Feminism, philanthropy and patriotism : female associational life in the Ottoman empire

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INTRODUCTION

Female Associational Life, Identity and Nationalist Discourse

Framing the Topic

On 23 July 1908, the Young Turk Revolution, as it is known, made an end to the absolutist regime of Abdülhamid II (1876 - 1909); the Sultan was forced to call for elections and to install a new Parliament to replace the one which he had sent home in 1878 – an act which was actually sanctioned in the 1876 Constitution.[1] The overthrow of the old regime of "despotism" and the subsequent, newly created "freedom" was widely celebrated. Among the people rejoicing in the streets were the women of Istanbul and Thessalonica, including Muslim women. "Women ran through the streets carrying red and white ribbons, flags, and shouting: Iachasin Vatan! Iachasin Hourriet! Iachasin Millet!"[2] as the *Revue du Monde Musulman* reported. They threw back their veils and showed their faces, as some observers noted.[3] Women had themselves photographed in the streets,

[1] According to the constitution, he could prorogue the Parliament in "an extraordinary condition of crisis." He had, however, to call for new elections in such a case. The latter he did not do and this is what the revolutionaries demanded from him: elections and the installation of a new, constitutional parliament. Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, London: Hurst & Company, 1998 [reprint with introduction by Feroz Ahmad of 1st edition, Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964], 248-250.

[2] *Yaşasın Vatan! Yaşasın Hürriyet! Yaşasın Millet!* (Long live the Fatherland! Long live Freedom! Long live the Nation!). "Les Aspirations des Femmes Musulmanes," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, VI, 10, Octobre 1908, 246-248, quotation 247.

[3] See e.g. "Das Jubelfest in Salonichi," *Neue Freie Presse,* 27. Juli 1908, 4; "Die Freudenkundgebungen in Konstantinopel," *Neue Freie Presse,* 28. Juli 1908, 4; Charles Roden Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution,* London: T.F. Unwin, 1909, 71-72; George Frederic Abbot, *Turkey in Transition*, London: Edwin Arnold, 1909, 24.

while celebrating.[4] The famous Turkish author, Halide Edib, described the scene in the streets of Istanbul in her memoirs as follows:

> There was a sea of men and women all cockaded in red and white, flowing like a vast human tide from one side to the other. The tradition of centuries seemed to have lost its effect. There was no such thing as sex or personal feeling. Men and women in a common wave of enthusiasm moved on (...).[5]

In Thessalonica two groups of women, one Muslim and the other Armenian, visited the houses of the "heroes of the revolution," Manyasizade Refik, Mustafa Asım and Enver, to give them flowers and to show their gratitude.[6] Two of the Muslim women, Gülistan İsmet and Emine Semiye, did not hesitate to climb the *ad hoc* platforms created in this city in the aftermath of the Revolution. From these platforms they addressed crowds of males and females.[7] In one speech, for example, the former addressed the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in name of the women of Thessalonica.[8] The latter, the daughter of Cevdet Pasha and younger sister of the author Fatma Aliye,[9] wrote articles in the local newspaper, *Yeni Asır* (New Century), appealing to the women of

[4] See for a photograph of women buying red and white cockardes: Jacques Benoist-Méchin, *Die Türkei 1908 – 1938 das Ende des Osmanischen Reiches: Eine historische Foto-Reportage*, Kehl am Rhein: Swan Verlag, 1980, 84.

[5] Halidé Edib, *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, New York & London: The Century Co., [1926], 258. Some members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) were so shocked by the view of Muslim women carrying banners through the streets of Thessalonica, that they felt obliged to reproach them publicly. Paul Dumont & François Georgeon, "La révolution commence à Salonique," in: Gilles Veinstein (ed.), *Salonique, 1850 - 1918: La "ville des Juifs" et le réveil des Balkans*, Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1993, 228-246, 237.

[6] "Muhadderat-ı islamiye," *Yeni Asır*, 29 July 1908, 2; "Hanımlarımızın nümayışı," *Yeni Asır*, 30 July 1908, 3; "Hanımlarımızın nümayışı," *Yeni Asır*, 31 July 1908, 2.

[7] See for a more general description of the excitement and celebrations in Thessalonica after the Young Turk Revolution: Aykut Kansu, *The Revolution of 1908 in Turkey*, Leiden, etc.: Brill, 1997, 99 and Dumont and Georgeon, "La révolution commence à Salonique."

