who criticized Mustafa Kemal Atatürk[482], her perception of women's rights and her description of 'a good woman' was not much more different from the views of the men of the time.

To understand this parallelism, the articles of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, provide us important clues in understanding how men regarded the 'new women' of a new Republic. In the minds of men, women were creatures, usurping all the familial, national and social issues and working for others. Baltacıoğlu, in one of his

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[480] Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel, "Türk Feminizmi."*Büyük Mecmua*, 4 (1919), 63, in Zafer Toprak's article "Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel ve Türk Feminizmi (Sabiha Sertel and Turkish Feminism)." *Toplumsal Tarih*, 9:51(1998), 10.

[481] Toprak, "Sabiha Sertel ve Türk Feminizmi," 11.

[482] Ibid., 7-13.

articles in *Yeni Adam* (New Man) in 1937 described the ideal Turkish woman; according to him, the new woman was not a housewife and not a consumer either but the most important responsibility of the 'new woman' would be a good mother capable of giving a secular education to her children and a good partner by having a positivist mind. In addition to that, she would have a new body, which means that she would have a beauty identified with health, power, success and vivacity.[483] In another article, however, he mentioned "twelve virtues of the married women" which were to support famine, to be economical, cheerful and likeable, not to give importance to money, to know how to make jam, salad and toilette and to create her fashion according to her pleasure. [484]

These entire examples show how the women's traditional roles were strengthened in the early years of the Republic. The new woman was expected to be an enlightened woman, a social woman who was expected to contribute to the development of the country and to the betterment of the nation but at the same time, she had to be a good mother taking care of her children and a good wife.

In addition to the strong emphasis on the traditional and domestic roles of women, what remains important in the analysis of women's emancipation after the establishment of the Republic, as it happened after the Second Constitutional Period, is the fact that women's bodies became a political arena because it was possible to represent the new nation through the bodies of women. In other words, women's bodies became the material for the symbolic construction of the nation and its

[483] Quoted in Duygu Köksal, "Yeni Adam Ve Yeni Kadın: 1930'lar ve 40'larda Kadın Cinsiyet ve Ulus (New Man and New Woman: Woman, Sexuality and Nation at 1930s and 1940s)." *Toplumsal Tarih*. 9:51 (1998), 32.

[484] Ibid.

boundaries. In this sense, their way of clothing, their beauty and their health became symbolic representations of westernization.

In the photographs which appeared in government sponsored publications and in Western newspapers from the 1920s to 1930s, we come across with the visual images of the "new Turkish woman" as being capable of physical courage and endurance like men, as being involved in activities confined to men; and the improvements in their lives[485]. All these photographs are good proofs of showing the symbolization of the new dynamism and modernism of Turkey as a new secular nation through women's bodies. Connectedly, the example of Sabiha Gökçen, the first Turkish woman pilot, can be another important point to study with for a better understanding of this issue. In one of his conversation with Sabiha Gökçen, Atatürk said; "the burden of being civilized is on your shoulders. The daughter of Atatürk will be also the daughter of the sky".[486] He also declared, "you will be the first military woman pilot in the world and could you imagine how prideful is the event that a Turkish girl is the first woman pilot".[487] Again, it is possible to argue that women, before and after the establishment of the Republic, were used as symbols for concepts, which are not, related to their identity as women or as individuals.

6.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, I suggest that women always appeared as objects of male discourse. This means that although starting from the Tanzimat, some 'feminist

[485] It is possible to analyze different photographs of this kind in Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*: *The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860-1950.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 218-221.

[486] Sabiha Gökçen, *Atatürk'le Bir Ömür* (A Life With Atatürk) (Istanbul:Altın Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1994), 98.

[487] Ibid., 109.

aspirations' appeared, the woman's question has never been an independent issue from the power struggle among males. Even women who acted for the emancipation of women could not go beyond the limits put by men and they were not able to question the patriarchal structure, the traditional and domestic roles attributed to them. On the contrary, apart from a few examples, all of them underlined the importance of the traditional female roles such as motherhood and in a sense; they helped the *reconstruction of tradition* by reinforcing the gender roles.

After the establishment of the Republic, not much changed. Although some women from urban and middle-class benefited from such legal forms in education and in employment opportunities, women could never establish an autonomous political struggle. They were conceived as instruments to be used for political ends. The symbolic value of women's emancipation was more important than the substance since suffrage or the political participation and visibility of women in public life supported the images of the Turkish state as a 'modern nation' abroad. It is obvious that women were defined as part of the collectivity and of the new nation. In this sense, women's rights were not understood as part of individual rights but rather they were interpreted within the framework of policies that aimed to serve the social good. Connectedly, as it happened in the case of the Women's People Party, any independent organization or any individualistic attempt was regarded as against the interests of the collectivity and at the end, they were discouraged.

The new Republic granted some rights and gave some opportunities for the development of women but it never questioned the gender roles and the male dominance. In this context, it is possible to conclude that women were seen, in Cynthia Enloe's formulation, as the community's, or the nation's most valuable

possessions; as those responsible for transmitting the nation's values; and as bearers of the community's future generations. [488]

[488] Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, 54.

CHAPTER VII

SETTING THE CONCEPTUAL AND THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S IMAGES IN THE NOVELS

7.1. Introduction

The main objective of this chapter is to analyze the role of Turkish literature and the development of the Turkish novel as a part of the modernization process. Since the focus of the next chapter will be the representation of women as gendered national subjects by focusing on women's images in the novels, this part will be important in drawing a framework for having a better understanding of how the Turkish literature and the Turkish novels contributed to the making of gendered national subjects. For that reason, in this part of the thesis, I will attempt to construct a conceptual and an analytical framework for the analysis of women's images in the novels.

The main pillar lying at the core of Turkish nationalism has been the idea of Westernization, which was also the main motive behind the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Since the beginning of the modernization in the Ottoman Empire started by the Tanzimat reforms, modernization was identified with the idea of Westernization. The earlier attempts at modernization were confined to adoption of Western military techniques, weaponry and organization. This was followed by the inauguration of different reforms in the administration and in the educational field based on Western models between the years 1839 and 1876. Both after the inauguration of modernization process in the Ottoman Empire and after the

establishment of the Turkish Republic, the main preoccupation of the modernizers has been the reconcilement of Western concepts and practices with Islamic values and later Turkish values. Since the beginning of the modernization, there was an attempt to establish a synthesis between the West and the East. [489]

7.2. Synthesis Between Culture and Civilization

The understanding of modernization based on the adaptation of Western practices by preserving the cultural values and norms brought into the picture the problematic of the Turkish national identity on the basis of the West and the East dichotomy. Although the West was taken as a model for the new Turkish state, the main objective of the new Turkish Republic was to build an East-West synthesis.

In order to make such a synthesis between the West and the East, Westernization was taken into consideration as the adoption of the "good aspects" of the West such as its technology and the rejection of its "bad aspects." The theoretical construction of such an adoption was expressed by Ziya Gökalp. According to Gökalp, the idea of modernism signified the pursuit of the scientific, technological and industrial civilization of the West. It did not require the acceptance of Western styles of life or Western moral values. Rather, it necessitated to be independent of Europe by claiming cultural values.[490]

The separation of "culture" and "civilization" formulated by Ziya Gökalp remained as the backbone of the Turkish nationalism as well as the pillar of the

[489] For more details, see Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism"; Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," 24-28; Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*; Zürcher, *Turkey*, 52-74.

[490] Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, 12.

Republican ideology.[491] According to Gökalp, civilization makes reference to modes of actions composed of the traditions, which are created by different ethnic groups and transmitted from one to another. Culture however, consists of the mores of a particular nation and consequently is unique.

The concepts of culture and civilization, which occupy a major position in Gökalp's thinking, have been defined as follows:

> Culture is national, civilization is international. Culture is composed of the integrated system of religious, moral, legal, intellectual, aesthetic, linguistic, economic and technological spheres of life of a certain nation. Civilization, on the other hand, is the sum total of social institutions shared in common by several nations that have attained the same level of development. Western civilization, for example, is a civilization shared by the European nations living on the continents of Europe and America. Within this civilization, however, there are English, German, French etc., cultures, which are different and independent of each other.[492]

For him, civilizational elements have meaning and function in the life of people only when they enter into the service of culture. Without a cultural basis, civilization becomes a mechanical imitation and it is unable to penetrate into the inner life of people. In this sense, nation becomes very important because it is nation, which forms the source for the cultural values. In other words, he suggested that when there was not any cultural basis, civilization could destroy all the values and the most significant remedy for this was nation as the basic social unit, which would function as a source of cultural values.[493]

Gökalp put a significant emphasis on the concept of nation in coming to terms with the adjustment of culture and civilization. By nation, he meant, "a

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[491] Gökalp elaborated on the distinction between culture and civilization in many works. See, Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, 25-32; Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 59-77; Ziya Gökalp, *Hars ve Medeniyet* (Culture and Civilization) (Ankara: Balkanoğlu Matbaacılık, 1964).

[492] Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism*, 104.

[493] Gökalp,*Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 70-75.

homogenous culture composed of institutions in harmony with each other".[494] He explicitly rejected racial, ethnic and religious criteria as the determinants for national identity and he argued that national identity is determined by socialization, not by blood, ancestry or religious belief. He believed that the nation was the independent social unit lying at the core of the Western civilization and Western civilization was an entity composed of different nations with different cultural essences.[495]

In this respect, the connection between nation, culture and civilization constituted an important part in his formulation of Turkish nationalism. He mentioned that the sum of the institutions of a nation such as language, politics, religion, morality, aesthetics, law and economics constitutes its culture. He described the culture of national society as the sum of institutions that create solidarity and interconnect individuals of a society.[496] In contrast to cultural institutions, civilizational institutions linked the "upper strata of one society to the upper strata of other societies".[497] While culture was a cohesive element between the people; civilization, if not shared, became a divisive element between the people in the society.

Gökalp defended the idea that it was culture which had its own dynamics that made a nation. In this sense, each nation should maintain its existence by protecting

[494] Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism*, 238.

[495] Ibid., 24.

[496] Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, 59-60, 88.

[497] Parla, *Ziya Gökalp*, 29.

its own national character and it would be inevitable to be degenerate for a nation if it regarded other nations superior. He noted:

> If so, we Turks can recognize the Europeans as superior in civilization. In civilization, we can be their disciples and their imitators. But, beware; we should never view the culture of other nations as superior to our own. We should by no means be the disciples or imitators of other nations in matters of culture. We can take over unconditionally civic modes of thinking from Europe. Our progress in civilization will follow the lines of the European civilization. There is no danger, no harm in this. But the growth of our culture can never follow the same route. Our culture can grow only from inside and by an inner evolution[498]

As it is possible to conclude from this quotation, Gökalp regarded national culture as being guardian of national identity and as a source for social progress. He thought that Turkish culture should be preserved in the modernization process because the preservation of the cultural characteristics was also the condition for accomplishing civilization. He advocated that Turks accept only the material achievements and scientific methods from Western civilization and from Islam, only religious beliefs.

7.3. Collective Soul: 'We' Over 'I'

In Gökalp's view, Turkish nationalism represented a cultural ideal and a philosophy of life which laid the basis for social solidarity and which applied to every nationalism. He explained the modern nation as a community in a unique complex of cultural values, on the one hand, and a society based on organic solidarity, division of labor and functional differentiation, on the other hand.[499] The emphasis upon the concept of 'organic solidarity' becomes meaningful in the

[498] Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism*, 251.

[499] Ibid., 25.

analysis of women's images to uncover some unique aspects of the Turkish nationalism.

What is important in the understanding of this concept of 'organic solidarity' is the fact that the priority is given to the society and individuals do not and cannot exist independently outside society. Society is thought as an organism whose parts work together and each part of the society such as family, government plays a particular role in maintaining the betterment of the society. In this organic society, individuals do not have rights but duties and obligations, which are necessary to hold the society together.

This idea of organic solidarity, which occupies an important place in the understanding of the construction of the gendered national subjects and the position of women within the nationalist discourse, is reflected in the idea of "collective soul" which dates back to Ziya Gökalp. The "collective soul" is defined as follows:

> When a number of individuals constitute a collectivity, a new psychological element which we call the collective soul comes into existence as a product of interaction between individual souls. The collective soul comes into existence as a product of interaction between individual souls. The collective soul is different from the individual soul both quantitatively and qualitatively. When individuals form a collectivity, a wave of excitement and ecstasy begins to invade their souls. You can never see individual psychological states such as insensitivity, indifference and quietism among the individuals in a crowd. Their souls are under the captivity of an intense emotion, a deep rapture. Such states, furthermore, are different from individual experiences such as appetite, anger, and fear, which we also, find among animals, and are even opposite to collective emotions. [500]

As it can be drawn from these sentences, what Gökalp emphasizes is the importance of society whose value undermines the value of individual. He suggests that it is society, which creates the personality of the individual through its language, literature, traditions, science, law and morals; in short through its culture; more surprisingly, the more the individual participated in various aspects of social life, the

[500]Ibid., 189-190.

stronger personality he would require.[501] In this model of nationalism formulated by Gökalp, the individual does not have rights but duties and this is well reflected in one of his poems where he says:

> Do not say I have rights
> There is only one duty, no right.
> There is no "I" and "you" but "We"
> We are both ruler and Ruled to be
> We mean One,
> I and you worship the One[502]

The poem reflects the importance of the idea of organic solidarity, which values the individual according to his service to social solidarity and the public interest. In this organic solidarity, the concept of morality occupies a significant place. He adds that as long as the individual is not surrounded by the collectivity, he remains in a state of moral indifference. In this state, his main concern is the avoidance of pain and the search for pleasure.[503]

Gökalp suggests that the object of morality is society and moral sacrifices of the person are for the sake of society. Morality has been characterized by two characteristics, which are duty and goodness. The sense of duty is the manifestation of moral values in the form of obligation and the sense of good is their manifestation in the form of desirability. What remains significant, according to Gökalp, moral rules cannot be determined by individual consciousness or reason. It is the social consciousness, which distinguishes and determines moral values. In that sense, he defends the idea that moral rules refer to certain actions, which are opposed to

[501] Ibid., 190.

[502] This poem entitled *Ahlak* (Morality) which was firstly published in 1915 and reprinted in *Yeni Hayat* , p.11, is quoted in Parla, *Ziya Gökalp*, 68.

[503] Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism*, 190.

individual desires and instincts. Therefore, they imply certain sacrifices on the part of individuals. He adds:

> The thing for which the sacrifice is made must be superior to that which is being sacrificed. Only the inferior can be sacrificed for the superior and only the superior can be an aim for the inferior. If the self cannot be the aim of itself, another self also cannot be an aim for it. Therefore, if the individual cannot be the aim of the morality, and as there is no being inferior to individuality only something, which is superior to it, can be the object of the morality. And this being which is superior to individuality is nothing but society. Society has its own consciousness from which the individual derives his superior qualities or his moral being.[504]

From this, he concludes that prior to social life; human beings were no different from animals. He suggests, "That which gives them human qualities is the culture which society provides. Elements of culture such as language, knowledge, religion, morality, and aesthetic standards, originate in general in society and create higher faculties in men."[505] From this point, he concludes that the object of morality is society and moral sacrifices of the person are for the benefit of society.[506]

As it will be seen in the analysis of women's images in the novels that are subject to this thesis, these two concepts; the idea of organic solidarity and the importance of morality function as important keys in the examination of women's images in order to analyze the formation of gendered national identity. They also offer important clues in understanding the base on which the gendered national subjects have been constructed.

It is argued that Turkish literature played an active role in the construction of national identities and in the making of national subjects by creating the new set of values and public opinions in the formation of a Turkish nation-state and it became

[504] Ibid., 151.

[505] Ibid.

[506] Ibid.

an important field in creating a new mentality, new styles of lives, new types of men and women.[507] This point might be illustrative for the analysis of women's images in the novels, which will be treated in this study with the objective of elaborating on some particularities of Turkish nationalism.

1908 is an important date in any study concerning the emergence of the Turkish nationalism because the development of ethnic consciousness among Turks in the Ottoman Empire became very apparent with the proclamation of the Second Constitution and the end of Abdülhamid's despotic regime provided ground for the emergence of the Turkish nationalism. With the end of the autocratic regime of Abdülhamid, the Young Turk Era 1908-1918 was not only the last phase of the Ottoman state but it was also the final stage in which the last conditions necessary for the emergence of a national secular Turkish state were created. [508] 1938, however, is the year where Mustafa Kemal Atatürk died, fifteen years after the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

In the study of women's images in the novels concerning this period, I analyze the novels of Halide Edib Adıvar (1885-1964), Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974), Peyami Safa (1899-1961) and Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889-1956). Among these writers, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Halide Edib Adıvar were Mustafa Kemal's close friends and they had important positions in the power structure of the society. They were not only writers but all of them were elected deputies and they took part in the Assembly.

[507] İnci Enginün, "Turkish Literature and Self-identity: From Ottoman to Modern Turkish," in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*.

[508] Kemal H. Karpat, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations*, 111.

In order to be more illustrative, it is worth mentioning briefly their autobiographies. Halide Edib Adıvar (1885-1964) after graduating from Üsküdar American College, started her professional life in 1908 by writing articles in different journals. She worked as a teacher of history and inspector in different high schools. She taught Western literature at university. During the War of Independence, she became an important female figure taking different positions in the struggle against the Allied Forces. After the War of Independence in which she took an active part, she became a defender of the emancipation of the Turkish women. She spent a couple of years in giving conferences in different universities and for some time, she lived abroad. When she came back to Turkey, she taught at Istanbul University as a professor. She was elected as a deputy from Izmir in 1950 from the Justice Party.

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889-1974) on the other hand, wrote many articles, novels and poems in different newspapers. He taught philosophy and literature in high schools. During the War of Independence, he traveled around Anatolia and supported the War of Independence through the articles he wrote. After the establishment of the Republic, he became deputy twice between 1923 and 1934 and between 1961 and 1965. He became a member of the Founding Assembly. In addition to that, he worked as an ambassador abroad, in such cities as Prague, Bern, Teheran and Lahey.

Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889-1956) graduated from the Department of Literature at Istanbul University. Like Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Halide Edib Adıvar, he worked as a French teacher for many years. Additionally, he taught literature, philosophy and pedagogy. He became inspector of the Ministry of Education. After working as an inspector, he was elected the deputy of Çanakkale in

the years between 1939 and 1943. He worked as representative of Turkey at Unesco and he also became the attaché of Culture in the Turkish Embassy in Paris.

Peyami Safa (1899-1961) after working as a teacher, started publishing a newspaper called *Yirminci Asır* (Twentieth Century). His career as a writer started with his novels written for this newspaper. He wrote many novels, articles and he published many periodicals.

What can be observed in all these autobiographies is that with the exception of Peyami Safa, they all had various positions in the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. They were inspectors, cultural attachés, ambassadors; and most importantly, they took part in the political life as deputies. This seems to be a significant point in this study because it means that they did not remain as *hommes de lettres* writing novels and creating the fiction but they were also active members in the social and political structure of the Turkish society.

Among the writers, Peyami Safa was one of the outstanding figures of the Turkish conservative movement and his conservative thoughts were regarded as being opposed to the main premises of the Republican ideology in the early years of the Republic.[509] Although Safa's position changed with the time[510], this could be taken into consideration as a difference between Safa and the other writers. However, as it is suggested, both republican and conservative virtues are "paternalistic-minded" in origin. [511] In this sense, it is possible to suggest that in

[509] Süleyman Seyfi Öğün, "Türk Muhafazakarlığının Kültür Kökenleri ve Peyami Safa'nın Muhafazakar Yanılgısı (Cultural Origins of Turkish Conservatism and the Conservative Fallacy of Peyami Safa)." *Toplum ve Bilim*, 74 (1997), 102-154.

[510] For more details, Peyami Safa, *Türk İnkılabına Bakışlar* (Perspectives on Turkish Revolution) (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1981).

[511] Öğün, "Türk Muhafazakarlığı", 153.

spite of this difference, the writers whose novels will be analyzed represent to some extent the same moral and sexual conservatism vis à vis Turkish nationalism and Westernization.

7.4. The Origins and the Development of the Turkish Novel

Starting from the Tanzimat period, which signifies the first step toward the idea of modernization in the Ottoman Empire, literature became an arena of conflicting political views; and literary works mirrored different tensions coming into the picture within a radically changing society. Although there are different approaches on the origins of the novel, it is possible to argue that the development of the Turkish novel can be regarded as being connected with the development of the idea of westernization.[512] The importance of the inauguration of novel as a literary genre as a part of Westernization has been emphasized as follows:

> The modernizing Ottoman elite of the late century viewed the novel as a cultural institution much the way they considered parliament as a necessary political institution. They took the existence of the novel to be a mark of advancement in society equal to the discovery of electricity and the availability of elevators.[513]

For the Tanzimat intelligentsia who imported the novel from Europe, the inauguration of Western genres into the Turkish literature established a

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[512] There are different perspectives about the origins of the novel. For example, Pertev Naili Boratav suggests that although many studies take the period of Tanzimat as the inauguration of the novel and Namık Kemal and Ahmet Mithat as the first novelists, he defends the idea that the popular narratives like the epic of *Dede Korkut* formed the basis of the novel. For more details, see Pertev Naili Boratav, *Folklor ve Edebiyat II (1982)* (Folklore and Literature II (1982) (Istanbul: Adam Yayıncılık, 1983). About the origins of the Turkish novel, see also Güzin Dino, *Türk Romanının Doğuşu* (The Birth of Turkish Novel) (Istanbul:Cem Yayınevi, 1978).

[513] Ahmet Ö. Evin, "Novelists: New Cosmopolitanism versus Social Pluralism," in *Turkey and The West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*, ed. Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü and Heinz Kramer (London: I:B.Tauris, 1993), 96.

revolutionary end in itself. [514] Evin suggests that the early novels reveal several contemporary attitudes toward Westernization while they reflect the preoccupation of the intelligentsia with issues concerning social change. On the one hand, the novel was used to document the undesirable aspects of Western influence on Turkish society; on the other hand, it was used as a vehicle to spread a Westernist outlook. [515]

The realism of European fiction influenced the first novelists who considered the novel as an aesthetic medium through which current issues should be articulated.[516] As it is argued, the European novel provided means to examine the individual and society in terms of man's perception of reality and novel could be used in order to focus on specific dimensions of human psychology and social life at a particular historical moment. Evin suggests that the novelists who were impressed by the French novel regarded the adoption of the novel as an integral part of catching up with Western science and with Western civilization. He says that "French novel would naturally appeal to a generation of intellectuals obsessed with the idea of progress: it demonstrated an imaginative yet organized, powerful and relentless way of describing, analyzing, criticizing and explaining the contemporary civilization". [517]

It is possible to suggest that the novel has been imported from the West as a literary genre because it was considered as an integral part of the modernization to

[514] Ahmet Ö. Evin, *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel* (Minneapolis:Bibliotheca Islamica, 1983), 79.

[515] Ibid., 80.

[516] Ibid., 18.

[517] Ibid., 19.

be imitated.[518] The main motive behind this importation was the belief of progress, *terakki*. The first novelists believed that the introduction of the novel into the literature would be an important marker of being civilized and of westernizing the literature; and secondly, novel would be used as a means of education, thus it would help the progress of the society.[519]

It should be emphasized that since its initiation, the novel was regarded as an institution, which could serve a variety of functions and the intelligentsia regarded it as a mechanism to articulate different issues. As a literary genre, among its other functions, one of the most important roles of the novel was the education of the 'nation'. Connectedly, as Mardin puts it, the great majority of the first Ottoman novels written in that period were *romans à these* taking up explicitly the problems raised by social and political change.[520]. Connectedly, the first novelists were not "men born with the imagination of the novelist"[521] because they were mainly concerned with the problems that society faced and the most elaborated subjects were the problem of the status and emancipation of women in the society and that of Westernization.

The novelists of the Tanzimat era considered themselves as responsible of the society and as educators whose main duties were the education of people and the

[518] Ibid., 16.

[519] Ibid., 18-19.

[520] Şerif Mardin, "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the ottoman Empire in the last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century,"in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, eds. Peter Benedict, Erol Tümertekin, Fatma Mansur (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1974), 403.

[521] This claim was elaborated by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19 uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı* (Turkish Literature of the 19th Century) (İstanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1982). It is also quoted in Robert Finn, *Türk Romanı (İlk Dönem 1872-1900)* (Turkish Novel (First Period 1872-1900) (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1984), 17.

preservation of the culture, which could be damaged as a result of the Westernization process. Jale Parla, in her book *Babalar ve Oğullar* (Fathers and Sons) points out that there was a desire for "a father figure" among the writers of the Tanzimat period such as Namık Kemal and Ahmet Mithat.[522] She suggests that the main concerns of the writers of the time were the description of the boundaries of the Westernization and the protection of the moral and cultural codes of the East in the Westernization process. They believed that the technological innovations of the West could be adapted to the moral and the social structure of the Ottoman Empire but this should be realized without damaging the moral standards of the society.

Parla declares that according to some writers of the period, the cultural values and the worldview of the East should form the base for modernization, so that cultural norms and values of the society should be protected in the modernization process. The preservation of these cultural values had to be secured by sultan in society, the father figure in the family and by the writer in the literature. The writers resembled Westernization as a marriage between the East and the West where the East, the male, was expected to dictate the rules and the limits of change.[523] In this marriage, the writer identified himself with sultan in the society and father in the family all of which symbolized the patriarchal power to establish the rules of the society. To put it differently, the writers of the time perceived themselves as being responsible of constructing the societal rules and norms and having the power like a sultan or a father to dictate the main principles. In this regard, Parla characterizes the first novelists as the sons who were expected to continue the symbolic role of the father figure in terms of preserving the norms and the rules in the society.

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[522] Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (Fathers and Sons: The Epistemological Bases of the Tanzimat's Novel) (Istanbul: İletişim, 1990).

[523] Ibid., 17.

The identification of writer with sultan and father is significant in terms of understanding the role they envision for themselves. It is remarkable because like sultan representing authority in the society, father in patriarchal family structures, some writers of the period found this power in themselves and this figurative meaning did not change after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, which brought new generations of sons into the picture. In this regard, it might be suggested that the Turkish literature represents continuity from the Tanzimat period.

Except Halide Edib Adıvar who is the only female writer subject to my thesis and for that reason who could be described as a daughter of the literature, some of the novelists in the early years of the Republican period might be regarded as the sons of the previous generations. In other words, literature, remaining partially within the cultural production of the collective idea of a nation was instrumental for the reinforcement of the idea of Westernizing the society by preserving the cultural norms and cultural measures. For that reason, some writers of this period emphasized the need of protecting the morality of the East in the process of Westernization.

7.5. Turkish Literature as a Matter of Ideology

The Turkish literature could not challenge the tradition of the Tanzimat where one of the main themes of the novels was Westernization. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the synthesis shifted from the Ottoman cultural heritage characterized by Islam to the Turkish nationalism identified by secularism. To put it differently, Turkish literature in the early years of the Republic

was also thought as a cultural instrument of imagining the nation. It could not construct its own sphere independent of the Republican epistemology. [524]

It is argued that the Republican epistemology is based on an essential distinction on the part of the Republican elite between the East and the West as well as on a managerial attitude on their part stemming from a view of civilization as a societal goal. According to Atatürk, the Republican state had one basic mission, which was to elevate the people to the level of contemporary civilization. Accordingly, he defended the view that reforms needed to be imposed 'from above' in order to achieve this goal. This paved way to a thought structure, which was based on the dual categories of Occident-Orient, West-East, Modern-Traditional, Civilization-Culture and Science-Religion. [525]

It is possible to say that the nation-building project necessitated a discontinuity from the Ottoman Empire. The elimination of Islam, which was the principle component in the ideology of the Ottoman Empire, was seen necessary for the consolidation of the new Republic, which would signify a break from the Ottoman Empire, and for the formation of the new Turkish national identity. Islam would be removed from the political discourse in order to adopt a secular nationalism. [526]Secularism became identified with the definition of the nation as a

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[524] Hasan Bülent Kahraman, "Cumhuriyet Edebiyatı Epistemolojisi: Kısıtlamalar ve Bir Yaklaşım Önerisi (Epistemology of the Republican Literature: Limitations and An Approach Proposal)." *Varlık*. 2 (2000), 45-53.

[525] Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "Islamic Discourse and The Deconstruction of Turkish Identity in the 1990's." (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of Middle East Studies Association, Washington, DC, USA, December 6-10, 1995).

[526] As argued by Binnaz Toprak, despite the emphasis on secularism as the symbol of Kemalism, Islam has remained a significant force in social and political life. She says "Islam-especially in its folk variant-has been an important agent in the formation of group norms". For more details, Binnaz Toprak, "The Religious Right in Turkey in Transition," in *Turkey in Transition: New Perspectives*, 220.

homogenous, uni-ethnic, uni-linguistic and uni-sectarian entity but in order to build the nation, cultural markers would be used to make people to be a part of the nation and in this context; Islam was viewed as an inferior cultural marker compared with a modern Turkish national identity. [527] Sakallıoğlı suggests that one of the strategies that the state directed toward Islam revolved around an understanding of double-Islams. She says:

> By distinguishing between an Islam "more complicated, artificial and consisting of superstitutions" and one that "does not oppose consciousness or preclude progress". Atatürk set in motion the republican tradition of employing Islam to promote the ideas and policies of the secular state. By portraying the latter type of Islam as mild and rationalist, and by leaving intact the secular parameters of the republic, he gave signs of Islam's instrumental position in official ideology: "our religion is fitting reality, intellect and logic" and it is "the most reasonable and the most natural religion". [528]

It is possible to suggest that secularism in the Turkish context became an axis for defining progressive versus conservative, modern versus traditional and enlightened versus obscurantist.[529] In this understanding of secularism, the idea of enlightenment characterized by the vision of progress, the components of rationalism and positivism was considered as an important project to establish the secular foundations of the Turkish Republic. Nationalism and secularism constituted the base for modernization and westernization.

It is possible to point out that the Turkish novels can give important clues about the Republican ideology. For that reason, they can be taken into consideration as important sources for any analysis concerning the examination of Turkish

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[527] Ümit Cizre Sakallıoğlu, "Parameters and Strategies of Islam-State Interaction in Republican Turkey."*International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 28(1996), 234-235.

[528] Ibid., 236.

[529] For more details about secularism as a state policy, see Binnaz Toprak, "The Religious Right in Turkey in Transition," 218-235.

nationalism and in the making of gendered national subjects because it presents the main features which play a crucial role in the construction of the idealized women and men for the new Turkish Republic. Kahraman says that the Turkish literature is an ideological literature and that it is determined from above. Accordingly, each novelist constructs his fiction within the limits of the chronology of the Turkish history. That is why each writer considers himself responsible for elaborating the 'essential issues'; and the 'dichotomies' such as East-West, individual-society, past-present and being *alafranca*-being *alaturca* form the main worry of each writer.[530]

7.6. *Je* is Another

The overlap between ideology and literature brings us to another important point that remains significant for this study. Since the fiction can be regarded as a means through which the idea of organic solidarity was voiced and since the fiction has been imagined according to the ideological context- in the Turkish case this is the nationalist discourse- it is possible to argue that there is an absence of individuality in the novels which have been subject to this study. Since those novels are fabricated around the theme of Westernization, it is possible to say that "*je est un autre*" which means 'I is another' in these novels.

In the grammar, 'je' refers to a self however, in the novels examined in Chapter 8, this is not the case. The literature which was developed on Kemalist principles was based on a lack of awareness concerning the self. Kahraman says:

> The literature developed on Kemalist principles from the early 1920s up until the 1970s, was based on a lack of self awareness concerning the 'self'. The problematic in the novels of that period is a descriptive description of existing conditions, rather than a critical approach. The main characters' identities were determined by

[530] Kahraman, "Cumhuriyet Edebiyatı Epistemolojisi," 49.

> ideology: whether heroes or villains, these characters are not self-aware. They are imagined to signify a component of social structure.[531]

As the quotation means, 'je' or 'I' is not the expression of the individual but it is the spokesman of the collective identity. In other words, 'je' does not refer to individual feelings, thoughts or individual expressions but it expresses collective sentiments, collective messages and collective ideals. 'Je' is the first person singular in grammar, explaining 'I', the person or the individual but it is used for 'we' as the first person plural. In a sense, 'je' is transformed into 'we'. In any 'je' there is the collective expression of 'we'. This proposition forms a paradox at two levels. The singular individuality of the singular pronoun je/I symbolizes neither the singular individuality of the characters in their own rights nor the individuality of authors independent from the social and political context. In both cases, 'je' reflects the moral, political and social positions ascribed by the society. In a way, 'I am not myself but I am another entity determined by the social collectivity'.

This brings into mind Gökalp's concept of organic solidarity according to which society has a superior position compared to individuals and society gives character to individuals. Gökalp suggests, "Prior to social life, human beings were no different from animal beings. That which gives them human qualities is the culture which society provides".[532] In this understanding, individuals exist as human beings in the society and for the society. In the same parallel, in the literature as well, characters have reality in the society and for the society; connectedly 'je' in those novels has been constructed with respect to society, on the basis of the ideology, societal rules, norms, and for the betterment of the society.

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[531] Hasan Bülen Kahraman, "Je est un autre: Turkish Literature in Transition Between National and Global Self," *in Step-MotherTongue: From Nationalism to Multiculturalism: Literatures of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, ed. Mehmet Yashin (London: Middlesex University Press, 2000), 37.

[532] Gökalp, *Turkish Nationalism*, 151

As will be discussed in the following chapter, all 'je's in the novels that I analyze reflect the main expectations of 'us' and the main components of the national identity. In this perspective, 'je' is a construction not based on an independent self but on cultural/political production. In this perspective, the identification of 'je' with the individual is out of the question because 'je' speaks of the expectations and the rules of the community. In other words, it acts as the individual expression of collective identity and of its morality.

In the analysis of the novels, the self is not individuated but it is thought to be familial or communal. The text functions as a sphere establishing 'je' on the basis of Turkish national identity; in this sense, the text can be considered as the expression of the collective identity put into the words by the "sons" of the Turkish Republic. In this respect, literature can be regarded as one of the fields where ideology reconstructs itself and where it becomes apparent in the fiction through the personification of 'je'. All the heroines and the heroes of the novels which are subject to this study are fictively created by the novelists. They not only speak on behalf of the society but also as fictive personalities, they represent the dominant hegemonic patriarchal structure.

7.7. Conclusion

In this part of my study, I seek to draw a framework for the analysis of women's images in the works of some authors. By being aware, that the novels are firstly works of art and that they are not just sociological documents, it is possible to suggest that they can be also used as sources for reaching sociological data. As discussed in this chapter, in the analysis of women's images, Westernization, the idea of "collective soul" and the concept of morality occupy a central place in the

interpretation of the novels with regard to the construction of women as gendered national subjects. The synthesis between "culture" and "civilization" lying at centre of the Turkish nationalism is a significant point to be considered in such an analysis because as it will be seen in details in the next chapter, the images of women illustrate the attempt to achieve a balance between Western civilization and the Turkish culture. Respectively, women are expected to be modern in appearance and at the same time, they hold traditional virtues such as modesty and purity.

In the novels that I will study, the images of women strengthen the idea of "collective soul"; and the notion of morality is closely connected with the images of women. The 'idealized' female subjects are portrayed as members of the national community who protect the morality of national community by being chaste, pure and modest. Although these women have different names and they act in different contexts, in many examples, women's images are constructed around the nationalist project. This paves the way to another important point to be mentioned: "*je est un autre*" denotes the absence of an independent expression of the individual. 'je' does not refer to individual feelings, thoughts or individual expressions but it expresses collective sentiments, collective ideals and collective messages. In other words, 'je' has been constructed with respect to society and on the basis of national collectivity.

Since the objective of this study is to examine the making of women as gendered national subjects with regard to women's images in order to examine the production of Turkish gendered nationhood, these concluding remarks concern women's images studied in this thesis. When we look at men's images in the novels, it is also possible to come across with the representation of national collectivity through male subjects of the novels. Since the images of both men and women are constructed as a part of national collectivity, representing the idea of collective soul

and Westernization in Gökalp's terms, the psychology of the individual is not fully analyzed in some of the novels. The rule of the community over the individual is so noticeable in the novels studied in this thesis that it is virtually impossible to isolate and examine characters in their own terms.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AS GENDERED NATIONAL SUBJECTS IN THE NOVELS

8.1. Introduction

As suggested by Jean Franco, the link between national formation and the novel is not accidental. The novel can be used as a means to work out imaginary solutions to different problems because it is in the novel that different and conflicting problems for the nations are debated by the representation of some different and imaginary figures. [533] An analysis of the leading characters, heroes in fiction remains crucial in any study concerning the gendered dimension of nationalism because it provides a powerful understanding of different ways in which women and men are represented. Since literary works and literature have the ability to function as signifiers of national identity, it is possible to argue that the heroes and heroines of the novels might portray both the ideal characters needed in a society and reflect the accepted situations.

The main objective of this chapter is to analyze the representation of women as gendered national subjects by focusing on women's images in the novels in the pre and early Republican period. The analysis of women's images in fiction will enable us not only to have a better understanding of the formation of gendered national identity but also to uncover some of the unique features of Turkish nationalism. Given the specific dimensions discussed in Chapter 3 explaining in what ways nationalism is gendered and in what ways women are made gendered

[533] Jean Franco, "The Nation as Imagined Community," 130.

national subjects, in this part of the study, I will attempt to reveal which themes have been used and which characteristics have been emphasized in portraying female heroes of these narratives with regard to these specific dimensions of gendered nationalism. Among the dimensions illuminating various ways in which women are involved in the imagination of nation, I will make use of 'women as objects of nationalist discourse', 'educating the mind and reconstructing the patriarchy, 'women's bodies and sexuality', 'motherhood' and 'feminine images of nation' in interpreting women's images.

My main concern is twofold: I will examine how and in what sense the specific dimensions illustrating the gendered aspect of nationalism appear themselves in the novels based on women's images and elaborate on the characteristics which have been used in the construction and the representation of the Turkish women in the novels in the pre and early Republican period (1908-1938). As mentioned in the introduction part, for this study, I will focus on the novels of Halide Edib Adıvar, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, and Peyami Safa, being aware that my concluding remarks might be not representative of all the novels of the period concerned. The novels that will be treated are chosen through a reading of several works of these authors. The most important criterion of selecting these works is the fact that they are important in terms of illustrating and representing women as a part of a particular nationalist project.

8.2. Women as Objects of Nationalist Discourse

The first important dimension illustrating how nationalism is gendered is the description of women as objects of nationalist discourse according to which women become symbols and important markers/identifiers of political goals and of cultural identity. It is possible to suggest that this specific characteristic is present in almost all the novels treated in this study. Related with this aspect of gendered nationalism, in this part of the chapter, I will focus on Westernization, the emancipation and the sociability of women and the images of women as active participants into the nationalist struggle and nationalist issues as the most relevant themes and elements employed in the representation of women as gendered national subjects.

8.2.1. Westernization

The first theme that is presented in the novels with regard to women's images is the idea of Westernization. Actually, this theme can be described as one of the central motifs remaining as clue in understanding the main points, which are going to be discussed. As mentioned earlier, Turkish literature can be taken into consideration as a sphere constructed on the main promises of the Republican ideology and on binary oppositions such as Orient-West, individual-society, being *a la turca* or *a la franca.* Berna Moran considers this aspect of Turkish novels as a problematic aspect of Westernization. He points out that Westernization lies at the center of all the literal works and it describes its functions, its construction and its main characters to a large extent.[534]

As it will become more apparent in the analysis of women's images in the novels, fiction serves to illustrate this tension. The fictional characters are not

[534] Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış* (A Critical Approach to the Turkish Novel) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983), 21-22.

representative types but they are proposed as models showing how Westernization should be understood and what would be the negative aspects of Westernization in the case of the misinterpretation of Westernization. In this respect, the novel ought to be seen as a medium through with the dichotomy between the Westernization and the Turkish identity has been articulated. Connectedly, the portrayal of the female subjects in the novels also evolved around this problematic of Westernization.

The most significant novel reflecting the dichotomy between the West and the East is *Fatih Harbiye* by Peyami Safa written in 1931. The plot of the novel reflects the chaos in societal values in Turkish society emerging as a result of Westernization between the years of 1920 and 1930 in Istanbul and the effects of this disorder on women.[535] Neriman is a girl who lives in a traditional district Fatih in Istanbul with her father Faiz Bey. Şinasi who lives in the same district is the fiancé of Neriman. Both take music lessons at *Darülelhan* (Musical Conservatory). Neriman plays *ud* and Şinasi plays *kemençe*, two traditional musical instruments. Macit is a young man who attends violin courses at European music department of the same conservatory. Neriman makes also friendship with Macit who lives in Harbiye, a modern district in Istanbul.

After recognizing Macit, Neriman starts to make comparisons between Fatih, where she lives and Harbiye where Macit leads his life. As a consequence of the meetings with Macit, she turns out to have negative feelings towards her own milieu and she has a big admiration towards Western styles of life. Neriman faces the most important dilemma when Macit invites her to a ball in Pera Palace. Though she

[535] Peyami Safa, *Fatih Harbiye* (Fatih Harbiye) (İstanbul: Ötüken, 1997). For a study of this novel, see Bahriye Çeri, *Türk Romanında Kadın: 1923-1938 Dönemi* (Woman in the Turkish Novel: The Period of 1923-1938) (İstanbul: Simurg, 1996), 142-156.

would like to go to the ball, her father's financial problems make her think about how to go to the ball; and what to wear. By the way, the story of the Russian girl and the poor Russian young man told by some relatives of Neriman affects her deeply. In the story, a Russian actress leaves the poor Russian man that she loves so much for the sake of a rich Greek man. While the Russian man goes on to living by means of playing the guitar, the Russian girl leads a glorious life. She goes to one party from another, yet such a glittering life does not satisfy her and she cannot be happy; because she grasps, in the narrator's terms, "the real virtues and the fake values of civilization".[536] Finally, the Russian girl commits suicide since she cannot get a response for her love from the Russian man when she returns to him. Neriman feels herself in a similar situation with the Russian girl. She sees Şinasi in the personality of the Russian man and Macit in that of the Greek man. At the end of the novel, she gives up the idea of going to the ball and goes back to Fatih.