[8] "Gülistan İsmet Hanımefendinin okudukları nutuktur," *Yeni Asır,* 31 July 1908, 2; Hester Donaldson Jenkins, *Behind Turkish Lattices. The Story of a Turkish Woman's Life*, London: Collins, 1911, 175. Mary Mills Patrick relates how a "prominent woman in Salonica openly assisted her husband in the political celebration," but does not give a name. She probably referred to Gülistan İsmet whose husband, Mustafa Asım, was one of the "heroes of the revolution" the women visited. Mary Mills Patrick, "The Emancipation of Mohammedan Women," *The National Geographic Magazine,* XX, 1909, 42-66, quotation 61.

[9] For information on her life and works see Şefika Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketinde bir Öncü Emine Semiye: Hayatı, Eserleri, Fikirleri,* İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008; Kadriye Kaymaz, *Gölgedeki Kalem Emine Semiye: Bir Osmanlı Kadın Yazarının Düşünce Dünyası*, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2009.

Thessalonica and gave several speeches during the days following the revolution for largely female audiences.[10]

Both women had been active members of the CUP. Gülistan İsmet Tevfik was the first "Turkish" girl to graduate from the High school of the American College for Girls at Constantinople in 1890. In 1897, she had married Mustafa Asım Bey, one of the members of the CUP, who, in due time became the head clerk for the *Meclis-i Mebusan* (Parliament) and Chief of Police in Istanbul.[11] Reportedly, she had, together with Manyasizade Refik, founded the CUP's women's branch in Thessalonica of which Emine Semiye became the vice-president.[12]

[10] Emine Semiye, "Selanikli Osmanlı hanımlarına," *Yeni Asır*, 27 July 1908, 3; "Hanımlarımızın nümayışı," *Yeni Asır*, 30 July 1908, 3; "Hanımlarımızın nümayışı," *Yeni Asır*, 31 July 1908, 2; "Gülistan İsmet Hanımefendinin okudukları nutuktur," *Yeni Asır*, 31 July 1908, 2; "Les dames Turques," *Journal de Salonique,* 30 Juillet 1908, 1; "La prémière conférence....," *Journal de Salonique,* 1 Août 1908, 1; Emine Semie Hanoum, "La liberté des femmes," *Journal de Salonique,* 1 Août 1908, 1; "Konferans," *Yeni Asır*, 3 August 1908, 2.

[11] Constantinople College, *The American College for Girls at Constantinople: Reports for the Year 1911 - 1912,* [n.p., n.p.: n.d.], 65. According to an article in the *Nevsal-i Millî* published in 1914 she was the daughter of a major of the Ottoman army, who was convinced that girls should have a good education. When his daughter was eight years old, he sent her to the American College for Girls in Üsküdar. She graduated from this school after having been a boarder for ten years. Although her father wanted to send her to America in order to become a doctor, his being exiled from Istanbul made it impossible to carry out this idea. After her marriage her husband encouraged her in literary work. She assisted him in his political work by, amongst other things, translating English texts into Turkish and *vice versa*. She seems to have been the author of statements of the CUP which were secretly sent to prominent European and American newspapers after the Reval meeting. M.Kh. "Gülistan İsmet hanımefendi," *Nevsal-ı Milli*, 1330, 420; Jenkins, *Behind Turkish Lattices*, 142-143.

[12] "Les dames Turques," *Journal de Salonique,* 30 Juillet 1908, 1. Other active members of the women's branch of the revolutionary committee (*comité révolutionnaire de femmes*) according to the *Revue du Monde Musulman* were the wife of Manyasizade Refik and his mother-in-law. The latter had been carrying documents of the Committee to Istanbul and other cities secretly for more than twenty years. "Autour du monde musulman; Empire Ottoman; Les aspirations des femmes musulmanes," *Revue du Monde musulman*, VI, 10, Octobre 1908, 246-248.