From the beginning of the novel, the interests of Neriman towards a Western life style upset her relations with her fiancé. By having a great admiration for Westernization, she begins to criticize her environment as well as her family who brought her up according to the Eastern culture. Whereas everything in her district where she lives, Fatih, seems to her old-fashioned and boring, she is influenced by all the elements such as movie and theater spreading the Western culture in Harbiye. Although she is engaged with Şinasi, she begins to admire Macit who conducts a Western style of life.

The whole novel mirrors all these dichotomies that Neriman lives in the face of these two separate worlds. The first contradiction starts with the event when Neriman goes to a ball with Macit. Like Macit, a Western man, the ball also

[536] Safa, *Fatih Harbiye*, 100.

symbolizes the West and for the first time Neriman tells lies to her fiancé and to her family. After the first ball, Neriman feels a dilemma, which reflects actually the situation of the Turkish nation remaining in a dual position. On the one hand, she lives in an authentic place where people lead a traditional life and she feels that she is not happy of living in this place with these traditional people. On the other hand, in the ball, she meets Western people who attract Neriman with their Western way of life. For the second invitation of Macit, she cannot decide whether to go or not. How to make a balance between "good" and "bad" aspects of Westernization? Neriman symbolizes a woman who fails to understand this balance and she understands westernization as living in a Western way. She wants to go to the ball, to dance, to be elegant and to live in luxury. In one of the conversations with Şinasi, she expresses her preoccupation of changing her life style as follows:

> I want to lead a more civilized life […] Look, what is happening around us, don't you see that all is changing? Am I not a girl of this land too? Don't I also have the right to live a life of the civilized?[537]

The places and the characters of this novel have significant functions in the fiction. Faiz Bey, the father of Neriman and Şinasi represent Eastern men; Macit is the prototype for a completely Westernized Turkish man; Neriman exemplifies a woman who experiences different contradictions between the West and the East; Neriman could not make a decision between two men, Macit and her fiancé Şinasi symbolizing the dichotomy between these two worlds. At the beginning of the novel, Neriman is in love with Macit and every action, every word and every characteristic of Şinasi seems to be very boring, ordinary and traditional for her whereas Macit means everything new, attractive and Western.

[537] Ibid., 86.

The comparison between the West and the East is not only realized by different characters but also by different metaphors in the novel. The discourse on music is of crucial importance in the construction of this dichotomy. The *ud* (lute) Neriman herself plays and the violin Macit plays take an important part in this comparison. Neriman doesn't like the form of *ud* (lute), a traditional musical instrument but she admires violin that Macit plays. After recognizing Macit, Neriman turns out to be irritated by the *ud* (lute) she plays:

> Ogh! This *ud* (lute) I hold in my hands makes me sick, I feel like breaking it. Let's give it to *Şamlı*. What on earth happened and I began to play it?As though the trouble at home is not sufficient, *Darülelhan* (the Conservatory)! [...] It is nothing but the effect created by the family. My father received Eastern culture. He plays *ney* (nay), and my relatives are just the same....yet they all irritate me.[538]

Apart from the instrument she plays, she starts also of complaining about living in Fatih, a very traditional district in İstanbul and she admires Harbiye, a district having a Western outlook. She says:

> The district I live in, the house I lead my life, most of the people I speak to, all of these make me sick. I can see lots of unemployed, vagabond, obscurantist people sitting in the cafes all the time whenever I pass from the Fatih Square. If you are clean and well-dressed just a little bit, they stare at you in an unpleasant manner, God knows what they talk about you, a person cannot even walk on the road in any way. And how about the shops on the sides of the road? Cooks and cafes are everywhere! The only occupation of the men is sitting at a cafe or in front of a mosque and watching outside. I had a look at the shops from *Tünel* to *Galatasaray* yesterday. Even the artisans have a sense of taste. One feels himself as if he were wandering in a garden. All display windows have elaborate ornamentations. Even the cheapest good of a little value is presented in such a way that it seems like a jewel. What's more, its people also significantly different. They do not stare at anyone in any way. They know how to walk and what to wear as well. They know everything, that is to say.[539]

In making the comparisons between these two districts, actually, she attempts to compare the two different civilizations, the Eastern and the Western civilizations. In this comparison, she resembles the Eastern people to cats because she thinks that the only things they do are eating, giving birth and living in dreams. However, the

[538] Ibid., 25

[539] Ibid., 26

Western people are active "awake even when they are asleep" like dogs.[540] Neriman makes the comparison as follows:

> The reason why the Christian houses abound in dogs and the Muslim ones in cats was this: The Easterners are like cats in nature while the Western people resemble dogs! Cats satisfy their hunger and thirst, sleep and reproduce; the whole life of a cat is spent in a dream on a cushion: and even when it is awake, it sometimes looks as if it is fast asleep dreaming; this flabby, lazy and daydreaming creature does not like work at all. Dogs, however, are fit, energetic and nimble. They are of some use, in fact, of many. They are awake even when they sleep. They hear even the lightest sounds and they jump and cry. [541]

All these examples reveal how Neriman interprets Westernization and what meanings she attributes to it. Ferit, the friend of Şinasi represents the voice of the writer and he criticizes women in the personification of Neriman because of their approach to it. He thinks that women understand Westernization very superficially. He criticizes these women as follows:

> Women are doomed to understand civilization with their eyes. These women are much happier than the real defenders of civilization. They are contented with shapes and a single change in colors makes them enjoy themselves.[542]

For Ferit, women translate Westernization as ability to go to movie or to party and to live in luxury. For that reason, he blames women for not understanding civilization as a matter of culture but they perceive it as a matter of fantasy. He thinks that women admire Westernization unconsciously and this addiction of formalism makes them dandy.[543] At the end of the novel, Neriman finds "the truth" with the help of her parents and of her family. This means that she could develop her own character on her own but, as it is the case in some of the novels that I study,

[540] Ibid., 45.

[541] Ibid.

[542] Ibid., 94.

[543] Ibid.

there are some males who show woman how she should be. This novel remains meaningful in terms of reflecting how culture and civilization in Gökalp's terms have been tried to be synthesized. What is crucial in the process of Westernization is the preservation of the Turkish culture against the adverse effects of Western civilization. The image of Neriman symbolizes a woman who is expected to make a balance between the Western civilization and the Turkish culture.

In the novels that I explore for this thesis, there is a strong emphasis upon the negative aspects of Westernization. An important novel on the negative effects of Westernization and the understanding of Westernization as the adoption of its culture is *Kiralık Konak* (Mansion For Hire) by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu firstly published in 1922*,* whose story is based on the collapse of a crowded family as a result of Westernization. The plot of the novel is on the confusion in the moral values coming out as a result of the Tanzimat, the conflict between generations and the degeneration resulting from Westernization.[544] It is pointed out that "the degradation is reached in the novels when Westernism, in the guise of foolish and feckless young men and "fashionable" loose women, enters the home, corroding the moral fabric of the family and by extension of society as a whole".[545]

The events in *Kiralık Konak* take place in the years between 1906 and 1918 in an Ottoman mansion and it explains the erosion of morality in the Turkish society

[544] For different studies on Kiralık Konak, see Moran, *Turkish Novel*, 151-169*;* Fethi Naci, *100 Soruda Türkiye'de Roman ve Toplumsal Değişme* (Novel and Social Development in Turkey in 100 Questions) (Istanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1990), 52-54; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikaye ve Roman-Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Kadar (*Story and Novel in Turkish Literature- From *Meşrutiyet* to Republic) (Istanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1987), 149-156; Niyazi Akı, *Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu: İnsan, Eser, Fikir, Üslup* (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu: Human, Work of Art, Idea, Style) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001); Nükhet Esen, *Türk Romanında Aile Kurumu (1870-1970*) (Institution of Family in Turkish Novel 1870-1970) (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1997), 133-138; Berna Moran, "Alafranga Züppeden Alafranga Haine (From Westernized Dandy to Westernized Betrayer)." *Birikim*. 27(1977), 6-17.

[545] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Slave Girls, Temptresses and Comrades," 38.

as a result of over-Westernization with the example of the collapse of a family. The owner of the mansion Naim Efendi lives with his daughter Sekine Hanım, his son-in-law Servet Bey and with his two grand children Seniha and Cemil. Contrary to Naim Efendi who is brought up according to Ottoman manners, Servet Bey is raised according to French manners and he has many troubles because of the contradiction between the life he lives and the manners through which he is brought up. He is so Westernized that when the Second Constitution is inaugurated, he forbids Turkish to be spoken at home. According to him, all old-minded persons have to be killed. The narrator defines Servet Bey through these words: "No Turkish has ever been this much passionately and excessively devoted to Westernization except for Servet Bey. "[546]

Seniha who Servet Bey brought up in accordance with his ideas is the principal female character of the novel. Seniha has also an admiration of Europe like her father. Such an admiration causes her to feel alienated, unhappy and she frequently experiences nervous breakdowns. From the point of view of Seniha, there is nothing significant in Istanbul, on the contrary, the European cities attract her attention to a great extent. Seniha flirts with Faik Bey who comes back to country after having lived many years in Europe. Faik Bey is a man not only addicted to gambling but he is also immoral because although he continues his relationship with Seniha yet he does not remain indifferent to other women. Seniha's relationships with Faik Bey disturbs her grandfather Naim Bey but Servet Bey does not find anything improper in this relation. Seniha's deep admiration for Europe results with her running away from home. After spending some time in Europe, she lives as the mistress of Faik Bey in Paris for a certain period of time. Then, she returns to

[546] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak* (Mansion for Hire) (İstanbul: İletişim, 1983), 15.

Istanbul as a fallen women and she becomes the mistress of rich men. Hakkı Celis is another male character, a young poet in the novel who is portrayed as an opposite character of Faik. Although at the beginning of the novel, he is in love with Seniha, by the end of the novel, his main ideal is to struggle for the country and he turns out to have a strong sense of national pride. He takes part in the War of Dardanelles to fight with the enemies. At the end of the novel, the ottoman mansion is left to rent. Naim Efendi moves from the mansion to another apartment. Seniha lives a corrupted life with different men and Hakkı Celis dies at the war.

In the novel, the female character, Seniha is portrayed as a restless girl whose imagination is influenced by thoughts of Europe. The writer describes Seniha as follows:

> The reason was that she was a girl whom the French would call a *fin de siècle* girl. The turn of the century is such a new model of society that in its internal and external being, it is free of all sorts of records, present and past, and is subject to the currents of the future in the making. *Seniha* would always look like the features in topical fashion magazines. Her body- young, fresh, slender and agile- was always in a constant metamorphosis like that of silkworms. Like her green eyes which would change conforming to the changing light of the day, the tune of her voice, the rhythm of her moves and even the way her head's pose would ceaselessly change. Her inner world was alike; she had a soul identical to the color of her eyes, now palpitating, full of sorrow, with a cloud over it, then wicked, clear, calm and as festive as fireworks. But if there was something fixed in her little devilish body that was her ironic and coquettish nature.[547]

Seniha is likened as a fictive woman like Emma Bovary, Juliette or Desdemona by Hakkı Celis and her main dream is to escape to Europe. [548]For Seniha, Westernization means money, having fun, fashion and rejecting all traditions. She appreciates everybody who visited Europe. Discussing with them and being with them do not only ensure status but also give her a spiritual pleasure. In fact, her relations with Faik who grew up in Europe because of his father's job, is based on this kind of admiration.

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[547] Ibid., 16-17.

[548] Ibid., 128.

In this novel, there is both the critique of the backwardness of Ottoman society in the personality of Naim Efendi and the moral corruption coming into existence as a result of the misunderstanding of Westernization in the personality of Seniha. In these two novels, there is a critique of the false conception of Westernization and of the ways people become civilized. Accordingly, the novelists criticize the fact that people understand Westernization as practicing the manners and the customs of the West. In this way, the more they become *a la franca* (Westernized), the more alienated they become to themselves because they loose their own identity. They cannot find a place for themselves and they live in miserable conditions. In a way, they become so indifferent to their existence, to their society and to their culture that they get bored and they live in a state of annoyance- in a very big *angoisse.* This is very well reflected in the character of Seniha who dreams of going to Europe. She expresses her annoyance in the sentences below:

> Do you think I will spend my life in such a house? In such a country with such people around me? Do you think I will lead a life in which I would only be able to own about half a dozen clothes a year, seldom go to *Ada* to pay a visit, and wait downstairs for a couple of meaningless and dull visitors on Mondays? No, Grandpa, I am not a girl of such simple soul! I read many, I learned a lot, I thought a lot, I made many analyses. I know that this thing called life is an endless field outside this prison where I have grown up since the day I was born; it is vast, full of sound, light, strange, full of joys and sorrows, flat, winding; it has its rises and falls.[549]

As it could be understood from this quotation, she describes this alienation and this anxiety as "a prison" and she expresses her reluctance to live in this space. In another part of the book, when she learns that *Belkıs Hanım* who is a friend of her parents, has gone to Paris, she is disappointed by her incompetence for not going to Europe. At this point, she explains her desperation and she says:

> I shall also decay like this garden.[…] I shall disappear one day, all of a sudden, and become invisible under a pile of dry leaves! One day, I will say 'how fast my youth went by!' as if I were saying 'How fast this season has passed by![550]

[549] Ibid., 110.

[550] Ibid., 118.

As it can be drawn from these sentences, the dream of *Seniha* and her dissatisfaction with the society where she lives, results in her corruption and in this sense, Westernization becomes destructive for those who misinterpret its meaning and who admire Western style of living and Western manners. *Seniha*, for whom the meaning of Westernization is cloths, shoes, stocking, automobiles and comfortable and tidy rooms, is an example of the people who understand westernization in cosmetic terms. Westernization is an important point of reference in understanding how women are expected to make a balance between the Turkish culture and the Western civilization.

8.2.2 Emancipation of Women

Another important motif that appears in the novels with regard to the description of women as objects of nationalist discourse is emancipation of women. Although the novels are put to use as a means of documenting the undesirable aspects of Western influence on Turkish society, they also emphasize the importance of social change. In the novels that I examine, there is an emphasis upon the idea of the emancipation of women in the society and the representation of women as 'equal partners of men'. The images of emancipated women emerge in the novels as appropriate signifiers for the representation of the "new Turkish woman" which is different from her Ottoman households.

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the new Turkish state framed images of 'emancipated women' having a presence in public sphere and

wearing Western clothing in order to distance itself form the Ottoman. [551] On the same subject, Nilüfer Göle argues:

> Republican men called on women to be active agents in the building of a modern nation. Thus, the emancipation of women from traditional and religious roles was desired to the extent that women acquired public roles and public visibility for the national cause, which in turn, implied collective consciousness and modesty rather than individualism. [552]

As the quotation explains clearly, the integration of women into the public life and their participation into the public life are necessary for the representation of the new Republic as a modern and secular nation. Women's emancipation from their traditional and religious roles and their visibility in public space are used to symbolize a change from the gender roles constructed by Islamic religion. The attempt to make a synthesis between the West and the East has brought a big burden on women. Women are accorded the big mission and they are used as mediums to construct a balance between "the inner and the outer domains".[553] In this new definition, in addition to the private domain-the inner domain- where women are accorded many domestic duties and responsibilities, they should become visible in the public domain. This is possible only if women conceal their feminity and they present modesty in their behavior.

How is the importance of the emancipation of women treated in the novels? *Seviyye Talip* by Halide Edib Adıvar, firstly published in 1910, is an important novel in this respect where there is a strong emphasis upon the necessity of emancipating

[551] See Alev Çınar, *Modernity, Islam and Secularism in Turkey* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Press, 2005), 60.

[552] Nilüfer Göle, " The Gendered Nature of the Public Sphere." *Public Culture*. 10:1(1997), 67.

[553] Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*.

women and freeing them.[554] The events happen in the Second Constitutional Period, Fahir, the hero of the novel comes back to the country after spending three years in England. When he returns, he starts criticizing her wife, Macide, for being too conservative and of not using her capacity enough. He argues that the lack of women's participation into the social life is a national deficiency. At the beginning of the novel, Macide presents a very passive character, strongly attached to her traditions but by the help of her husband's critiques, she starts to be a wife as Fahir asks her. Another male character in the novel is Numan, the friend of Fahir, who is personified as an over-Westernized man. Seviyye Talip, on the other hand, is Numan's sister-in-law but she abandons her husband and she starts having a love affair with the piano teacher Cemal Bey from whom Macide takes also piano lessons. Once Macide and Fahir make a visit to *Seviyye* and Cemal Bey, Fahir falls in love with Seviyye who is portrayed as an *alafranga* Westernized woman. This love makes Fahir psychologically ill and he takes a journey to Egypt with Numan in order to forget Seviyye but he cannot succeed. Fahir suffers so much from this love affair that he tries to commit suicide. On the contrary, to two female characters Neriman and Seniha, this time, it is a man, Fahir, who misinterprets the meaning of Westernization. The passion and the love for a Westernized woman symbolize this misunderstanding and it results by suicide.

The necessity of the improvement of the status of women is a remarkable characteristic of this novel. When Fahir returns home after his journey in England, his experiences in England and his observations about English women make him

[554] For different analyses on *Seviyye Talip*, see Nazan Aksoy, "Halide Edib Adıvar'ın Seviyye Talip'inde Kadın Kimliği (Woman Identity in Seviyye Talip of Halide Edib Adıvar)," in *Berna Moran'a Armağan: Türk Edebiyatına Eleştirel Bir Bakış* (Dedicated to Berna Moran: A Critical Approach to Turkish Literature)**,** ed. Nazan Aksoy and Bülent Aksoy (İstanbul: İletişim yayınları, 1997), 39-50; Beyhan Uygun Aytemiz, *Halide Edib Adıvar ve Feminist Yazın* (Halide Edib Adıvar and Feminist Writing), unpublished master thesis, Ankara, Bilkent University, 2001.

conclude that Turkish women should liberate themselves from the traditions and domestic life in order to be active members of society. In this process, he considers himself and other men who recognize Europe responsible for making women emancipated. In one of the conversation with Macide, he expresses his views as follows:

> The mission that my country, which has gone through these many changes, expects me to accomplish confronts me via the face of Macide, of Hikmet. Perhaps the future will provide schools, broad views, and strong opinions for the women of the coming generation, and perhaps different means of education will be available for them. But the gravest duty of those young people who have seen Europe is to awaken the women of our times, to prepare them for life and to foster them to accomplish utilitarian deeds for the progress of the nation.[555]

However, when he analyzes Macide, he thinks that she is passive and she is very indifferent to the social and political situation of the country. He says:

> I often wondered whether Macide owned a personality different from this tranquil, calm and rather dull one. But no! Those are such young girls that they are literate only enough to read the papers and write some letters; then they spend all their time to domestic chores. The most natural thing for them is to sew, to sweep, to clean up and to keep the house neat and tidy. These are not things to be despised at all. However, in their femininity there is nothing attractive to pull men towards his sweet home. You can see neither a couple of flowers, nothing eyeful here and there, nor women, clean and beautiful, ready to understand you and to give you a warm welcome. You arrive home before she could find the time to take off her apron. While you talk about the things you have contemplated, her neurotic eyes hunt for dust on the surface of furniture.[556]

As it is understood from these sentences, women, in the image of Macide, are portrayed being mainly preoccupied with their domestic duties and indifferent to social and political matters; specifically their rights. However, Fahir mentions that English women live as individuals by participating actively in the public sphere and by defending their rights. In making this comparison, there is an emphasis upon the emancipation and the participation of women in the social and political affairs.

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[555] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Seviyye Talip* (Seviyye Talip) (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1987), 18.

[556] Ibid., 12.

A change in women's position is obligatory but the limits and the direction of this change are of crucial importance. Fahir declares:

> It seems to me that the country will be divided in half in this respect: one half will consist of those conservatists who would like to eradicate these things and the other half, those dandies who would intend to give women the absolute liberty; without these women being exposed to the education that would enable them to enjoy the offered liberties, without them being morally mature! The former party will enslave women, and the latter will see them as mere dolls. And if ever there is another party who consider women as comrades, as mothers and educators of the coming generation, and who want to educate them so, they are just a minority or bold in theory but not so in practice. [557]

As it can be understood from this quotation, women's status is an important indicator of a society's modernity. Since the conditions of women are addressed as reflections of backwardness, the amelioration of women's conditions and women's rights are important components of development and modernization. According to Fahir, a balance between "the conservatists" who refuse any equality between men and women and the "dandies" who view women as beautiful dolls should be achieved for the future of the society.

This preoccupation of the hero reflects well the extent of change. On the one hand, it is the responsibility of educated people like himself to educate women for making them conscious of their rights and for making them more involved in intellectual life, but women should never forget their roles of motherhood and educators of the future generations. Although Western civilization must be accepted, it is of crucial importance to protect the moral values, social customs and never imitate the West in terms of these values. He states:

> First of all, it should be explained that imitations, examples of which we have regretfully seen, have nothing to do with novelty; a woman to accept novelty does not have to be an exact copy of a French or English woman, and men needn't be modelled on the Parisian men either. We are not to ape another nation. We will be the new Turks who have been matured, who have put the humanitarian views into practice, who have accepted the development of the West and still remained loyal to the natural tendencies of its race in all sense of the word.[558]

[557] Ibid., 14.

[558] Ibid., 40-41.

What is suggested mainly by the words of the hero is the idea that although the emancipation and the education of women are encouraged, this should be a controlled emancipation whose limits are prescribed by a male system of values. In this context, female subjectivity has been constructed on male norms.

As it could be observed in both *Fatih Harbiye* and *Seviyye Talip*, in the construction of women as national subjects, the male voice, the male oriented attitudes have been dominant and women representing 'the other' does not have an identity in their own rights but they have been constructed by different meanings that men chose. If identity is defined as a sense of who I am, an individual sense of identity for women in those novels is quite difficult. Although women's images have been depicted as 'equal partners of men', as it can be seen in Fahir's example, it is the duty of the male hero to declare how women should be, to decide what is good for women and for the society and to show what have been culturally designated as feminine characteristics. Almost in all the novels analyzed in this study, the male is cast as decision maker, protector, while the female is relegated to the role of good mother, good wife, educator and the carriers of traditions and cultural values.

8.2.3. Sociability of Women

The most important feature of the emancipation of women is their sociability, which becomes a significant characteristic of women's images in those novels related with the construction of women as objects of nationalist discourse. The sociability of women is a remarkable motif treated in the novels explaining better how women become the markers of political goals and nationalist ideologies. Women are expected to participate to social life and to take on social responsibilities

alongside their traditional roles of mother and wife. The importance of the sociability appears in a very significant way in the novels analyzed for this study. [559]

Among the novels, *Ankara* by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu published in 1934 deserves special attention in this respect because it is a good piece of work illustrating different images of a Turkish woman in three different historical periods of the Turkish Republic including the 1920s, the first years of the establishment of the Republic and the period between1937-1943.[560] The significant motive of the novel is not only the representation of the tension between Westernization and nationalism in these three different periods of time but also the idealization of women's involvement into the public life in the character of the heroine, Selma. [561]

In the first part of the novel, Selma is married with Nazif Bey, a banker and she moves from Istanbul to Ankara. Although she is a well-educated woman, she is neither interested nor involved in the national issues. After their arrival to Ankara, a friend of Nazif Bey introduces to them Hakkı Bey who is an active member of *Kuvayi Milliye* (Nationalist Forces). When the War of Independence starts, Selma begins to work as a nurse in a hospital in Eskişehir. At this time, she becomes aware of the indifference of her husband towards the national struggle. After her experience in Eskişehir, she continues working as a nurse in Ankara. While she aims to be actively involved in the nationalist struggle and she is strongly tied to Ankara,

[559] At this point, I should also emphasize that popular novels by Muazzez Tahsin Berkand, Güzide Sabri and Kerime Nadir can be of great interest for the construction of women as social members of the nation. For the construction of women in popular novels, see Aslı Güneş, "Kemalist Modernleşmenin Adab-ı Muaşeret Romanları: Popüler Aşk Anlatıları (Novels of Manners of the Kemalist Modernization: Popular Romances), unpublished master's thesis, Ankara, Bilkent University, 2005.

[560] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (Ankara) (Istanbul: İletişim, 1999).

[561] Fethi Naci, *Yüzyılın 100 Türk Romanı* (100 Turkish Novels of the Century) (Istanbul: Adam Yayınları, 1999) 110-116, Çeri, *Türk Romanında Kadın*, 156-169; Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 68-70; Göle, " The Gendered Nature," 66-67.

her husband plans to leave Ankara and to go to Kayseri when the Allied Forces move to Eskişehir. This makes Selma divorce Nazif Bey. In the second part, she is married with Hakkı Bey who actively participates to the War of Independence. After the establishment of the Republic, Hakkı Bey devotes himself to a very different way of life, to an over-westernized one. Selma finds difficult to understand why he lives in such a different manner and she shares her views and her sentiments with a young writer, Neşet Sabit. In the final part of the novel, she gets married to Neşet Sabit who emphasizes the importance of Anatolia. They start traveling around Anatolia and Selma feels herself very well both physically and mentally. At the end of the novel, she becomes the idealized Turkish woman who is actively involved in the social and political life of the Turkish nation.

What remains crucial in this novel is the fact that Selma symbolizes a different type of woman in each part. In the first part of the novel, Selma finds everything in Ankara primitive. She cannot find the comfort and the civilization of Istanbul in the rural town of Ankara. Her lifestyle and her way of clothing create distance between herself and her neighbors. Her neighbors represent the people of Anatolia, which has a significant meaning in the development of the Turkish nationalism. At this point, it should be mentioned that Ankara as the capital of the new Republic symbolizes the centre of the new Turkish nation. The move from Istanbul to Ankara symbolizes the establishment of the Turkish Republic and the emergence of the new Turkish nation because Ankara becomes the capital of the new Republic whereas Istanbul signifies the Ottoman dynasty.

It was suggested that while Istanbul turned into a center of pleasure and enjoyment with its music halls, luxurious hotels and bars, Ankara has become a dull city because there existed only symphony concerts in the name of music and some

foreign plays were stage at *Halkevi* (People's House). It was the utopia of Ankara that functioned as an intersecting point between the people and the civilization.[562]Ankara as the new capital city, did not only symbolize the breakaway from the old, but it was also situated in the steppes of Anatolia lying far away from Ottoman cosmopolitanism represented by Istanbul.[563] In this respect, the move of Selma from Istanbul to Ankara where she would serve for the people of the nation can be considered as being equal to the national goal.

After moving from Istanbul to Ankara, she eats at the same table with men, she rides horses and she wears silk socks, all of which represent a Western way of life but she remains very isolated from the political affairs and she is very distant to the emerging social and political events. The portrayal of Selma as a woman who is very distant to the emerging social and political events is expressive in terms of understanding the construction of the ideal image of woman as a socially and politically active woman.

She lives an isolated and a passive life in the first part of the novel where she is described as follows: "although she had a very good education and the capacity to understand the intellectual debates, she was never willing to be interested in the national affairs".[564] Her main concern is to get used to living in Ankara, which seems to her very difficult after living so many years in Istanbul.

In the second and the third parts of the novel, Selma starts understanding the importance of Ankara representing the new Turkish nation, she does not feel herself

[562] Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 69.

[563] Ibid.

[564] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 25.

anymore different from the Anatolian women. She starts committing herself to serve for her nation. This is what is expected from the ideal Turkish women: to take part actively in the society and to be in the service of the nation. She characterizes the idealized new Turkish woman expected to participate in social life especially by undertaking services such as nursing or teaching. She starts thinking that women should work hard for the development of their society and she defends the idea of working and having a meaningful life through work. In one of her speeches, she says to her husband that "Not to earn my life but I would like to feel that I am useful for something. Did you unveil us only to dress us or to make us dance? What is the value of women's freedom if it is only for this purpose? ".[565]

I think the most significant aspect of this novel is the different marriages of Selma occurring in each section of the novel, which, in fact gives important clues in terms of the construction of masculine national objects. In the first part, when she moves to Ankara, she is married to an apolitical banker Nazif Bey who is not concerned at all with societal problems. At the beginning of her first marriage, she is happy with her husband but through time, she does not understand the indifference of her husband towards the changing situation of the society. For that reason, she becomes alienated from this man. The social and political participation and the work for the development of the Turkish nation are 'duties' of both female and male members of the Turkish society because both of them are expected to represent the "collective soul" of the nation. The failure of Nazif in representing this collective soul is the main reason for their divorce. When the troop of the Allied Forces moves to Eskişehir, Nazif wants to run away to Kayseri instead of struggling with the

[565] Ibid., 158.

enemies. At this point, Selma finds herself very distant to him and she decides to finish her marriage.

In a sense, she divorces her first husband not because of some individualistic reasons but because of his indifference to the War of Independence. In the second part, she is married with Binbaşı Hakkı Bey who represents at the beginning a very stable attitude towards the national struggle. After the War of Independence, Ankara becomes a center of embassies, banks and several companies. After resigning from the military, Binbaşı Hakkı Bey takes part in the management of firms and thus he devotes himself to a job in business. Although he is a military man who participated actively in the War of Independence, after the establishment of the Republic, he is no more devoted to the main promises of the Republic.

When he starts earning money, he sacrifices himself to an *a la franca* (Westernized) way of life. He enjoys himself in balls and being interested in different women. He decorates his house in a European style and he even becomes ridiculous by using some European rules of good manners that he reads from the books. The narrator criticizes Binbaşı Hakkı Bey in these sentences:

> As for some of the former national fighters, for Hakkı Bey too, after the reform in clothes, national cause has turned out to be something like a claim of elegance. For them, to be clothed like the European people, to dance like them, to live like them, and moreover, to be successful in the eyes of and among them seemed to be as important as gaining victory over these Europeans. When some of those foreigners in Turkish circles asked Hakkı Bey "Have you learned to speak German like this in Berlin?", or Selma Hanım "You must have brought your clothes from Paris. I am right, aren't I?, this would mean to Turks a big step taken towards the way to civilization, and they would celebrate such responses in a festive mood.[566]

The significant change in his life style happens in his attitude towards women. He regards women as objects of ornaments. This is basically the danger of 'over Westernization' which refers to the idea that the 'ideal' members of the

[566] Ibid., 112.

society, both men and women should understand Westernization in Gökalp's terms, as the adoption of the "good aspects" of the West such as its technology and the rejection of its "bad aspects" such as its culture and its religion. Additionally, for the success of the Turkish Republic, they should never forget the main features of the Republican ideology.

In the third part of the novel, Selma who is alienated from her second husband marries for the third time. Her husband, Neşet Sabit, the writer also voices the main ideas of the novelist. Neşet Sabit is a man who dedicates himself to the realization of the national goals and he is also an ardent defender of Turkish nationalism. He criticizes all the "Westernized people" like Hakkı Bey as persons who forget the meaning of society. He accuses these persons of having misunderstood the meaning of the Westernization. He declares this as follows:

> I don't know: Perhaps I am not a revolutionary in the sense you get. I have never regarded revolution as something to change the external forms of life. And I haven't got the slightest idea that it is a demand for comfort or the meeting of the demand for comfort. No doubt, the thing that cracks within us with a new *élan vital* does shape a new body; I mean it forms a new crust. But, at this stage, one can no longer talk about revolution. Here, there is the modeling of a certain type of life.[567]

In this new body, there is no place for people who consider their pleasures and their wishes superior to the needs of the society. Again, here we come across with the notion of morality explained by Gökalp. In criticizing the people who understand Westernization as a way of life and who regard him as an anarchist, Neşet Sabit affirms:

> An anarchist? I think, you make a big deal out of it! Is it really me who is an anarchist? No, Madam; it is the pot calling the kettle black, I would say! Anarchists are those folks in your circle, because you are such extremist individualists who survive outside and despite the society. But I am a man lost in society.[568]

[567] Ibid., 129.

[568] Ibid., 130.

His description of these Westernized people as 'anarchists' is important in understanding the meaning given to society in the construction of national identity. These 'anarchists' who neglect the community by living like they like represent the most important danger for the harmony in the society. For another time, there is the total rejection of any individualism, which seems to contradict with the idea of the collective soul.

Neşet Sabit has been portrayed as the ideal masculine character in the novel in terms of understanding the significance of the society. This third man is not only the best one symbolizing the two characteristics mentioned above but he is also the ideal one who is able to know the place of the "ideal woman" in the society. He expresses his view about the emancipation of women as follows:

> Turkish women would have thrown their charshafs and their veils to be able to work with ease and comfort. For them, taking part in social life would not just mean joining social circles. Yes, the Turkish woman would use her freedom not to dance, to polish her nails or to be a victimized puppet to the laws of *Rue de La Paix*, but to accomplish her solemn and grave task to take active part in the making and development of new Turkey; she would make her choice and use her freedom in this cause.[569]

This quotation illustrates that with the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the emancipation of women is made part of the Turkish nation. This emancipation is closely related with the idea that women would no longer be defined as puppets or as dolls, rather they would serve for the nation, for the betterment of their society. As illustrated in the image of Selma, the most important feature of the ideal woman is the image of woman as a socially and politically active Turkish citizen, which would make her different from the women of the Ottoman households.

It is pointed out that certain ideals of women are propagated as indispensable to the attainment of an ideal society and that these ideals apply to women's active

[569] Ibid., 141-142.

participation, women's personal behavior, dress, sexual activity and reproductive options.[570] In the Turkish case, the involvement of the Turkish women into the social and political life is an important indicator showing that the Turkish Republic is a secular and democratic state.

8.2.4. Women as Active Participants in the War

The representation of women as active participants in the War of Independence in the novels is a theme connected with the idea of change in the position of women and their sociability in the public life. The ideal of socially and politically active women in the novels is symbolized by the portrayal of women's images as 'nationalist heroines'. By nationalist heroines I mean the illustration of women who are involved actively into the War of Independence and into the nationalist issues.

Women in the novels are not illustrated only as cultural allegories representing the national identity and thus the difference, but also they are portrayed as active participants in the war struggling with men against enemy. Women, along with men, became ardent nationalists and actively participated in a series of activities during the War of Independence because the War of Independence in Turkey necessitated a labor force, which in turn, meant the inclusion of women into the war as essential comrades to men. The combat of women in the war has become an important leitmotiv in some novels.

The very best example of this new image of women as 'active participants to the National War' can be found in the novels of Halide Edib Adıvar. The female

[570] Papanek, "The Ideal Woman and the Ideal Society," 45.

characters in her novels reflect the image of ideal Turkish women who are impatient to work for the betterment of their society and for the future of the Turkish nation as being actively involved in public life. For example, in *Vurun Kahpeye* (Hit the Whore) and *Ateşten Gömlek* (A Shirt of Fire), Adıvar describes two female heroes who are included in the war as essential comrades to men. In both of these novels, the writer tries to show how women contribute to the success of the War of Independence. This image of 'national women' who are active participants in the Turkish Independence War reflects the contributions of women to the War of Independence and it is another characteristic illustrating how women become 'objects of nationalist discourse' in different nationalist ideologies.

The story of *Vurun Kahpeye* (Hit the Whore) by Halide Edib Adıvar first published in 1923, explains the coming of an idealist teacher, Aliye, to an Anatolian village after graduating from *Dar-ül Muallimat* (Female Teachers' College) in the years of the War of Independence.[571] She starts working as a primary school teacher who does not hesitate to be involved in any sort of struggle for the sake of her country. From the time she arrives to the village, she plays a very reformist role. Although she has a very good education and she does her best to be useful for this community and to struggle with the enemy, this is not understood by the habitant of the village who are ignorant people; that is why they cannot appreciate the efforts of a well-educated woman in their community. Except Tosun Bey, the reformist leader of a crew struggling against the Greeks, who gets engaged to Aliye, the bigot men in the village regard Aliye as an object of sexual desire. They consider her as an unchaste woman

[571] For more details, see Çeri, *Türk Romanında Kadın*, 26-42; Alemdar Yalçın, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Romanı* (The Turkish Novel in the Republican Period) (Ankara: Günce, 1998); Adnan Binyazar "Halide Edip Adıvar," in *Türk Romanında Kurtuluş Savaşı* (The War of Independence in Turkish Novel), ed. Mürşit Balabanlılar (Istanbul: Mas Matbaacılık, 2003), 24-71; Olcay Önertoy, "Türk Romanında Kadın 1923-1938 (Woman in Turkish Novel)," in *Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatına Eleştirel Bir Bakış* (A Critical Approach to Contemporary Turkish Literature), ed. Mehmet Ölmez (Ankara: Simurg, 1997), 257-265.

because with her physical appearance, her sociability and her participation into the War of Independence, she is not like the women of this small village. İmam Hacı Fettah Efendi and Uzun Hüseyin Efendi who is interested in Aliye are against the national struggle in the village. For that reason, they inform the commander of the Greek Armed Forces Damyanos about an attack organized by Tosun Bey. Although Damyanos tries to establish a relationship with Aliye through different ways, he cannot manage to do it in any way. One day, Hacı Fettah Efendi goes to the commander and tells him that Tosun Bey is at Aliye's house, so they besiege her house. After that, Aliye goes to the headquarters of the enemy and seems to accept Damyanos' marriage proposal of marriage. Her aim is to get rid off the siege. At the end of the novel, the enemy is beaten however, since Aliye is regarded as having remained at the enemy's side, she is lynched by the ignorant people of the town.

The novel not only explains the years of the national struggle, a battle carried against the enemy but there is also the struggle against the ignorance and backwardness dominating in the society. The idea of progress is symbolized by the image of an idealist woman, Aliye whose the main ideal is to teach and to educate the ignorant people in a small place in Anatolia. Her dream becomes a reality when she starts working in an Anatolian village. When she arrives to the village, she expresses her main objective of coming to this place and her patriotic feelings as follows; "Your land is my land, and your home is my home; for this place, for these people I shall be a light, a mother, and I shall fear nothing, I swear it by God!".[572]

These nationalistic feelings are followed by different patriotic activities. The narrator explains her national love through these words:

[572] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Vurun Kahpeye* (Hit the Whore) (Istanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 1998), 40.

> She was enthusiastically teaching children some national songs, and everywhere she was speaking ill of the foreigners invading the country; in a nationalist excitement to mix the folk and the school, she was leading the children to walk along the streets with flags in their hands. [573]

Aliye tries to do her best to educate children regardless of their economic and social situations; and she wants to establish justice and equality among all children. Although Aliye is very enthusiastic about her ideals concerning the education of people and children of this town, in a very short time, the illiterate, conservative inhabitants of the town start to react to this teacher because she is unveiled and she symbolizes an enlightened woman. The ignorant town people begin to blame Aliye of representing sin because her behaviors, her conducts and her unveiled outlook are taken into the consideration as opposed to Islamic rules. Among them, Hacı Fettah Efendi makes a speech where he addresses to the crowd as follows:

> You see, don't you? These unveiled women singing with their heads and faces all open keep strolling among men only to evoke evil in the hearts of the Muslims. These, these women are accursed; do not expose your children to the teachings of such people; if you want to see neither the Greek invading our land nor devil's stones raining on us, do tear these women into pieces to the last cloth on them, I'd say. Otherwise, the wrath of God shall never disappear from our skies. [574]

All her efforts have been misinterpreted by the illiterate inhabitants of the town. Since she is unveiled, she is regarded as a bad example for little girls. In addition, her visit to the Greek Commander Damyanos to save her fiancé is misunderstood. At the end, she is murdered by the people living in this place. Aliye represents the image of a modern national Turkish woman who sacrifices herself to save her country from the enemies and for the development of her society not only by educating children but also by struggling with Greeks. Her physical appearance symbolizes the new woman which differs from her Ottoman precedents. What is

[573] Ibid., 19-20.

[574] Ibid., 23.

underlined in this novel is the image of the 'new women' in the public life as 'equal partners' of men. The necessity of the active participation of women into the social and political life of the country and their contribution for the development of the new nation are the main points underlined by the images of women heroines such as Aliye. At this point, I should emphasize that the image of an active female participant, Aliye illuminates in what ways women are made objects of nationalist discourse.

Another novel which remains significant in terms of women's images as active participants into the National War is *Ateşten Gömlek* (A Shirt of Fire) by Halide Edib Adıvar published in 1922. *Ateşten Gömlek* which explains basically the efforts and the struggles of the Anatolian people against the Allied Forces is an important novel where the main female character Ayşe has been portrayed as an important figure identified with nation.[575] The name of the novel explains on the one hand, the idea of saving the country from the enemies and on the other hand, the struggle against the powers of the Sultan. The word 'fire' explains the situation of the country invaded by foreign countries and it depicts the danger and the seriousness of the problem that the country faces. In this situation, the term 'shirt of fire' is something that every member of the nation should put on. In other words, every member has to struggle against the occupation of the country and should be involved in this combat.