According to Demetra Brown, a woman named Refeka (Refika), the daughter of an Ottoman Pasha who was "dreaming of the regeneration of his country" was one of the first women to be initiated in the party of the Young Turks. Instead of getting married, she decided to get a good education and devote herself to the uplifting of the women in the Ottoman Empire. Her house in Üsküdar was a center for the meetings of high-level statesmen. She was approached by the Young Turks to prepare women to carry propaganda. In the interview with Brown she told that she even was able to involve a sister of sultan Abdülhamid in the revolutionary activities and through her other women in the imperial harem. However, since the books of Demetra Kenneth Brown, also known as Demetra Vaka, seem to consist of a highly unreliable mixture of reality and phantasy, it

In their speeches, in which they addressed their "compatriots" (*vatandaşlar)*[13] the two women touched upon several topics. They appealed to their audiences to reach out to the true "heroes of the revolution," by supporting the poor soldiers and their families. They also called upon women to work on the advancement of womanhood through education. The latter, they believed, was a precondition for the advancement of the "fatherland" and/or the "nation." In their speeches, therefore, these women framed the three fields of activities, feminism, philanthropy and patriotism, which became pivotal to female associational life in the decade following the Young Turk Revolution.

In the following chapters the activities of Ottoman Muslim women between July 1908, when the Young Turk Revolution took place, and 1918, the end of the First World War, are explored with a special interest for their associational life. The political, military and economic struggles, both internally and externally, in which the Ottoman Empire was almost continuously involved during more than a decade following the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908 offered women living within the Empire, Ottoman and non-Ottoman, Muslim and non-Muslim, ample opportunity to become actively involved in an associational life which was widely diverse.

In an article on voluntary associations, the sociologists Smith and Shen, stress that the impact of associations on society are often overlooked.[14] Two historians, Quataert and Watt,[15] working on late nineteenth century Germany and early twentieth century India, respectively, seem to agree with Smith and Shen; they reproach their fellow historians for turning a blind eye on the impact of associational life on some of the major historical processes in their respective countries of research. Scholars on late Ottoman history, too, seem to have ignored the impact of associational life on the developments taking place in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. This work aims at filling this gap.

is unclear to which extent this story is true. In none of the other sources the name Refika was mentioned. Demetra Kenneth Brown, "Women in the Young Turks Movement," *Atlantic Monthly,* May 1909, 606-701 (I am indebted to Ayşegül Baykan for sharing this article with me).

[13] In the French *Journal de Salonique* duly translated as *citoyennes*.

[14] David Horton Smith & Ce Shen, "The Roots of Civil Society: A Model of Voluntary Association Prevalence Applied to Data on Larger Contemporary Nations," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, XXXXIII, 2, 2002, 93-133.

[15] Jean H. Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813 - 1916*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 200; Carey Anthony Watt, *Serving the Nation: Cultures of Service, Association, and Citizenship in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.

The chapters in this book all evolve around the topic of the involvement of Ottoman (Muslim) women, both as object and as subject, in the regeneration of nationalism through their activities as individuals and, even more so, in female associational life. The activities and the associational life of Ottoman Muslim women are analyzed in the wider context of historical processes taking place in the Ottoman Empire during the Second Constitutional Period such as community and/or nation building and the creation of state identity/identities to show how these processes were gendered.

The reasons for limiting this work to mostly Ottoman Muslim women are twofold. The first reason is the actual state of scholarship on female Ottoman associational life. This work builds upon the work of other scholars who have, in majority, published on Ottoman Muslim women and who are discussed below. The number of scholarly publications on non-Muslim Ottoman women of the late Ottoman Empire have so far remained limited. This could have been a reason to investigate exactly the associational life of non-Muslim Ottoman women, if not for the other reason: my inability to read Armenian, Greek or Jewish sources. Moreover, the materials in Ottoman Turkish readily available for researchers in Turkey were so abundant and fascinating and yet largely unexplored that it is justifiable to build further upon the work of earlier scholars on late Ottoman Muslim women and to leave the associational life of non-Muslim Ottoman women to a later date and/or other researchers.[16]

Theoretical Framework

Smith and Shen, in the above-mentioned article in which they give an overview of (sociological) literature on voluntary associations, define an association as

> a formally organized named group, most of whose members – whether persons or organizations – are not financially recompensed for their participation.[17]

[16] As I argued elsewhere, including the activities of non-Ottoman and non-Muslim women living in the Ottoman Empire is a pre-requisite for a true understanding of Ottoman female life. Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the Past, Sources for the Future," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations,* XI, 3, 2000, 369-383.