The novel reflects mainly the atmosphere of the War of Independence and it is fictionalised as the diary of Peyami who lost both of his legs and had a bullet in his head in the War of Sakarya, staying at a hospital in Ankara at the time. Cemal and Ayşe are the children of Peyami's uncle and when her mother wants Peyami to

[575] Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikaye ve Roman*, 86-92; Binyazar, "Halide Edip Adıvar," 43-55; Olcay Önertoy, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Roman ve Öyküsü* (Turkish Novel and Story in the Republican Period) (Ankara: Tisa Matbbası,1984), 12-15.

marry Ayşe, Peyami runs away to Europe. Then, Ayşe gets married with another man and settles in Izmir. Following many years, his son and her husband are killed during the invasion of Izmir by the Greek soldiers so that Ayşe comes to Istanbul and stays at the house of Peyami for a while. At this time, she becomes strongly interested in the national movement started in Anatolia to defeat the Allied Forces from the country. Her older brother Cemal and his friend Binbaşı İhsan Bey actively fight against the enemies. When Istanbul has been occupied by the British, she comes to Anatolia and works as a nurse in a hospital where Binbaşı İhsan Bey and his resistant group fight. Then, she goes to Eskişehir to Cemal's place where she participates actively into the war. In the meantime, although Ayşe and Binbaşı İhsan Bey love each other, the national love and the defeat of the enemies come prior to their love. At the end of the novel, Binbaşı İhsan, Cemal and Ayşe die. Peyami who is also in love with Ayşe also dies later in a hospital in Ankara.

Ayşe symbolizes one of the women who puts the 'shirt of fire' by taking part actively in different phases of the National War with different social roles. She represents a brave woman who becomes a heroine among the Anatolian people during the War of Independence. She is so courageous that when she met an English, she talks of the cruelty of the Allied Forces occupying the country without any doubt. Halide Edib Adıvar describes her courage as follows: "She was also awakening the respect and the excitement that the black flags at the minarets were arousing".[576]

In this description, there is the identification of nation with woman and this identification is also evident in different parts of the novel. In one of her letters, Ayşe says:

[576] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Ateşten Gömlek* (A Shirt of Fire) (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1978), 31.

> Oh my God! Because he had sworn an English woman, an Indian was made to walk on hands like animals by the English men. Shan't our army have the same desire to punish those who cannot stand for the grandeur of Turkish woman and make her crawl? Don't they think that an insult to their women is one to their flag? [577]

Ayşe fights with the other male heroes of the novel such as İhsan, Peyami and her brother Cemal against the enemies in Anatolia. In a way, she puts on this 'shirt of fire' like men. She cares for injured persons, she nurses during the National War and she cheers the soldiers escaping from İstanbul. Her main object is to take an active role in the War of Independence and thus, to be able to serve for the nation. Sometimes, she criticizes the men who attempt to protect her by declaring "whom I hate the most are those who want to protect me and keep me like an object to be kept safe on shelves.".[578] As it is clearly seen in these sentences, Ayşe is portrayed as a woman who does not want to be considered as 'an object' but as 'a human being'. She is so ardent about the fight against the enemies that she expresses this in these sentences:

> I can neither fire a rifle for İzmir nor can I chase the enemies off İzmir on horseback. But I can be a consolation in the lives of those who are dying naked, with no tobacco or bread to chew, with no one about them. I treat their illnesses, and like a sister I close their eyes when they die. I carry some of their burden; I share their troubles.[579]

Although Ayşe has been the main female character in *Ateşten Gömlek*, there are also other women characters in the novel who are willing to fight against the Allied Forces. Kezban, for example, is a young girl who wants to join the war by utilizing arms after loosing her father. Besides Kezban, there are also some female

[577] Ibid., 59.

[578] Ibid., 86.

[579] Ibid.

sergeants such as Rahime Çavuş, Ayşe Çavuş and Atiye Çavuş who work for some crews taking up arms against the forces occupying the country.

In addition to these two novels where the main thematic is the involvement of women into the War of Independence, *Yeni Turan* (New Turan) by Halide Edib Adıvar first published in 1912 is another important novel where the heroine symbolizes the image of a woman actively involved in the national issues. Ayşe Durakbaşa argues that although *Yeni Turan* is a novel, which can be regarded as representing the Turanist ideology, an extremist version of Turkish nationalism, the main objective of Halide Edib Adıvar of writing this novel was to picture a utopian life style where men and women would be equal in public life and in family.[580]

The events take place around the nationalist party, *Yeni Turan*, established by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). The *Yeni Turan Party*[581], which tries to promote the idea of the unity of all the Turks, becomes the political fashion among the young intellectuals in 1912. Lütfü Paşa is an ardent supporter of this party and her daughter Samiye who later changed her name to Kaya (which means rock) portrays a woman devoted herself to the success of this nationalist party. Oğuz Bey who is the leader of the party is an important figure actively involved in the activities of the *Yeni Turan Party* and he has a love affair with Samiye. The most important opposition for *Yeni Turan* is *Yeni Osmanlı Hareketi* (*New Ottoman Movement*) which is the ruling party in time being. Hamdi Paşa who is the interior minister defending enthusiastically the policies implemented by *Yeni Osmanlı Hareketi*, is completely against the action of the *Yeni Turan Party*. The government tries to put pressure on the actions of the *Yeni Turan Party*. Oğuz Bey who is warned

[580] Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib*, 194.

[581] *Turan* means the national home for all Turks.

of not delivering public speech, is arrested by being accused of not respecting this rule. When Oğuz Bey is arrested, Kaya makes a visit to Hamdi Paşa in order to free Oğuz Bey. Hamdi Bey says that this would be not possible unless Kaya gets married to him. Kaya accepts his marriage proposal for not only freeing Oğuz Bey from the prison but also for the future of the *Yeni Turan Party*. While Kaya is married to Hamdi Paşa, she gets seriously ill. At the end of the novel, Oğuz Bey is killed and Kaya abandons Hamdi Bey by accusing him of being dishonorable.

The most significant characteristic of the *Yeni Turan Party* is its policies aiming to encourage women's participation into the social life. The nephew of Hamdi Paşa, Asım Bey, explains the activities of this party concerning women, which I find meaningful in the study of women's images in the construction of national identity, as below:

> The most remarkable aspect of *Yeni Turan* was, perhaps, "the Institutions of the Turkish Women". *Yeni Turan* used to educate its women and make them work side by side with their men. Clothes of *Yeni Turan* women were simplified; they were different from the old ones and were out of fashion. […] Now, as opposed to women who are ornaments to their home with their thin, delicate and artistic veils, and their elegant dresses and who remain to be the ends in love for men; there were the women of *Yeni Turan* working as teachers, trained as serious, dignified nurses, who run like the Arab fighters to heal our soldiers as soon as a battle broke out; the women who worked at women's dorms to sew uniforms for the army; raids of women working to apply the traditional Turkish handicraft to *Yeni Turan* in many different fields economically, humanitarianly, scientifically. [582]

All these characteristics are reflected in the image of Kaya who does every sacrifice for the success of the organization and struggles to gain supporters for the *Yeni Turan Party*. The name of the heroine Kaya (rock) refers to the physical strength meaning that she could have the capacity to realize any man's achievement. Kaya is depicted as an active and honest woman working with other men. She is also pictured as an example for the 'desired women' who are identified with the goals of

[582] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Yeni Turan* (New Turan) (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1982), 17-18.

nationalism, who leave their feminity aside and who become hardworking members of the society; companions and mothers of the whole nation such as teachers and nurses. She is presented as a woman "who morally and socially revolutionizes the *Yeni Turan* women, releases them from the state of a flesh, of a machinery, and tries hard to make them pure and hardworking comrades for men, mothers to children and to the entire country, and governesses." [583]

Although Kaya is portrayed as a woman who contributes to the nationalist cause by being involved actively in a nationalist party, the female characters Aliye and Ayşe are personified not only as active members of the Turkish nation struggling with men against enemy in Anatolia but as ardent nationalists as well. Evin argues that the War of Independence affected the development of the Turkish literature in two significant ways. One was the formation of a nationalist ideology supporting the cause of unity based on common experience and common goal. The second was a conclusion of nationalism, which was the broadening of focus to deal with issues relating to Turkish culture and society. [584]The War of Independence constructed the framework for several novels dealing with heroism. It is mentioned:

> Literature became soon informed by the wider social implications of the Turkish transformation and discovered the enormous distance created over the centuries between the urban centers and underdeveloped rural areas. The cosmopolitan society of Istanbul and Izmir stood in stark contrast to the folkways of Anatolia, neglected and spurned by the high imperial culture for several centuries. Turkishness of the Republic could only be realized through the accommodation of Turkish culture, the folkways, local values of the Anatolian peasantry. The ideological concern of establishing one nation was reflected in literature with the rise of a new type of fiction taking a panoramic view of the country.[585]

[583] Ibid., 28.

[584] Ahmet Ö. Evin, "Ideology and Violence in Modern Turkish Literature." *Turkish Studies*. 8:1(1984), 9.

[585] Ibid.

That is why in the novels, the events take place in Anatolia, which is accorded an important meaning in the development of the Turkish nationalism. As it is pointed out, Turkish nationalism developed a kind of Anatolian nationalism, stressing it as the real homeland (*vatan*) of the Turks. The Turkish peasants of Anatolia were glorified as the real strength of the Turkish state. In other words, Anatolia and the Anatolian people became the focus of the patriotic sentiment. It is said that Anatolia is regarded as the place where the Turkish nationalism was born. [586] Connectedly, Anatolian women are accorded special meaning because these women are completely different from those in Istanbul and they symbolize purity, frankness and most importantly, they serve as symbols of people who are not spoiled.

In *Ankara*, for example, Anatolian women, nevertheless, were brought into the scene as the main figures of the New Turkish Republic. In contrast to Ottoman women who were considered coquettish and alienated from their society, and Muslim women who were considered to be subordinated by religion and progress, Anatolian women were regarded as the ideal representatives of the Turkish nation by representing the formation of a national consciousness directed toward Western civilization.[587] Mustafa Kemal, in his speech in 1923, pointed out the sacrifices of the Anatolian women in the nation-building process and he mentioned that the nation was grateful to these women because of their endless efforts.[588] In the article published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (National Independence) published under the

[586] For more details, see Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire, and Modern Turkey,* 262-263.

[587] Quoted in Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 64.

[588] İnan, *Atatürk ve Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması,* 103.

control of Mustafa Kemal, it was pointed out that a Turkish woman was an Anatolian woman who worked very hard in the national war.[589] In the novel *Ankara*, we come across with the image of a woman, Selma who regards Anatolian women different and very distant from her life style when she comes to Ankara but when she gets used, she becomes a useful person as Anatolian women who are considered as architects of the Turkish nationalism.

In *Vurun Kahpeye* and in *Ateşten Gömlek*, the heroines of the novels consider themselves of being responsible to the Anatolian people and having the duty of teaching and helping them. *Çalıkuşu* (Goldcrest Kinglet) by Reşat Nuri Güntekin written in 1922 explains the story of a young teacher who teaches in different villages in Anatolia and whose main purpose is to educate children living in these small places.[590] *Çalıkuşu* is the pseudonym of Feride who lost their parents at an early age. She is so naughty that when she is at high school that their teachers call her as *Goldcrest Kinglet.* She is the daughter of a soldier and she is brought up by her aunt in Erenköy, in İstanbul. When she graduates from the High School of Notre Dame de Sion, Feride falls in love with the son of her aunt, Kamuran. Three days before getting married to him, she learns that Kamuran has a love affair with another woman when he lived in Switzerland. Feride after breaking up with her fiancé decides to go to Anatolia to teach Anatolian children and by this way to be helpful for the people in Anatolia.

The first time, she is appointed as a teacher to a small town but since there is no place available in the school for Feride, she is appointed for the second time for a

589 The attempts to differentiate Anatolian women from those living in İstanbul are discussed in Zehra Toska, "Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali," 79-81.

590 This novel has been studied by many scholars. For more details see Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikaye ve Roman,* 313-330; Naci, *Yüzyılın 100 Türk Romanı*, 120-150; Fethi Naci, *Reşat Nuri'nin Romancılığı* (Reşat Nuri as Being a Novelist) (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003), 36-68.

position in a school, which is in a small village called Zeyniler. This Anatolian village is a deserted place where nobody comes and where there is no real teacher. In Zeyniler, all the children love Feride who teaches them many things. She also adopts a girl whose name is Munise. After Zeyniler, she also educates in different parts of Anatolia. In one of these places where she teaches, Feride gets married to a doctor, Hayrullah Bey who is much older than she is and who marries to Feride just to protect her. At the end of the novel, after the death of Hayrullah Bey, Feride returns to İstanbul and marries Kamuran.

In this novel, Feride presents an enlightened Istanbul woman, which is mothering the Anatolian people. Like Aliye and Ayşe who struggle against the enemy, Feride considers herself in charge of tutoring Anatolian children. She makes the decision to go to Anatolia, which she describes as follows:

> I vaguely know Arabia. Probably Anatolia is much more beautiful than Arabia. It is a rumor that people in Anatolia are not like us. They are said to be poor in goods but so rich in the heart that they would never act with a lack of generosity and rub it in after doing a favor not only to the poor child of a relative but even to an enemy. I shall have a small school. I shall adorn it with flowers. I shall have children there, a troop of children. And I shall ask them to call me "sister". I shall sew black uniforms myself for those in need. [591]

As it is illustrated in the novels of *Vurun Kahpeye*, *Ateşten Gömlek* and *Çalıkuşu*, the female characters illustrate different women who contribute in different fields for the betterment of the society and their participation take place in Anatolia. Since the origin of the Turkish nationalism came from Anatolia, all these women characters who participate actively in the social and political life of the public, act in Anatolia, which is the space for their actions.

To sum up, it is important to point out that the dimension of gendered nationalism, which is the construction of women as objects of nationalist discourse, is present in all the novels treated above. As explored in Chapter 3, in the

[591] Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalıkuşu* (Goldcrest Kinglet) (Istanbul: İnkılap, 1981), 118-119.

interpretation of women as objects of nationalist discourse, different meanings are attributed to women according to different nationalist projects. In the Turkish nationalist project, the status and the position of women in the society are taken into consideration as instruments delineating the modernity of society. In this respect, women's images analyzed in this part of the chapter offers important clues in elaborating on this particularity of Turkish nationalism. The female heroes such as Ayşe in *Ateşten Gömlek*, Aliye in *Vurun Kahpeye* or Selma in *Ankara* appear in the novels as ardent defenders of the Turkish national collectivity. These women characters, being actively involved in the nationalist struggle, symbolize the new Turkish nation and the national collectivity. The image of women as active participants into the social and political issues emerges as an important signifier for representing 'new Turkish woman' who becomes a part of the Turkish nation. These women's images stand also for the emancipation of women from traditional roles illustrating the difference of the Turkish women from the Ottoman women. These aspects of women's images are expressive in terms of comprehending how the Turkish women become as objects of the Turkish nationhood.

8.3. Educating the Mind Reconstructing the Patriarchy

As I analyzed in details by looking at the examples of Egypt and India, another specific dimension depicting the relation between women and nation is education. Education, in most examples is perceived as an important step in transforming society and in constructing new womanhood. The education of women plays a significant role in improving woman's position and woman's status tied to the status of nation. As I formulate in the title of this section, ' educating women' does not result in the dissolution of patriarchy. It is possible to suggest that female education

represents an ambiguity: although women are educated, at the same time they are expected to retain their traditional roles and traditional virtues regarded as important by social collectivity. To put it differently, educating women does not dissolve the asymmetrical relations between men and women.

8.3.1 Educated Women

Education was given a priority from the Tanzimat onwards and the authors such as Ahmet Mithat Efendi, Şemsettin Sami and Fatma Aliye defended the idea that the education of woman was of crucial importance for a society where women and men would be considered as 'equal'. For the Republican elites as well, women's status was a powerful symbol and criterion of a society's modernity. Accordingly, a modern nation could not come about without the elevation of women to a modern level. The Republican leaders criticized the Ottoman regime for neglecting women's education and they considered education as an effective way of transforming the Ottoman subjects into 'nationalist citizens' with modern and secular minds.[592]

The enlightenment of woman is a remarkable motif treated in most of the novels that have been subject to my thesis. The heroines represent 'enlightened women' who inform society by becoming 'knowing subjects'. The portrayal of the new woman as 'an educated and an enlightened woman' is another important theme attributed to the ideal image of the emancipated Turkish women in these novels. In the imagination of the Turkish nation and in the representation of a modern society, the most important point relating to women is the vitality of their education considered as a prerequisite to modernization.

[592] Zehra Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic," in *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman*, 158-160.

In the novels that have been subject to this study, there is a strong emphasis that the amelioration of women's status and the enlightenment of women by going through all educational stages would not fortify the society but they would also symbolize a democratic Turkish nation where women and men would have equal rights. In addition to that, women have to be educated in sciences in order to be modern wives and mothers. These 'enlightened women' representing knowing subjects are expected to bring up future generations and to educate them. An educated woman is not only an 'intellectual', 'enlightened' one freeing herself from the conservatism of religious constraints, traditions and superstitions but she is also a knowing subject who could play a significant role in the future of the society as being equal partners of men.

The women heroines in *Handan* by Halide Edib Adıvar first published in 1912 [593] exemplify the significance of education and of being 'an enlightened woman' for the well being of the society. The story of the novel which is entirely in the form of letters, takes place between the years of 1903-1905. The form of this novel is significant because some of the letters are written by the principal female characters. It remains important in illustrating women's lives, feelings and experiences by women themselves. In this respect, it can be considered as an example of women's writing.

At the beginning of the novel, Refik Cemal, the male hero of the novel writes to his friend Servet that he is going to marry Neriman who is not a well-educated woman. Although Refik Cemal defines Neriman as a 'good girl', he is not happy at all about her indifference towards the social and political problems that the country faces. Handan, however, the female cousin of Neriman, is a woman who is not only

[593] Halide Edib Adıvar, *Handan* (Handan) (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1995).

well educated but she has a deep passion to learn everything. After graduating from College, Handan takes some private lessons from Nazım who is not only a teacher of music, philosophy and literature but he is also an idealist man mainly preoccupied with the affairs of the country. He is in favor of the constitution. Nazım wants to marry Handan but Handan refuses him and she gets married to Hüsnü Paşa, a retired ambassador and they start living in Europe. Refik Cemal meets Handan during a journey in France. The intellectual level of Handan and her knowledge on several issues influence him to a large extent. Although Hüsnü Paşa betrays Handan with different women, Handan remains faithfull to her husband though she has some feelings to Refik Cemal. At the end of the novel, she dies from meningitis.

At the beginning of the novel, Refik Cemal criticizes his wife, Neriman, of her seclusion at home and of not being interested in anything outside home. In the eyes of her husband, Neriman is a very good wife, mainly occupied with domestic duties but she is not well educated and more importantly, she is indifferent to what Refik Cemal reads. She doesn't like sociology, history and philosophy. Therefore, her husband describes her like "a plant, a flower". He says:

> Neriman likes music a lot, she plays the piano well, she has a sweet and smooth singing voice. But it is just a dream to see her as a comrade who would share the male ideals burning our souls; she is not like everybody a soul raised in this country; she is a plant, a flower, and a thing! However bitter, dark and weak it may be, the life in the country is of nothing to her. I cannot make her share with me this huge but desperate thing that occupies me much. What I cannot find in Neriman is this. She cannot understand why I juggle with such things which she finds rather theoretical. She does not see the engine of this country, wheels of which do not want to turn due to dirt, negligence and drops of blood, and which may be broken one day due to pressure on it. She does not want to know anything outside the bounds of her quiet green nest. While she lives and dies here peacefully like her mothers and her grandmothers, she does not even hear that a big race, the entire property is in a desperate process of destruction due to poverty! And I don't know why I want to see the opposite of this? which of our women would know this?.[594]

[594] Ibid., 25-26.

As it was seen in the example of Fahir in *Seviyye Talip* who underlines the importance of the emancipation of women, again another male hero Refik Cemal defends the necessity of the education of women. In one of his letters to her wife, he expresses his admiration towards Handan who portrays an educated woman in these words:

> Handan and I talked about everything, Neriman; about those topics that put you to sleep such as sociology, economics, philosophy and even politics. The femininity of her bright eyes and of her brilliant hair gradually flew away before my eyes; I ceased to see her delicate white bosom. I know that she has also felt the things I have been saying for years, those things I have felt alone, in a much clearer and specific way, and believe me, she pulled out from me these things that have remained deep within me vaguely in the form of a succession of sentences. This is so strange, Neriman. Your niece and I have got such matching minds and we opened them to each other as two very close friends.[595]

Again, we come across with the appreciation of Handan by Refik Cemal. By saying "I got such maching minds", he declares the necessity of the education of women in order to be equal partners of men. Although Neriman is portrayed not as an intellectually mature woman, the image of 'enlightened woman' appears in the character of Handan who has a deep interest in intellectual matters. She is an intelligent woman, interested in different fields such as economics and philosophy. Neriman, in one of the letters to her husband, says:

> She has an ever-thirsty mind that wants to know, always know not only the things in books, but those in nature, in people, in everything, and the things invisible. But that is not the dry brain of those intellectual women, Refik! She has in her the affection that loves and embraces the things she knows; she has the heart of a woman.[596]

As it can be seen clearly in the image of Handan, the capacity and the education of women should not be in conflict with the constructed image of womanhood and feminity which symbolizes fragility and softness. The remedy for "the dry brain of intellectual women" is tenderness which is one of essential proprieties of womanhood. In other words, there is always a strong emphasis upon

[595] Ibid., 38.

[596] Ibid., 42.

the notion of softness and delicateness all of which are attributed to women. Although the emancipation, sociability or education of women are necessary to make them as equal subjects of the new Turkish nation, it is always emphasized in the novels that women should never forget what make them women, in other words their female characteristics.

8.4. Women's Bodies and Sexuality

The symbolic meaning attributed to women's bodies and sexuality are pivotal in the production of gendered national identity. In the examination of gendered dimension of nationalism, women's bodies and sexuality become matters of national interest in several ways which have been explored in Chapter 3. As argued before, women's bodies represent the symbolic border guards in the construction of 'us' versus 'others' and women's sexuality plays a central role in maintaining nationalized boundaries. The notion of 'honor' gains a symbolic meaning in this sense: the burden of representation on women of collectivity's identity brings the construction of women as carriers of collectivity's honor.

8.4.1. Sexuality and Punishment of Women

Another important theme treated in the novels connected with the representation of the new Turkish women is sexuality which has been identified with the idea of chastity and the protection of honor. What is important to mention is the fact that although there is a strong emphasis upon the importance of women's participation into the public life and their education, this is not 'a full freedom'. The image of Turkish women is idealized with regard to their position to the morality of the society. The concept of morality, an important component in the construction of

Turkish women's identity, is understood basically in terms of sexuality. It is possible to state that female sexuality is identified with over-Westernization and corruption. Everything relating and reminding sexuality is taken into the consideration as a sign of demoralization. In the novels, behind 'the image of asexualized women', there is the idea that women have to get rid off their sexuality in order to be accepted to the public life.

The constitutional emancipation of women was realized by Kemalist reforms after the establishment of the Turkish Republic and it gave women the possibility of access to public life but it also necessitated their asexualization. Kandiyoti suggests that although the Kemalist reforms emancipated and literally unveiled women, all these necessiated "compensatory symbolism and a new veil- that of sexual repression."[597] Women's bodies represented an ideological terrain in the new Turkish Republic. Women's 'secular bodies' which contrary to those of Ottoman women, had to be unveiled for the symbolic representation of the new secular Turkish nation. Although veiling was removed, it was replaced by an invisible metaphoric veil, by "veil of chastity".[598]

The most important criterion between 'good' and 'bad' woman characters in the novels is their 'success' of representing their asexualized bodies. In this sense, one would argue that the female body becomes degendered into a neutral body. The images of good Turkish women are characterized as having a chaste and asexualized body. The ideal woman in the novels, has been represented as an 'asexualized

[597] Kandiyoti, "Slave Girls, Temptresses and Comrades," 47.

[598] This expression has been used by Afsaneh Najmabadi in her article entitled "Veiled discourse-Unveiled Bodies" where she analyzes woman's body in the Iranian case. She argues that the woman of modernity could be imagined and imagine herself by a disciplined body. See Najmabadi, "Veiled Discourse", 487-518.

woman' who is able to cover her feminity and her sexual identity. To put it differently, there is a parallelism between the portrayal of ideal woman and the erasure of her female sexual markers. [599]

This can be observed in *Sözde Kızlar* (So-Called Girls) by Peyami Safa first published in 1923. The events occur in a time where the War of Independence takes place and some places are invaded by Greek troops in 1918. Mebrure, the heroine of the novel, comes to Istanbul in search of her father who is captured by Greeks. She starts staying in the house of Nazmiye Hanım who is one of her distant relatives. Nazmiye Hanım lives together with her daughter Nevin and her son Behiç. Nevin is a woman who is mainly preoccupied with her beauty. Behiç, on the other hand, presents himself with lots of compliments directed towards Mebrure and woos her from the moment she arrives to the house.

The residents of this house conduct a very different life compared to that of Mebrure. The parties with alcohol arranged in the mansion house represent a different sort of life style for Mebrure who tries to remain away from such sort of life as much as she can. From time to time, she goes to *Muhacirin* (the foundation related with the migrators) with the hope of finding her father. Nadir, with whom she meets at Nazmiye's house, and Fahir, a friend of Nadir help her. Fahir is a pure and clever man and he is as much as ardent in the national struggle than Mebrure. At the end of the novel, Behiç is arrested of having killed his own child from one of the girls he has been related. Belma giving brith to this child commits suicide. As for Mebrure, she gets ready to go to Anatolia together with Fahri after she finds a clue about her father.

[599] Peyami Safa, *Sözde Kızlar* (So-Called Girls) (Ankara: İmge, 1993).

The female characters in *Sözde Kızlar* such as Nazmiye Hanım, Nevin or Belma, in the writer's terms, "so-called girls" are the sort of women who may do anything once they turn out to be free and independent. They all represent the degradation in the society.For example Nevin wants to marry Siyret, a friend of Behiç, and she ignores his love affairs with other women. She even accepts that Siyret makes a marriage with another woman. Belma, on the other hand whose real name is Hatice, wants to be an actress. Although she is a daughter of a traditional family, she characterizes an example of over-Westernized woman who not only changes her name but most importantly, she forgets the cultural customs of her society. She is in love with Behiç who is a liar and fond of women. Nazmiye Hanım, on the other hand, has a love affair with the brother of Belma, Salih.

All women living in the house of Nazmiye Hanım such as Nevin, Nazmiye Hanım, or Belma have Westernized life styles compared to Mebrure's. The writer describes these women as follows:

> So-called girls! These creatures who do the things you have seen with no hesitation whenever they are freed, do also know very well how to appear shy, intimidated and innocent when it comes to hunting for husbands.[600]

Therefore, they are not real Turkish women but as the title of the novel indicates, they are 'so-called girls and women' like 'women in fiction'. They are not real because the real ones are asexualized. They are imaginative creations because they do exist only with their sexuality and their feminity. It is for that reason that they do not present the ideal Turkish women.

The most remarkable similarity of this novel with the previous one *Seviyye Talip* is the fact that when Mebrure comes from her village to a big city, Istanbul, her dressing habits undergo changes, she is not veiled any more and she wears in the

[600] Ibid., 113.

same style as other women. She puts on long décolleté dresses but she remains chaste, virtuous and in all the novel she represents naivety, naturalness and rationality while others symbolize the demoralization of society and impurity. There is a change in her physical appearance but she remains faithful to her morality.

From this, it is possible to suggest that the physical appearance and the visual representation of female characters have, are significant in terms of representing a modern Turkish nation state. Western modernity, however, reaffirmes the patriarchal notions of female chastity and the idealization of female domesticity. Although the authors articulate their views for the improvement of women's lives which is necessary for a modern nation, they also try to idealize female domesticity. For another time, we come across with the attempt to synthesize the East and the West. The cloths and the visual appearance of women are important indicators symbolizing the existence of a modern Turkish nation but female chastity is viewed as essential to social stability. Although women are encouraged to be modern in appearance and to be educated, the writers do not seek to overturn the existing norms of female sexuality and gender roles.

Another important point connected with the theme of women's sexuality is the fact that female characters who have sexual relations and who use their feminity have been portrayed as 'over-Westernized women'. The over-Westernized women who use their sexuality are not only described as 'loose' and 'vulgar' but they are also depicted as 'ignorant' and 'uneducated'. What is surprising in many novels, chaste women are enlightened ones. What is remarkable in the personification of these chaste women and in this idealization of 'asexualized women', is the fact that the images of 'enlightened and educated women' which represent wisdom and knowledge, are characterized as the antithesis of the image of these 'vulgar' women.

There is always a tendency to identify 'unchaste' women as women who are ignorant, who are indifferent to the political and social problems that the country faces and who never question any subject.

In *Sözde Kızlar*, Mebrure represents 'the essential Turkish girl'. When Nadir introduces Mebrure to his friend Fahir, he presents her in this way; "I will introduce you an Anatolian girl. You will admire her skills."[601] She not only symbolizes feminine virtues such as self-sacrifice, virtue, chastity and purity but at the same time, she is interested in the political problems that the country faces, and especially in the War of Independence. This, in turn, makes her different from other *so-called girls* who are mainly occupied with their beauties and their physical appearances. For that reason, all these women characters except Mebrure such as Nevin or Belma do not represent the ideal Turkish women. They are described as being fond of sexual relations and being like dolls. Most importantly, they are portrayed as 'not really desired Turkish women' because they are indifferent to the national war and to other social and political problems that their country faces. For example, Nevin, characterized as an 'over-Westernized woman', says in a party; *"*War, invasion, heavy cannonballs are of no interest to us! We are not trained to fight. It does not fall to us to deal with such things, does it?"*[602]* However, Mebrure, in many speeches, shows that she is worried about the political situation of the country.

The strong relationship between 'good female members' of the nation and 'asexualized women' is present in all the novels. For example in *Yeni Turan*, Kaya is

[601] Ibid., 68.

[602] Ibid., 52.

portrayed as a very useful and active member working very hard for the development of the *Yeni Turan Party* and she has been described as follows:

> In this look, there was nothing to make one think of gender, either of feminine or masculine. These two eyes were a nameless power, hard to resist since she was unaware of its strength. I felt that *Yeni Turan*, and adding myself to it, all this new Turkey had no stronger weapon than these two rays of light within the blue eyes of this woman telling about the not-yet-known spiritual and mental faculties of Turkey![603]

The quotation reveals that the asexualization and the erasure of female sexual markers are necessary conditions for women to be accepted in public life. Najmabadi explains this condition as follows:

> The woman of modernity; thus crafted through the construction of a veiled language and a disciplined de-eroticized body, as well as through the acquisition of scientific sensibilities, could now take her place next to male counterpart in public heterosocial space. Instead of being envisaged as a threat to social order, her disciplined body became the embodiment of the new order.[604]

Another novel, *Sodom ve Gomore* (Sodome and Gomorra) by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu[605] first published in 1928 explains the moral and political corruption in the Turkish society on the basis of a small group of wealthy people who are obsessed with being Westernized and who cooperate with the Allied Forces. [606] These 'degenerated Turks', in the narrator's terms, belonging to a bourgeois class, have close relations and collaboration with the enemy in order to pursue their own interests. The characters, each representing various aspects of immorality, stand for selfishness and corruption experienced in Istanbul. Most of the female and male

[603] Adıvar, *Yeni Turan*, 29.

[604] Najmabadi, "Veiled Discourse," 510.

[605] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu approached the theme of woman from the standpoint of a moral problem and he defended the idea that the moral collapse was the result of Westernization and that women could not remain undamaged in this moral degeneration. See Füsun Akatlı, "The Image of Woman in Turkish Literature," in *Women in Turkish Society*, ed. Nermin Abadan-Unat (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1981), 223-232; Moran, "Alafranga Züppeden Alafranga Haine", Naci, *Yüzyılın 100 Türk Romanı*, 104-106, Esen, *Aile Kurumu*, 133-143.

[606] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore* (Sodome and Gomorra) (Istanbul: İletişim, 1981).

characters symbolize sexual corruption that is linked to political corruption. Sexually passionate women character types are represented as one of the examples to illustrate the demoralization in the society.

Sodom ve Gomore reflects the picture of Istanbul in the years of the War of Independence. In this picture, the principal female character of the novel Leyla is the daughter of Sami Bey, one of the Westernized Turks, who has strong relations with the British. Both Sami Bey and Leyla believe that the problems of the country should be resolved only by the interference of other countries. Leyla is a snob, showy and spoiled woman. She is indifferent to the environment where she lives and she does not have the slightest idea of the War of Independence and the occupation of Istanbul by the Allied Forces. Necdet who is the cousin of Leyla is an enemy of the British. Although Leyla is engaged to Necdet, she also flirts with Captain Jackson Read who is a British soldier of the Allied Forces. Leyla explains her relation with this unfaithful British man who frequently visits her in her place as "the necessities of *mondanité*".[607]

Necdet is aware of the relations of Leyla with Captain Jackson Read but his love towards Leyla turns out to be more passionate than ever and he invites Captain Jackson Read to duel with him. After this proposition of duel, which makes Leyla realize her love towards Necdet, Leyla comes back to her fiancé and she proposes him to get married. Necdet refuses to marry her by saying that the country is in a big trouble and he thinks that it would be a big mistake to form a family in this situation of indefiniteness. Another important male character is Cemil, a friend of Necdet, who defends the idea that the independence can only be achieved through the national struggle conducted in Anatolia. After leaving Leyla, Necdet reaches full

[607] Ibid., 82.

recognition of the liberation of Anatolia, which is under the foreign occupation. He turns out to be a person who attaches great importance to national pride, in the narrator's words, "his individual consciousness has been melted in the national consciousness".[608] At the end of the novel, Leyla has a neuropathy and she goes to Europe to a medical center to recover but when she comes back, she dies.

Leyla in many ways reminds Seniha in *Kiralık Konak* in terms of her indifference to the political problems and her main concern as being in a relationship with men. Apart from Leyla, the other heroines of the novel have relations with the soldiers of the enemies. These women are portrayed by the writer as loose, sexually promiscuous, immoral and of easy virtue because they use their sexuality in their personal relations and as mentioned above they are illiterate. Although they are women of a country occupied by the foreign forces, they have been portrayed as alienated to their nation and to their society. This seems to me very expressive because the writer tries to construct woman as an asexual being. The more she is asexualized, the more she is virtuous and she is enlightened. The more she is purified from sexual desires, the more socially active she is.

The death of Leyla shows that the 'bad' and 'over-Westernized' women who do not succeed in being 'virtuous goddesses' as it is aimed to be established, are subject to different punishments. They die, they become mentally ill or they disappear from the scene. Belma in *Sözde Kızlar*, for example, commits suicide by drinking poison when her lover refuses to marry and forces her to abort. One of her neighbors says, "Hatice, poorgirl, you were killed by the *tangos*".[609] According to

[608] Ibid., 293.

[609] Safa, *Sözde Kızlar*, 178.

the narrator, *tango* was the name given to the new woman in the neighborhoods populated by Muslims. He explains *tango* as follows:

> Tango meant to them an accursed woman who does not love her religion and nationality, who rebels against her district and her family, who puts her honor and virtue up for sale, who commits all sort of sins and who dies growling of the myriad diseases sent by God. For them, the single reason behind all sorts of catastrophes in this country from fire, cholera, Spanish diseases, hydrophobia to the casualties of war and starvation was the existence of tangos. To them, God was showing mercy even for the infidel, but because of these tangos he was ceaselessly sending his wrath on the Muslims. .[610]

Belma who dies at the end of the novel is just an example of the punishment that some of these 'bad women' who exist by their sexuality, deserve. The same destiny is valid for many heroines in the novels. In *Seviyye Talip*, Seviyye also commits to suicide at the end of the novel. Leyla, however, in *Sodome ve Gomore* has been also punished for being promiscuous. Seniha in *Kiralık Konak* has been mentally ill. These women's images have been portrayed as being partly responsible of the moral corruption and of the degeneration of the society and to some extent they are contrary to the ideal figures of women who exist for the well-being of society and not for their pleasure.

The disappearance of 'bad' women from the fiction by being subject to different punishment brings into the picture another theme related to the issue of women's sexuality. It is the punishment of 'bad' women characters. It is possible to say that the female might become the passive object of the narrative gaze to be judged, praised or punished. The novel *Bir Tereddütün Romanı* (Novel of A Doubt) by Peyami Safa published in 1933 based on a triangle of love affairs between two women and a man, is an example for this characteristic of novels. Mualla, one of the main female heroines, meets the writer of the book that she reads whose name is *The life of a Man*. The writer, conducting a very bohemian life so far, proposes Mualla to

[610]Ibid., 179.

get married and he gives time to her to be able to make a decision on this subject. Until the end of the novel, Mualla finds herself in a situation of hesitation. While Mualla tries to get a decision about marrying him, the writer recognizes another woman whose name is Vildan. Vildan is a woman who escaped from her husband in Italy and she earns her life by making some translations of Pirandello. The writer recognizes Vildan when she writes him to ask help for the publication of a play of Pirandello that she translated. The writer starts conducting a bohemian life with this second woman in an atmosphere of hesitation, which ends at the end of the novel with the disappearance of Vildan.

The hero of the novel tries to make a decision between two women Mualla and Vildan who symbolize two different worldviews. Mualla and Vildan characterize the dichotomy, which lies at the core of all those novels. Mualla carries all the values expected from an idealized Turkish woman in her character. She is a young aristocrat girl living in Istanbul. She got a Western type of education. In this sense, she is a westernized woman with her education but she protects her moral values that are necessary for the betterment of the Turkish society. With all these qualifications, she is a woman to be admired and the writer declares this admiration as follows:

> Though you are a girl born to a noble and educated family, you are not a snob; girls in the past used to live with their emotions and passions, today they follow their ambitions only; you have a rich consciousness which neither the old nor the new girls have. Since you deem books not as accessories, you read simply to understand or meditate. But most women see knowledge as the insurance of their beauty; a book almost means to them the same as powder. Your solemn air and simplicity distinguish you from other women. I hate what most ordinary women bear as knowledge. [611]

[611] Peyami Safa, *Bir Tereddütün Romanı* (Novel of a Doubt) (Istanbul: Ötüken, 1998), 52-53.

To put it differently, the image of Mualla, symbolizes the ideal woman is to be praised and be proud of. She visualizes how the Turkish women should be. Vildan, however, is portrayed as the opposite of this idealization by being the symbol of 'over-Westernization'. Firstly, she refuses any identity, any nation, and even any name. She represents the evil for the writer in the novel because she is a woman who uses her sexuality freely. She is personalized as a woman hating all the personal and social goals. She aims of realizing everything she likes without estimating whether it is good or bad. She finds everything meaningless and she does not take any pleasure from anything. She says:

> Nothing was able to tie me to life, and nothing has been yet! My husband does not attract me, but it is not that I don't love him; I don't want a child, but it is not that I don't love children; I cannot enjoy myself anywhere; I am fed up with traveling. I have changed a lot, you know! Do you know how those people who lost interest in everything feel? [612]

Vildan portrays a woman who does not have a specific identity and she changes all the time. This is very well reflected in her confessions about herself where she declares that " My identity, my dress, my hat, the place where I am, the man whom I talk, the subject that I think, change all of a sudden with my actions". [613] In another conversation with the writer, she confesses that she would like to erase her identity. [614]

She is a 'free' woman and like all other free heroines, she is the one who has to be shamed of and to be punished. It is suggested that the writer of the novel represents this intentionally in order to show that the process of over-westernization

[612] Ibid., 123.

[613] Ibid.

[614] Ibid., 124.

makes individual spiritualless; and sexual freedom and the materiality of the West are strong enough to collapse societies by demolishing the spirit of people. [615]

At the end of the novel, Vildan has been lost and there is not a clue in the novel as to what happened to her. The writer does not tell what she might have done or where she might have gone so in a way, there is a total 'evaporation' of the bad woman from the situation. The disappearance of Vildan means the end of hesitation and of chaos, which forms the central theme of the novel. In addition to suicide or illness, this is another way of removing these women characters whose presence opposes to the idea of 'organic solidarity' or "collective soul". According to the writer in the novel, this kind of women who do not believe in anything, who lose their national feelings and who consider their personal wishes below the interests of the community can be considered as anomalous. The writer explains this 'anomaly' or this 'deviation' by the term "destruction". He affirms:

> All is being destroyed, I say! No, in fact they are being shaken. Everything will remain where it belongs to so that it can be transformed. Everything: family, the sense of nationality, human interests, and all that. Let me tell you what is being lost! It is the *déracines* who lost contact with their origins, who lost only their national feelings. [616]

The narrator who represents the main ideas of the writer goes one-step further and he accuses people like Vildan of being secret agents in the sentence as follows: "I am suspecting you Vildan and the others of being agents because you are a *déracinée* and a *désenchantée* and you confess that!"[617]

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[615] Tansu Bele, *Erkek Yazınında Kadın* (Woman in Man's Writing) (Istanbul:Kaynak Yayınları, 1998), 28.

[616] Safa, *Bir Tereddütün Romanı*, 179.

[617] Ibid.

The disappearance of this type of women from the novel can be interpreted in two ways. In a way, the death of these 'bad women' means their disappearance from the scene. The 'good women' are necessary for the stability of society and for the presentation of moral rules, which all of them symbolize the idea of the collective soul. However, the bad ones are regarded as being responsible of causing the moral degradation and the moral corruption. For that reason, they have to disappear or to commit suicide. It is also possible to argue that westernization can be described as a suicide, as a self-destruction unless cultural values and norms are preserved.

The idealization of women as 'asexualized beings' indicates that the narratives approached the theme of woman from the standpoint of a moral problem and the concept of morality becomes visible in the novels studied.[618] As a conclusion, it is obvious that the images of the ideal women are closely connected with "de-eroticizing images"[619] of chaste and faithful women. Both Handan and and Kaya are portrayed as asexualized women. The asexualization becomes as the first condition to be an equal to men. In one of the novels, the male hero says, "in my opinion, a woman becoming an intellectual and measuring up to men means, above all, her departure from this primitive coquetry".[620] The departure from the idea of "coquetry" refers to the fact that they have to get rid off their sexuality in order to represent 'us' and 'our honor'.