[17] David Knoke, "Associations and Interest Groups," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 12, 1986, 1-12, page 2 quoted in Smith & Shen, "The Roots of Civil Society" 95.

In a reference work on nonprofit terms and concepts of which Smith is one of the authors, voluntary associations are defined somewhat more specifically as

> a relatively formally structured nonprofit group that depends mainly on volunteer members for participation and activity and that primarily seeks member benefits, even if it may also seek some public benefits.[18]

Voluntary associations, Smith and Shen specify moreover, often have "the associational form of organization." An organization is, according to them "a formal group, (…) with clear membership boundaries, a clear leadership structure, and a relatively unique proper name."[19] A group, in turn, is defined as

> a set of two or more individuals sharing one or more goals with associated normative strength, having a sense of common identity as distinct from other groups and the population at large, and having a relatively dense intercommunicational structure based on various rules and roles.[20]

As mentioned Smith and Shen stress that the impact of associations on society are often overlooked. Their research is, however, largely limited to associations in the 1970s and 1990s in the United States and Great Britain. Watt, who worked on associational life in early twentieth century India, and Quataert, a scholar working on late nineteenth century Germany, agree with Smith and Shen that the study of associational life contributes to a better understanding of some of the major historical processes in their respective countries of research.

In his book on associational life in India at the beginning of the twentieth century, Watt stresses the importance of associational life for the formation of communities. He is critical of those historians who ignored the role of social service and voluntary activities on the one hand, and the notions of active, devoted citizenship they imbued, on the other hand, in the process of nation building.[21] The importance of some form of associational life in the development of "communities," through the creation of horizontal and vertical ties between hitherto unrelated or even non-existing groups is stressed by several authors. The new social groups which were brought into public life through the

[18] David Horton Smith, et al., *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms & Concepts,* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006, 23.

[19] Smith & Shen, "The Roots of Civil Society," 102. Smith, et al., *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms & Concepts,* 164.

[20] Smith, et al., *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms & Concepts,* 104. See also Smith & Shen, "The Roots of Civil Society," 103.

[21] Watt, *Serving the Nation*, 7.

developing associational networks and individuals belonging to more or less the same social stratum who hitherto had had little to no contact were now convening on a regular base to undertake a variety of activities.[22] At the same time persons belonging to various social strata were linked to each other through the organizational activities, especially in the philanthropic and charitable organizations.

The territorial scope of the associational networks and their voluntary activities varied: Smith and Shen distinguish between local or "grassroots" associations, national associations and, of less relevance here, international associations (International Non-Governmental Organizations or INGO's).[23] The communities formed accordingly varied in scope: from the smaller lived or experienced communities of the local neighbourhood or small town referred to, for example, by Winter in his book on capital cities during the First World War[24] to the larger imagined community of a (nascent) nation(-state) as referred to by Anderson.[25] Lewis, moreover, found that in the British case, the geographical scope of associational work is also gender related: while women largely limited their work to local, grassroots associations, national organizations seem to have been the prerogative of men.[26]

The communities created through the associational networks were on the one hand inclusionary through the establishment of the abovementioned horizontal and vertical bonds. On the other hand, they could have an exclusionary character. The creation of communities, thus, may have as a flipside that "others" may be excluded: associations may be very specific as to who may participate in or benefit from their activities and who may not. As Lindenmeyr points out in her work on charity in the multi-ethnic Russian Empire, civic philanthropic organizations could create "new types of

[22] Watt, *Serving the Nation*, 202-203. See also Smith and Shen who argue that the presence of an associational life creates opportunities for groups otherwise excluded from society. They write that voluntary associations "offer [societal] Outsiders (broadly conceived) one of the best *persisting*, long term ways to make participatory democracy and a civil society *more* real for them." Smith & Shen, "The Roots of Civil Society," 94.

[23] Smith & Shen, "The Roots of Civil Society," 95.

[24] Jay Winter, "Paris, London, Berlin 1914 - 1919: Capital Cities at War," in: Jay Winter & Jean-Louis Robert (eds), *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914 - 1919*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, etc. 1999, 3-24, 4-5.

[25] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism,* London: Verso, 1991 (revised ed. of original 1983).