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[618] The importance of morality with regard to the representation of women has been analyzed in Nilüfer Göle, " The Gendered Nature of The Public Sphere". *Public Culture*. 10 :1 (1997), 61-81; Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 126-136; Kandiyoti, " Slave Girls, Temptresses and Comrades".

[619] Mostov, "Sexing the Nation/Desexing the Body," 90.

[620] Safa, *Bir Tereddütün Romanı*, 56-57.

8.5. Motherhood

Among several dimensions explaining in what ways nationalism is gendered, the notion of motherhood remains crucial in having a better understanding of how women are symbolically used in different nationalist projects. As discussed earlier, motherhood is regarded as the primary national duty of women and it is used in different ways in the formation of national identity.

8.5.1. Motherhood: Dishonest Woman versus Family-Oriented Woman

In the Turkish case, with the establishment of the Turkish Republic, there has been a transformation from the old patriarchal family relationships based on male dominance to the emergence of a modern type of family in which women would enjoy, at least under the law, the possibility of directly participating in production and education. The main responsibility of the new woman is not only to adapt herself to the changing external situation and to take a more active role, but also she has to retain her spiritual role in the family. As argued by Yeğenoğlu, while 'new' women should fulfill the necessities of the modern life, they should not neglect the spirit of nation. In this respect, they should continue to be good wives and mothers.[621] In a sense, 'new women' are expected to preserve the "inner domain" by protecting the institution of family and by being good mothers.

In most of the novels subject to this study, it is the duty of women to protect the family, thus to prevent the institution of family to be degenerated. The idealized woman in those novels is judged according to their loyalty to the moral values and to the importance they give to family and motherhood. In *Bir Tereddütün Romanı*, for

[621] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, 134.

example, the writer in the book stressed the importance of the protection of family as the most important institution in the Turkish society. He defends the idea that family ought to be preserved from the negative aspects of Westernization. He says:

> The modern form of family is out of the question. This institution the origin of which dates back to thousands of years ago is by no means a new invention like radio and Charleston. It is reasonable to say a dancing room or a woman is modern; a wig or a bar can be modern too; but a modern family? No, dear! It cannot be modern; just like the impossibility of a modern prayer, a modern *kıble* or a modern *imam*, it is impossible! [622]

Because of the indifference of Vildan, the writer in the novel blames her of not being a mother and he considers this as the main reason of her unhappiness in a passage as follows:

> The eternity of women lies not in her brain but in her uterus. The New Woman has mistaken about the centre of creativity. Your despair is caused by this. You can be immortalized only by becoming a mother to a child rather than being a translator of Pirandello.[…] I can assure you that those people like a local *imam*, a granny, a priest or a wise old man, who say "Marry, settle down and give birth to a child!" are not wrong in telling this as you think. We take it an originality to reject what the tradition advises us to do; this is not merely your fault; rather, it is a confusion of the snobbery resulted by the influence of Westernisation. All those new currents which are doomed to fail, as they do not suck from the breasts of tradition breed millions of victims like you. The punishment for our lack of respect for motherhood will be dreadful twice since it is caused both by our nature and society. Thus, I would say your happiness, your ideal and your everything is in your abdomen. As usual, it will be your abdomen that governs the world. [623]

As it is understood from this quotation, the most important quality describing a woman originates from her abdomen and from her reproductive roles and capabilities. Being a mother and giving birth to a baby is an important criterion to be considered as a member of society. In a way, women's reproductive roles and motherhood are conditions for the inclusion into national community and for the

[622] Safa, *Bir Tereddütün Romanı*, 48.

[623] Ibid., 180-181.

membership. In this respect, the family is often regarded as a microcosm of the ideal society and of the ideal moral order.[624] As such, it has symbolic value to a nation.

The family provides the perfect environment for women and men to fulfill their 'natural roles' whereby women are seen as 'the mothers of the nation'. Nearly in all the novels examined, family life and respect to family have been taken into consideration as the most important conditions for the happiness of society. In this respect, in most of the novels, there is an attempt to underline the fact that one of the primary responsibilities of woman is to give priority to familial harmony. In order to realize this and to avoid entering into conflict with her husband, she should always know how to make concessions and sacrifices. To put it differently, self-sacrificing womanhood is regarded as a virtue of the Turkish woman.

In most of the novels, the 'good' women are portrayed as good wives but the 'bad' ones are depicted as untruthful and unchaste women. In the novel *Canan* (Canan) firstly published in 1925, however, we come across with the image of a dishonest woman.[625] Bedia is the wife of Lami who works as a clerk in the national company. Lami has a relationship with Canan, the daughter of Şakir Bey who is the boss of the company where Lami works. Canan who is the adopted child of Şakir Bey and her wife Reknaz Hanım was once married with a military person and then got divorced. While Bedia is a simple and family-oriented woman, Canan is showy and artificial. In order to get married to this woman, Lami divorces Bedia and after receiving the approval of Şakir Bey, he marries Canan who has aslo a secret relationship with one of Şakir Bey's friend, Orhan Bey who is a married man. After

[624] Papanek, "The Ideal Woman," 32.

[625] Peyami Safa, *Canan* (Canan) (Istanbul: Ötüken, 1999).

the marriage, although Orhan Bey's wife comes and tells Lami that Canan deceives Lami with her husband, Lami does not want to believe in such a claim. By the way, Lami's debt to his company increases progressively as he has difficulty in affording the needs of Canan who likes to live in a luxurious way. Towards the end of the novel, Canan's real mother comes but Canan does not want anybody to know that this peasant seeming woman is her real mother and due to this reason, she behaves her badly. At the end of the novel, Lami realizes that Canan has not only a secret relationship with Orhan Bey, but also with Selim, a friend of Lami, Şemsettin who is Bedia's brother and other men. At the end, Canan is killed by her real mother and Lami returns to his wife Bedia.

It is possible to make a comparison between the two female characters of the novel. Bedia is described as a woman "who doesn't pay attention to her hair style and she doesn't use make up. Even when she is very pale, she does not use any lipstick or she hates coloring her eyes".[626] However, Canan is portrayed as a very well-cared woman and as a *femme fatale* wearing expenses cloths and jewels, indulging in unnecessary expenses and having different love affairs with different men. Bedia represents everything, which opposes to the personality of Canan. She is a family-oriented woman, a virtuous wife, a self-sacrificing person, a serious and chaste woman. Although her husband gets married to another woman, she never gives up giving priority to familial harmony. Bedia makes concessions in order to avoid entering into conflict with her husband even this hurts her too much. She even accuses of herself for the love affair of her husband with Canan because she thinks that she could not be a mother and to give a child to her husband. She says "a child

[626] Ibid., 36.

could attach her father to the family and prevent all this confusion. It would never lead to any conflict. What is a great pleasure of being a mother of a child".[627]

This means that the idealized woman is not only the virtuous one but also she is the one who is family-oriented. She represents virtue, which lies to her marital fidelity, her chastity and her submissive love to her husband. Canan, on the other hand, the image of the loose, easy and dishonest woman, represents a type of "civilized woman" in the writer's terms. The ideas and the worries of the writer about this "civilized woman" equated with a *femme fatale* have been voiced by Selim who is the friend of Lami in the novel:

> The civilized woman is intelligent. Self-indulgence is her priority. She absolutely owns a desire to betray her husband as she finds the family as an institution ridiculous and knows that it will ultimately dissolve one day: these are the women of the future."[628]

The "civilized woman" Canan, illustrated as a dishonest person, dies at the end of the novel. In a way, she deserves this 'punishment' because she is not the real idealized Turkish woman.

To sum up, it is possible to argue that the importance attributed to the notion of 'family' and motherhood remain crucial in understanding gendered dimension of nationalism as well as the imagination of women as gendered national subjects. Because women biologically reproduce, they are always conceptualized as 'mothers' of members of collective identities. Women's primary roles and duties are defined with regard to motherhood and family which is always taken into consideration as a microcosm of the ideal moral order.

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[627] Ibid., 14.

[628] Ibid., 148.

8.6. Feminine Images of Nation

The identification of woman with nation in the formation of national boundaries is another particular dimension bringing to light the ideological and symbolic meanings attributed to women in nationalist projects. The figure of women as the representative image of nation is often used in the moment of national crisis. The nation is depicted either as a woman or as a mother who expects to be saved from foreign forces. Their suffering or their pain are illustrated as the trouble of nation. This dimension of gendered nationalism becomes visible especially in *Ateşten Gömlek*.

The connection of the image of nation with the image of woman appears significantly in the character of Ayşe in *Ateşten Gömlek*. In the novel, Izmir is invaded by the Greek soldiers. This invasion is represented in the image of Ayşe. In fighting against the enemy, Peyami, one of the male hero voices this identification by saying "Oh Izmir, my dear! My fiery Izmir! Do we plunge into fire as we see you in Ayşe; or is it because Ayşe is your daughter and thus she is dragging us into green Izmir by making us shed our red blood?"[629]

As the quotation reflects, Izmir is represented in the figure of Ayşe. To save Izmir means firstly to defend Ayşe. In other words, the illustration of Izmir occupied by the Greeks is symbolized by Ayşe who needs to be protected from the foreign power. The name of the novel *Ateşten Gömlek* (A *Shirt of Fir)* allegorizes this identification. The title of the novel represents on the one hand the situation of the country invaded by the Allied Forces; on the other hand, it symbolizes the love of several men towards Ayşe, the nation. As it becomes clear in this example, nation is symbolized by an image of a woman, Ayşe.

[629] Adıvar, *Ateşten Gömlek*, 72-73.

8.7. Masculinization

In all these themes elaborated in the novels, we come across with the fact that women have been constructed on the basis of a male system of values. The masculinization of women is the final theme that should be elaborated within the limits of this study. In the representation of all these different images concerning the ideal women, the male voice, the male oriented attitudes and a male system of values have been dominant in the construction of the Turkish women. In this respect, it is possible to argue that women in these narratives can be interpreted as "agents of masculine subject formation, frequently serving as fetishized objects of male appropriation".[630] It is not possible to say that among the writers, Halide Edib Adıvar as a female writer does not present an exception because although she is female, she uses a very masculine discourse. In this respect, she does not produce any difference.

In the novels, women characters have been described by men. In *Canan*, for example, Selim, defines women as:

> A woman is a simple creature living under the analysis and reasoning of a man. They owe all their charms and magic, all their maddening and narcotic strength to our sensitivity. If men were a bit more cold-blooded, women would be enslaved forever. Most women realize that they are cute and charming only after being told this by men; they would be neither cute nor charming unless they received such favor. . [631]

In *Bir Tereddütün Romanı*, the narrator judges women characters on the basis of male norms and in one part; he affirms that "I was always taking into

[630] Sau-Ling C.Wong, Jeffrey J.Santa Ana, "Gender and Sexuality in Asian American Literature." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society.* 25:1(1999), 14.

[631] Safa, *Canan*, 40.

consideration the difference between a man and a woman even though she is an intellectual".[632]

By the masculinization of women, I suggest that in most of the novels, the male is casted as protector and decision maker while the female, however, is relegated mainly to the role of mother, wife, educator and carriers of tradition and cultural values. Although they become visible in the social and political life of the country, the limits of this visibility and participation are decided by the male. I suggest that women constitute part of the male self. By this, I would like to say that the female self has been constructed on male norms and on male rules. In most of the novels, there is always a male voice or a male hero who 'enlightens' women. This means that the male consciousness prescribes what is right and false for women and in almost all novels, it is a man, the male consciousness who 'enlightens woman', who 'teaches her the proper conduct of behavior', who 'controls her sexuality', who 'makes her a good woman by his advices'.

In the novels, we come across with several female characters who are thought to think as men, to identify with a male point of view and more importantly to internalize the male system of principles. "Woman like a man" is used as an expression appreciating a woman such as the examples of Kaya or Handan. In other words, although women are portrayed as asexual beings, the ideal women are constructed on male norms. In this respect, they are 'masculinized'.

8.8. Conclusion

From all the points mentioned above, it is possible to conclude that in the novels that I elaborated for this study, women characters have two different

[632] Safa, *Tereddütün Romanı*, 55.

positions coded by the Republican epistemology. Since the woman question was overtaken within the context of nationalism, women have been portrayed as active participants of social life. In most of the novels, especially in the ones concerning the War of Independence, such as in *Vurun Kahpeye*, *Çalıkuşu* and *Ateşten Gömlek*, the idealized women fulfill their roles as the equal partners of men. In these characterizations of women, there is the representation of a speaking subject symbolizing a modern woman. This position can be explained as a 'subject position' where women have been described as equal partners of men and where they have to move out into the public sphere to participate into the social and political life. The other position is an 'object position' according to which they symbolize preservers of the traditional concepts of feminity. Their sexuality has to be erased in order to preserve the concept of morality, which remains at the backbone of the idea of organic solidarity. In this object position, they are regarded as carriers of moral rules, mothers and good wives.

In this sense, it will not be wrong to say that women identities are double-coded: As participants into the public life, they represent the new Turkish nation, which aims to be a modern and democratic state. This gives the subject position to women but on the other hand, they are also expected to fulfill the traditional roles attributed to women such as being good mothers and good wives. In a way, women are represented as the preservers of morality, which has been judged according to their asexualization. The most important criteria of safeguarding the moral rules is the fact that they acknowledge their sexuality.

In the novels examined, there has been an attempt to create the national subjects within the dominant nationalist discourse of the time. In appearance, these authors seem to have constructed an ideal image of woman. This constructed female

image is expected to represent the new Turkish woman. In this construction, women as national subjects are created as a part of the collective identity and as a reflection of the notion of "collective soul". In this creation since all women characters have been fabricated by the writers and by a masculine discourse, at first sight it seems that there is a male domination over women in the fiction.

To put it differently, in the fiction, women appear to have been fabricated by a male voice. The conflict between 'good' and 'bad' female characters forms an important part of the fiction where the author definitely encourages the former and punishes the latter in some of the cases. The good ones are portrayed as models symbolizing the idealized Turkish women however, the 'bad' ones who represent an anomaly to the collective identity either by their behaviors and most of the time by their perception of morality, are punished by the writers. In this respect, it might be said that characters in the fiction have the duty of mirroring the importance of social values and thus, they are expected to serve for the enforcement of the idea of organic solidarity. The collective preoccupations and collective mind find expression in the fiction.

In some of those novels, the female characters are expected to be good mothers and good wives. The emphasis on female chastity and the consideration of women from a moral point of view is an important motif. Sometimes, they have to be feminine but in all cases, their feminity has to be controlled. On the other hand, in this construction, they have to be masculinized in order to be accepted as 'equal members' of the nation. Briefly stated, in this imagination and in this fictive world, this is the writer or the novelist of the fiction who dictates how 'an idealized national woman' should be. As a result, women have a subjugated position and this position

has been determined by the writers who consider themselves as being responsible of representing the social values of the Turkish nation.

The points that I mention above, are the main features of the first side of the medallion. Novels as a literary genre are produced by the author who is assumed to be creative artist producing something exceptional. Neither social identity nor collective concerns can be the fundamental determining factors of his or her work and in creating the principles characters of the fiction. In those novels, it is not possible to speak of the full creativity of the novelists. By this, I mean that the creativity and the imagination of the author are interconnected with the nationalist ideology.

At first sight, these authors might seem to have the full authority in determining the characteristics of the national subjects and in subjugating them in the dominant nationalist discourse but the other side of the medallion is not the same because the author, himself, can be seen also a part of the dominant hegemonic structure of power. Although the author appears in the scene as the creator of the fiction and as the person who produced novel, he cannot fully create the fiction of his own imagination. Even though he gives the impression of producing the tale as a work of imagination and of designing the main characters and the story by himself, indeed he is not able to create it independently, by his own efforts. In a way, like all the characters in the fiction, Je- the author- is also another.

The author has not the right to create the fiction and the characters of the fiction on his own. In other words, the author does not say 'I' either like the characters of the novels and he cannot write novels from an individualistic position but he writes according to 'we'. In a way, the idea of organic solidarity plays a crucial in shaping the narrative as well. This brings us to the conclusion that author

is also a representative of the idea of '*Je est un autre*'. The self of the author is dependent as much as the fictive self. Since in the novels, the self is not individuated, the self of the writer is also communal. To say differently, the author is as much as dependent as the characters. For that reason, even in the case of author who appears to narrate the fiction, there is the control of 'we' over 'I'. As all the characters that have been constructed in accordance of the collective project and of the nationalist discourse, the author also has been constructed by the same features of the dominant nationalist structure.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The idea of nation as an imagined community in Anderson's terms gave the main motivation for this study to think about the symbolic construction of women in nationalist projects. As I mention in the introduction chapter, although Anderson does not take gender differences as essential in establishing his theory, membership to nation as an imagined community is a powerfully gendered faculty and members of this imagined community are not gender free subjects. If the imagination process defines how members interact with each other and which roles and qualities they attribute to themselves, it is clear that this process of imagination is not gender free because being a female or a male member affects the form of belonging to this imagined community. Most notably, because women biologically reproduce members of national collectivities, they are always addressed as mothers of the nation in this imagination. If we are to comprehend the gendered dimension of nationalism, it is essential to think more systematically about how women are used as symbols in nationalist projects and in what ways the imagined community is gendered.

Since the 1980's, the gendering of nationalism has been taken up by scholars of feminism who have stressed the need to think about issues of gender in conjunction with nationalism and national identity. These studies provide significant insights in understanding the ways in which women become implicated in nation-building projects and in nationalist movements. As many feminist studies reveal, the

imagined bonding between the individuals and the national identification is distinguished by gender. In this imagined bonding, men are responsible of embodying the nation however; women's relation to nation is different from men. While men play a political role in constructing and guarding the nation, women play a symbolic role in reproducing "male-hopes, male aspirations and male privilege".[633] The summary of all the feminist studies on the relationship between gender and national identity has made by Joanne Nagel who argues that the modern classics about nationalism in political science and sociology have been "a tale of one gender" that have rendered invisible women's roles in making of nations and states by discussing only men and ignoring the gendering of the nation. [634]

Despite the significant number of studies by feminist scholars highlighting women's involvement in nationalist movements and examining the centrality of gender to meanings of the nation in a variety of political and historical settings, the imagination of women as gendered national subjects in cultural productions remain still not fully examined. Anderson's description of the nation as the product of the imagination of the members of the community provides a powerful metaphor for the analysis of the cultural roots of nationalism, which is illustrative of how symbolic borders are developed and reinforced. This, in turn, paves the way to the need of analyses that interrogate the construction of national gendered identities in cultural spheres. This study, which focuses on women's images in the novels with the aim of uncovering some particularities of Turkish nationalist project, can be considered as

[633] McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven," 385.

[634] Joanne Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," 242.

an attempt to understand how women are imagined/ made gendered national subjects not only in political and historical terms but also in cultural terms.

The imagination of nation necessitates the production of some characteristics shared by the whole national community and the enforcement of a national culture which make people believe that they belong to the same collectivity. In this imagination, different metaphors and symbols define how the members of national community interact with each other, which qualities they assign for themselves and which roles they imagine for themselves. In this process of imagination, the representational systems and the literary canon play a significant role in the formation of different metaphors and features, which contribute to the production of the imagined community.

In understanding the ongoing production of gendered nationhood in Anderson's terms, which is realized mainly in the domain of culture, novels play a significant role. Anderson, in establishing his theory, uses the examples of a Filipino and Mexican novel and an Indonesian short story as well as the newspaper for the illustration of different forms of imagining contributing significantly to the process of imagination.[635] Anderson mentions that the two forms of imagining, novel and newspaper, played a significant role in making people believe that they belong to the same community; and in illustrating the harmonious relation between the members composing the national community. Anderson points out that the novel allows the reader to recognize the characters of the novel as a part of a construed society or an imagined community even though they may not have any direct relationship with each other.[636]

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[635] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 25-33.

[636] Ibid.

In this study, I make use of the novels of some canonical writers in the period between 1908 and 1938. In conducting such a study, my concern is not to make any generalization about the Turkish novels by being aware that my conclusions might not be representative of the literature of the era. It is important to state that my concluding remarks and points involve only the novels that I explore and they do not concern all the novels of this period. The main objective of this study is to analyze the making of women as gendered national subjects in the novels in the pre and early Republican period by focusing on women's images. The purpose is to illustrate the multiplicity of images used in the representation of women as gendered national subjects and to explore the meaning and the significance of women's images in the formation and the production of Turkish gendered nationhood.

Jean Franco suggests that novel as a literary genre becomes a site where different and conflicting problems concerning the national collectivity are discussed either by typical characters or by more allegorical figures. Novel, in this sense, can be regarded as a channel functioning to work out imaginary solutions and problems concerning several issues and problems related to the national community. [637] In accordance with Franco's argument, the novels that are subject to my thesis are significant in understanding how the gendered imagination of the new Turkish nation is shaped through women's images. To put it differently, women's images offer important clues for comprehending better how the nationalist project was carried out in Turkey and which peculiar features characterize the production of Turkish gendered nationhood. The themes that I explore in the examination of women's images such as Westernization, women's emancipation, sexuality, importance of education and family and motherhood occupy a central place in the

[637] Franco, " The Nation as Imagined Community," 130.