[26] Jane Lewis, "Gender, the Family and Women's Agency in the Building of 'Welfare States': the British Case," *Social History*, XIX, 1, 1994, 38-55.

communities and new forms of social cooperation that cut across lines of gender, estate, ethnicity, religion, or status," while at the same time they could just as well lead to "parochialism among segments of the population."[27]

Moreover, while philanthropic and charitable associations created communities of individuals and groups of various social strata, they also constructed hierarchies within these communities by accentuating the socio-economic differences between the beneficent patrons and their beneficiaries, between the haves and have-nots. Also at a larger scale difference could be created in societies with a vibrant associational life. Thus, in Imperial Russia, as Lindenmeyr remarks, economic and social inequality was accentuated and solidified, because, "[b]etter-off communities and more modernized areas could mobilize financial and organizational resources to meet the needs of their poor far better than impoverished and backward regions and communities."[28]

Not unlike Watt, Quataert reproaches "historians of national identity and state formation in nineteenth-century 'Germany'" for having neglected the importance of "philanthropic rituals and practices" in this context.[29] In her book on the philanthropic work of the female elite in Dynastic Germany, she shows how patriotic (women's) associations had "a significant impact on state-building and struggles over identity-formation" in the nineteenth century.[30] Stressing the importance of the often ritual character of, specifically, dynastic philanthropic practices, Quataert points out, that:

> [t]he ritual process was not imposed solely "from above" but mediated "in between" in the specific institutional and associational milieu of each locality. (…) The dynastic world of voluntary philanthropy was instrumental in the continued evolution of a patriotic civil elite.[31]

Where this "civil elite" was in majority formed by persons who, in the eye of the public, represented the state because they were, for example, civil servants, their activities were experienced to be state activities. As such, as Quataert writes, these activities "constitute[d] an understanding of the state itself" and shaped "[n]otions of the state (…) for example, as 'caring'."[32] The associational networks

[27] Adele Lindenmeyr, *Poverty is Not a Vice: Charity, Society, and the State in Imperial Russia*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996, 224-226.

[28] Lindenmeyr, *Poverty is Not a Vice*, 226.

[29] Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy*, 4.

[30] Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy*, 10.

[31] Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy*, 5-6.

[32] Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy*, 7.

thus engendered patronage systems through which not only the "definitions of community membership," but also "state identities" were produced.[33]

Through these state identities, the state and its representatives could legitimize their existence and their actions. These identities were highly gendered and women played an important role in their formation through their philanthropic activities. Quataert, for example, convincingly argues how in dynastic Germany, the "caring" state was symbolized by a wide network of philanthropic associations with at its pinnacle the figure of the *Landesmutter* (translated by her as 'Mother of the People'), the leading female of the ruling dynasty whose involvement in philanthropy was widely publicized.[34] The male heads of state, however, represented the "military" state. The "military" and "caring" state, however, were closely intertwined. In fact, secular philanthropy was in many cases directly or indirectly triggered by military activities: civilians organized to support the soldiers and their families during and after their active service at times of war.[35] In an era in which the identity of the state was closely interconnected with the military apparatus universal conscription formed the basis of male citizenship.

Broadly taken citizenship can be defined as an individual's relationship to the state as defined in universal terms. This relationship can take a wide range of forms: from being nominal and rather passive, meaning that one is simply living in a state, to participatory and active, entailing rights and duties upon which is acted. As Watt points out, late nineteenth-century understanding of citizenship was rather conservative: it "emphasized duties, obligations and discipline rather than the rights and entitlements that are expected or demanded today."[36]

[33] Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy*, 4.

[34] Koven and Michel suggest that the degree of involvement of women in the welfare sphere through voluntary organizations is an indication for the "strength" of the state. A strong state, with "well-developed domestic-welfare bureaucracies and long traditions of government intervention" would leave little space for the development of private programs of women in this field. However, this view obscures the fact that a state can leave certain activities to female voluntary associations on a local level on purpose to create the alternative state identities Quataert points at. Seth Koven & Sonya Michel, "Introduction: 'Mother Worlds'" in: Seth Koven & Sonya Michel (eds), *Mothers of a New World; Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, London & New York: Routledge, 1993, 1-42. See also, Nadir Özbek, "Philantropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876 - 1909," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, XXXVII, 2005, 59-81.

[35] See e.g. Karen Hagemann, "Female Patriots: Women, War and the Nation in the Period of the Prussian-German Anti-Napoleonic Wars," *Gender & History,* XVI, 2 2004, 397-424.