Turkish nationalism. For that reason, I suggest that it is fruitful to look at women's images in the novels in order to investigate some characteristics of Turkish nationalism, which, in turn, would enable us to envisage more about the gendered dimension of this particular project.

In the analysis of women's images in the novels as a site of national imagination, the most important point is the fact that nationalism is more than a manifestation of political identity or a political ideology based on the self-governance of a nation but most importantly, it is a narrative. As argued by Layoun, nationalism, at a given time, in a specific place and in the name of particular nationally defined people, constructs and declares a narrative of the nation. It places a privileged narrative perspective on the nation and thus justifies its own capacity to narrate by articulating the diverse elements of the nation. [638]

Layoun suggests that national narratives articulate a rhetoric of the nation by enacting a grammar of the nation. The grammar of the nation is of crucial importance in the imagination of the nation because it tells how the members of the nation should interact with each other and which roles are attributed to men and women. It proposes the proper and acceptable definitions of gendered national subjects. [639] If nationalism can be defined not only the whole process of nation-building or a movement to recognize political will but a sense of consciousness, the grammar of the nation prescribes how the national consciousness is shaped. This national consciousness dictates how the members of the national community should

[638] Mary Layoun, *Wedded to the Land: Gender, Boundaries and Nationalism in Crisis* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), 10.

[639] Ibid., 13. Nationalism as a narrative and the meaning of the grammar of a nation are also analyzed in another article of Mary Layoun. See also Mary Layoun, "A Guest at the Wedding".

behave, what characteristics they should possess and how they interact with each other.

Culture, which is presumed to present the distinct character of a nation, and cultural productions provide important clues for comprehending how nationalism as narrative has been constructed and how gender has been described and located in the grammar of the nation.[640] Among different cultural productions, literature is a significant institution, which can contribute to the imagination and to the reinforcement of the national consciousness. As suggested by Jusdanis, literature performs the function of an imagery mirror reflecting the nation and the experiences of people as members of such a union.[641] It has important functions in enouncing the national objectives, the national beliefs and the nation's moral values; and in describing the appropriate roles for women and men by drawing the boundaries for its gendered national subjects. Literature produces the meaning and the values for the whole nation and by this way; it establishes an imagined and fictive unity for the community. In Jusdanis' terms, it becomes a means for "orchestrating the ideological consensus".[642] Since literature can define the grammar of a particular nation in order to harmonize an ideological consensus, women's images in the Turkish novels are important in specifying the rules of the grammar of the Turkish nation and some unique characteristics of the gendered aspect of Turkish nationalism.

Before analyzing women's images in the novels, in Chapter 2, I focused on the notions of gender and nation and on the theories of founding figures of

[640] Layoun, "A Guest at the Wedding," 94-95.

[641] Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity*, xi.

[642] Ibid.

nationalism. I also made a literature review on feminist studies which have brought to light numerous ways in which women are implicated in the imagination/construction of 'the nation'. In Chapter 3, I attempted to analyze the connection between women and nation through different examples from the Third World. These examples are helpful in clarifying the relationship between woman and nation involving several dimensions. The specific dimensions such as women as objects of nationalist discourse, education, women's bodies and sexuality, family and motherhood, citizenship, feminine images of nation and female mythical figures illustrate specific forms of gendered nationalism. Particularly, they reveal how women are made gendered national subjects. Some of these specific dimensions have been used as an analytical framework to be employed later in exploring the representation of women as gendered national subjects in the novels.

One important remark that should be made with regard to these specific dimensions is the following. As many feminist analyses emphasize, nationalisms are gendered and invented politically and historically. In this gendered invention/imagination, women are used as symbols representing the national community and the imagined national boundaries; or as symbolic border guards in Armstrong's terms defining 'us' versus 'others'. Women symbolize nation in several ways; they reproduce members of national collectivity, they are mothers who transmit national culture or they act as symbolic bearers of the nation by being modest and chaste. As observed in the examples in Chapter 3, although women are actively involved and participated in nation-building process and in nationalist struggles, after the establishment of the nation-state, they are excluded from the decision-making process.

As feminist studies point out, women's position of being symbols and metaphors representing the nation prevent them to be 'real' in national agency. Since they are symbolically included into the national body politics, they are denied of having any direct relation to the political sphere of nation-state. In a sense, they cannot be perceived as 'real' because they are perceived as 'symbols'. I find this remark significant not only with regard to the examples from the Third World but also it becomes an illustrative point for the analysis of gendered dimension of Turkish nationalism. The integration of women into the nationalist projects offers many ambiguities. Although nationalism facilitates women's integration into society by introducing limited emancipation, women are always assigned the role of bearers of cultural values, carriers of traditions of the community. In this sense, it is not wrong to spell that nationalism reaffirms the boundaries of culturally accepted feminine conduct.

In this respect, Partha Chatterjee's work provides the most influential paradigm for understanding the ambivalence and gendered logic of Third World nationalism. As I discussed in details in Chapter 3, Chatterjee argues that counter-nationalisms confronted the dilemma of establishing themselves as different but modern in relation to the West. This nationalist attempt tries to resolve the distinction between an inner or spiritual realm of the nation, where nationalists claimed superiority and autonomy to the West, and an outer or material realm, in which nationalists acknowledged the subordination of the nation to the West. According to Chatterjee, the real originality of Indian nationalism lay in the cultural project of fashioning an inner identity where the difference and autonomy of the nation could be located. Although Chatterjee's analysis is on the case of India, this distinction is applicable to the explication of women's position in many Third World

countries because women who represent the symbolic borders between 'us' and 'others' are constructed on the basis of being modern but at the same time different from the West.

The burden of representing the inner realm of the nation in the nationalist discourse falls largely on the figure of the 'modern woman'. The discourse of nationalism offers new subjects positions to women by including some limited emancipation but this nationalist construction of 'modern' woman is defined as distinct from Western women. The distinction is characterized by the representation of moral values of the national community attributed to women. Women are expected to preserve national culture. Even the public roles for women are interpreted in accordance with the protection of tradition. In that sense, it will not be wrong to suggest that for the development of a new nationalist consciousness, tradition is reinvented.[643]

Although Chatterjee's target of analysis is the specific case of Indian nationalism, his framework is applicable to Turkish nationalism, which illustrates this dilemma well. The Turkish nationalist project based on the idea of modernization and secularization, is characterized mainly by the ideas of enlightenment, science and rationality. The idea of progress lies at the core of this particular nationalist project where women's position occupies a central role. As Yeğenoğlu suggests, the question of national identity was taken into consideration via the discussion of women.[644] Accordingly, the emancipation of women was attributed a symbolic meaning because it was regarded as the main condition to bring Turkey to the level of contemporary Western civilization. Connectedly, the

[643] Pettmann, *Worlding Women*, 54.

[644] Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, 127.

public visibility of women and suffrage were considered as important steps that should be taken for the external image of the state as a modern nation. The dress of women in this respect became imbued with meaning because rather than substance or women's autonomy, women had to look like the civilized women of modern nations but this civilized outlook should not be in conflict with the morality of the society. In this respect, women were expected to present a sexually modest picture which could be only realized by the erasure of their sexuality and which should be in harmony with patriarchal morality. Najmabadi in her analysis on women in Iran states that during the state building's period of Reza Shah (1925-1941), the physical veil which was discarded, was replaced by an invisible metaphoric veil, *hijab-ı iffat* (veil of chastity) acquired through modern education.[645] This notion of 'veil of chastity' is also important for the Turkish case because the image of new Turkish woman within the discourse of modernity was defined as "modern-yet modest".[646]

In the construction of this "modern-yet modest" image of Turkish woman, education played a significant role. Women's education was an important concern of the reformers vis à vis the symbolic meaning attributed to women's emancipation. The Republican reformers gave importance to the education of women because the backwardness of women could not only retard society as a whole but it could form an obstacle for the process of the modernization of nation. The progress of the nation was dependent on the progress of women but as discussed in Chapter 3, 'educating the mind' did not result in the dissolution of patriarchy. The modern education was gendered from the beginning and central in the production of gendered national

[645] Najmabadi, "Veiled Discourse," 489.

[646] Najmabadi, "Hazards of Modernity and Morality," 66.

subjects through the repetition of a patriarchal discourse. The idea was that women should be enlightened for the enlightenment of the nation but they should never forget their domestic roles of motherhood. Education was not for the abolishment of the patriarchal values but it was for the reinforcement of the patriarchal discourse. As it was put, there was the transition of "the wife from household to manager of the household." [647] Girls' Institutes, for example, initiated in 1927 with the aim of providing future housewives with all modern knowledge about house keeping, offered different courses on home economics, cooking, and sewing.[648] The intellectual development of women was also the development of the country but this was not for making them enlightened individuals but enlightened wives, mothers and family-oriented women.

After the establishment of the Republic in 1923, many reforms were inaugurated in order to achieve national progress through the legal construction of women as social participants and educated mothers and wives. As Ayşe Kadıoğlu rightly suggests, the republican reforms created an image of a modern Turkish woman who was honorable, chaste, hard-working, enlightened and modest. These virtues eliminated her sexuality while highlighting her modern outlook. [649] Kadıoğlu points out that women became "stimulated images of modernity".[650] She says:

> The women who became products of the early Republican reforms were similar to the *noblesse de robe* (nobility by virtue of dress) of pre-revolutionary France who joined the ranks of the nobility by purchasing offices and putting on aristocratic

[647] Najmabadi, "Crafting an Educated Housewife in Iran," 102.

[648] See Arat, "Educating the Daughters," 162.

[649] Ayşe Kadıoğlu, " Women's Subordination in Turkey: Is Islam Really the Villain?."*Middle East Journal*. 48:4 (1998), 652.

[650] Ibid., 653.

> clothes. These women of twentieth century Turkish history became *modernes de robe*, who wore modern clothes and adopted certain Western codes of conduct, but nevertheless remained traditional, especially regarding relations with men and their self –perceptions within the confines of the family.[651]

What was aimed to create was a combination of conflicting images according to which, the new Turkish woman was expected to make a balance between being modern by her education, her active participation into the public and social life and by her unveiled visibility; and being traditional by her motherhood, her modesty and her attachment to family. In this constructed 'image' of new woman, the erasure of her sexuality was of crucial importance in terms of representing the morality of nation. This was also a condition to be able to take part in the social life as partners of men. At this point, Julie Mostov's argument suggesting that the politics of national identity involves a process of "desexing the body by de-eroticizing images of chaste and faithful wives and mothers"[652] becomes illustrative with respect to the construction of these images of Turkish women.

Upon my analysis on women's images in the novels, I can conclude that the images of women as presented in the novels prepare the ground for the reinforcement/re-imagination of women's "stimulated images" of the Turkish Republic. Since the imagination of nation is a continuous process taking place in different sites; in political, historical and cultural terms, it is possible to suggest that there is a mutual relation between these different sites which all reinforce the re/production of gendered imagined community. Based on this point, I suggest that women's images in the novels contribute significantly to what the Turkish nationalist project attempts to construct with regard to women. In this respect, it might be argued that women's images in fiction play a significant role in

[651] Ibid.

[652] Mostov, "Sexing the Nation/ Desexing the Body," 90.

strengthening the formation of Turkish gendered national identity. The images of women who are hardworking, mothers of the nation, enlightened to educate the members of the nation, chaste and pure women representing the honor of the national collectivity; and who leave their feminity aside, are identified with the main goals of nationalism. By this way, they represent the images of the 'idealized Turkish women'.

The novels analyzed here illustrate that women's images in the novels become central bases in understanding how the Turkish nationalist project was carried out. Observing women's images, we come across with the fact that women characters have a double position. To put it differently, women's identities are double-coded: as active participants into the public life in order to represent symbolically the new modern Turkish nation and as carriers of traditional roles by being family oriented and good mothers. On the one hand, women have a 'subject' position according to which they are portrayed as socially and politically active participants into the nationalist issues. In the novels, such as *Vurun Kahpeye*, *Ankara*, *Ateşten Gömlek* and *Çalıkuşu*, the female characters such as Aliye, Selma, Ayşe or Feride illustrate the image of a woman who is actively involved in the social and political issues of society as partners of men. In other words, with their education and their visibility in public space, they symbolize speaking subjects representing modern Turkish women who can play an active role in the formation of Turkish national collectivity.

The other position of women is, however, is an 'object' position according to which women are expected to protect the "inner" domain of the national collectivity as being good wives and mothers; and carriers of the moral rules. The most important condition of symbolizing the morality of the collectivity is the erasure of

their sexuality. For example, the ideal fictive women such as Handan and Kaya are portrayed as asexualized women. Since they are asexualized, their sexuality does not threat the order and the harmony of the society. This asexualization becomes as the first condition to be an equal to men. To put it differently, women's sexuality has to be removed in order to protect the morality of the society, which lies at the core of the idea of collective soul in Gökalp's terms.

This double position of women's images in the novels is pivotal in reflecting the particularities of the Turkish nationalism involving both the elements of civic and ethnic nationalism. As discussed in Chapter 5, Turkish nationalism can be defined as an Eastern nationalism which combines the French and German types of nationalism. The attempt to make a synthesis between the idea of citizenship, the idea of progress and rationality and the notion of a common heritage, past and tradition is the most important feature characterizing Eastern nationalism. As it is mentioned, the central point lying at the core of Eastern nationalism is the transformation of nation culturally while at the same time retaining its distinctiveness.[653] In this nationalism, women represent the big burden between being modern and representing the tradition.[654] When we look at women's images in the novels, one can easily trace this combination of French and German types of nationalism. The burden of making a synthesis between the inner and outer domain appears in the images of women who have both a 'subject' and an 'object' position.

Another important concluding remark is the fact that women's images are so powerful in the construction of national consciousness that women loose their

[653] Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism," 179.

[654] Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents". On the issue of women's paradox between tradition and modernity, see Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "Women's Subordination," 645-661; Zehra Arat, "Politics of Representation and Identity," in *Deconstructing Images of "the Turkish Woman"*, 1-34.

individual identity and even in reality they remain as 'images'. The erasure of individuality is an important implication of the idea of collective soul. Without generalizing, for the novels that I study, it might be possible to suggest that fiction and fictive characters are represented on the basis of the idea of "collective soul" which necessitates the elimination of any individuality. In this idea of organic solidarity, society has a superior position compared to individuals who compose it. Accordingly, what is important for society, are the collective duties of individuals, not their individual rights. This idea of organic solidarity affects to some extent the structure and the story of fiction with the imaginative female and male characters that are expected to contribute to the improvement of the society.

Given the images of women analyzed in Chapter 8, it is possible to say that although women characters have different names and they act in different stories, they serve for the same purpose of the protection of cultural and moral values in the process of Westernization. The expression of "*je est un autre*" meaning 'I is another' acquires an important meaning in this context because it indicates the relationship between the imagination of the fictive national characters and the idea of "collective soul" lying at the core of Turkish nationalism. 'je' is a part of the collective soul, of the Turkish nation reflecting the national identity. It does not reflect any self or any individual aspiration. The subject 'je' is not identical to itself but it is the reflection of another entity, of 'we', of society. It reflects the expression of collective identity and its morality.

In the novels that I analyzed, there are many different female and male characters, which voice this ideology. Although these characters are different persons, the totality of all the 'je's' do not reflect different individualistic ideas or do not symbolize different individualistic expressions. Related with this, Belge says that

there are not full characters, but there are types in the novels, which represent a reflection of a social reality and where social expression of feelings takes precedence over individual experiences. For that reason, the Turkish novel is characterized by loose casual sequences and a predominance of "coincidence".[655]

In appearance, the author who considers himself having the power to articulate the main problems concerning the society attempts to contribute to the imagination process by his novels but the author himself is a part of the collective identity and his imagination represents to some extent the new aims and aspirations of the new Republic and of the Turkish nation. Although the author seems to have the power to identify the traits of the gendered national subjects and to make them subjugated in the dominant nationalist discourse, the author is also a part of the dominant hegemonic structure. Although he or she appears as the creator of the fiction, the author himself represents the idea of "je is another" because his imagination creating the novel has been shaped by the dominant nationalist discourse.

At this point, I should mention that my focal point in this study is the analysis of women's images but it is interesting for me to realize that the construction of 'new men' and men's images are remarkable in elaborating on the gendered dimension of Turkish nationalism. For example, in the analysis of Westernization, women's images reflect the dichotomy between Westernization and Turkish nationalism but men's images are also influential in this respect. The male characters such as Fahir in *Seviyye Talip*, Necdet in *Sodome ve Gomore*, Hakkı Celis in *Kiralık Konak* or Binbaşı Hakkı Bey in *Ankara* also represent the dichotomy

[655] Murat Belge, "Türk Roman Geleneği ve 'Sevgili Arsız Ölüm' (Turkish Novel and Dear Impertinent Death)." *Toplum Bilim*. 25,26 (1984), 68. For more details, see also Murat Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar* (Some Notes on Literature) (Istanbul: İletişim, 1994).

between the East and the West either by falling in love with over-Westernized women or by forgetting their 'national' and 'collective' duties. This means that it is not always women who misunderstand or misinterpret the meaning of Westernization and the idea of collective soul in Gökalp's terms but men can also understand Westernization in an artificial or in a cosmetic way. In the same way, in *Ankara*, Selma's marriages with three different men provide important clues for exploring the construction of masculine national subjects vis à vis Turkish nationalism. For further points concerning the gendered dimension of nationalism and the production of gendered national identity, men's images remain an interesting subject of study.

I would like to conclude with three remarks: Firstly, the analysis of the incorporation of women into political and historical structures of the nation-building process as well as of the nation state is important in explaining the imagination of women as gendered national subjects within the nationalist discourse but this is not enough to understand the whole process. The historical and political processes give an account of the role of women and they identify gender as a key concern in the study of nationalism but these studies are not sufficient to grasp the gendered nature of the entire political project of the nation-state. As Roxanne Lynn Doty argues, "National identity is never a finished project; it is always in the process of being constructed and reconstructed".[656] This means that rather than taking given categories of belonging for granted, we should consider gendered national identities as continually remade, re-imagined and reconstructed; and this construction of collective identities is a continuous process in social, political, historical and cultural terms. It is therefore important to broaden the agenda in order to include the whole

[656] Roxanne Lynn Doty, "Sovereignty and the Nation: Constructing the Boundaries of National Identity," in *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, ed. Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 123.

range of social institutions, which are implicated relationally and symbolically in the reproduction of gendered national subjects and in the imagination of national collectivities.

The imagination of nation in the field of culture is an important tool for the reestablishment and the reconstruction of gendered collective identities. By the means of several cultural products, the imagination process innovates itself and each time it reestablishes the gendered national subjects. In order to have a better understanding of the symbolic construction of gendered nation and the connections between symbols, narration and beliefs; cultural and literary narratives have to be read as attempts to imagine and to articulate the nationalist narratives. The fictions in their fictiveness can articulate nationalism and gender, the state and the citizen. They also denote the importance of sexuality, chastity and honor in nation-building.

Secondly, it is possible to speak of a gender asymmetry, which is produced and represented through a wide range of political, cultural and social practices in the discussion of the gendered dimension of nationalism. The imagination of women in political and social terms and the imagination of women as gendered national subjects in cultural texts are closely connected with each other. Cultural texts produce fictive women whose representation symbolizes the 'real' and 'idealized' women. Women are fictive and their presentation is also fictive but they portray the gendered national subjects. The fiction reflects the reality. This is the imagination process in cultural and literal texts. The imagination of women in political terms presents also the fiction because nations are a blend of fictive imagining. Women are present in this imagination in different spheres by performing different roles. They create the borders for the brotherhood but they remain absented from the fraternity characterized by men. For that reason, their representation defines them fictively.

The fiction is not the case only in the novels or in different literal texts but in the real politics, their representation produces fiction. They lose their own identity because their identity is imagined as marker for the nation and their status is closely connected for the progress of the nation. As suggested, "women become a metaphor for what they present rather than what they are."[657] They represent the nation but not themselves, so like the fictive female characters in the novels, they represent fiction and imagination.

Thirdly, in this thesis, I analyzed the construction of women as gendered national subjects in the novels written in the pre and early Republican period (1908-1938). My focus is to understand the specific features of gendered nature of Turkish nationalism by the analysis of women's images in the novels. In the analysis of the representation of women in the novels, I came across with the fact that there is not a sufficient number of studies investigating the ways in which literature specifically and cultural production, in general, influence gender ideology.

In terms of revealing the gendered nature of imagination in different spheres, this study can pave the way to other studies which interrogate the cultural and fictive dimensions of nationalism and which examine the relationship between the making of gendered national subjects and cultural production. Gendered forms of representations can be analyzed not only in different literal works but also in several cultural productions such as paintings, cartoons or movies, which might be vehicles for an understanding of the narrative organization of nationalism and of the making of national subjects in linguistic and cultural processes. The representations of women and men in these cultural products can reflect the boundaries between the individual and the collective or between the personal and the political. In this sense,

[657] Eisenstein, " Writing Bodies," 43.

the future studies could be important to have a full understanding of the imagi-nation of gendered nationalism.

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