[36] Watt, *Serving the Nation*, 15 (quotation); 50.

Defending the fatherland and, when required, die for it was the ultimate duty for a state's citizen. Since, in most cases, states only called upon their male citizens to fulfil this duty, the citizenship of women (and children) was in most cases a derivative: it was an indirect relation through their male relatives, husband or father. Men were "first order" citizens, while women (and children) were "second order" citizens having "civil inferiority."[37] The philanthropic and charitable activities within associational networks, however, offered those who were not drafted, notably women, youngsters and those exempted from active service, an alternative and tangible form of active citizenship and civil identity.

Although citizenship, in this understanding, is primarily referring to the duties of citizens towards the state, these citizens may not always identify primarily with that state. In a state where ethnic or national communities have, for example, partial autonomy and where the identity of the members of those communities does not convene with the hegemonic national identity prioritized by the state, citizens may have multiple and/or different loyalties. So Dawn, for example, notes in his article on the origins of Arab nationalism how an inhabitant of Syria while it was still an Ottoman province could perfectly validly define himself as an Arab, a Muslim and an Ottoman at the same time.[38] Within this context Yuval-Davis, referring to the communal definition of citizenship of the British sociologist T.H. Marshall,[39] uses the term "multi-tier citizenship."[40]

The concept of multi-tier citizenship is useful in the case of the Ottoman Empire which was not a nation-state, but a state with several ethno-religious communities, which carried official status within the so-called *millet*-system. These communities were not only partially autonomous such as, for example, in the field of family law, but also had their own educational systems.[41] Lacking a

[37] Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front,* Oxford & New York: Berg, 2000, 2.

[38] C. Ernest Dawn, "The Origins of Arab Nationalism" in: Rashid Khalidi, et.al. (eds), *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, New York, Oxford: Columbia University Press, 1991, 3-30, 8.

[39] Marshall defines citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed." T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class and Other Essays*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950, 14 as cited in: Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, London, etc.: Sage Publications, 1997, 69.

[40] Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*, 69-70.

[41] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London: Oxford University Press, 1968 [second edition. First edition London: Oxford University Press, 1961], 354-357; See for the reforms related to the non-Muslim people in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century

hegemonic national identity to unite all those living within the borders of the Empire, Ottoman statesmen tried to establish one during the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Three different "options of identity"[42] were developed which (co-)existed from the period of reforms known as *Tanzimat,* through the reign of Abdülhamid II, until the end of the First World War: Ottomanism, (pan-)Islamism and (pan-)Turkism.[43]

Ottomanism became the official policy of the Ottoman government in order to prevent the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire by installing a feeling of loyalty in all the inhabitants of the Empire regardless of creed, language spoken or other characteristics. Partly it was enforced upon the Empire by the European powers with the *Tanzimat* reforms. It foresaw a nation-state after the French example, meaning a nation-state which united all people within the borders of the empire regardless of the language they spoke or the religion they had. The mere factor of unification according to Ottomanism was that as Ottomans, people were living within the same borders, were sharing the same territorial unit, were all subjects of the Ottoman Sultan and that they, to a certain extent, shared the same history, that of the Ottoman Empire. Ottomanism remained the official ideology of the Ottoman Empire at least until the Balkan Wars of 1912 - 1913.

While the Ottoman government pursued an official policy of Ottomanism, a group of intellectuals and bureaucrats, including Muslims in the Arab provinces, were referring to Islam as the crucial element of binding identity. This Islamism was on the one hand exclusive in the sense that it did not leave any room for ruling and independence of non-Muslims in the Empire. Reformulating Islam as "the central connecting ideology of the state" Abdülhamid II created, according to Barkey, an Islam which "was part of an absolutist vision of state control engaged in forming one united identity to the detriment of others."[44] Under the reign of Abdülhamid II, Islamism also turned out to be inclusive in the sense that he tried to get a (moral) hold not only over the Muslims within his own

Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856 - 1876*, New York: Gordian Press, 1973, 114-135.

[42] Karen Barkey, "On the Read Out of Empire: Ottomans Struggle from Empire to Nation-State," in: idem, *Empire of Difference: the Ottomans in Comparative Perspective,* Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 264-296, 290.

[43] The following is mainly based on Barkey and Zürcher. Barkey, "On the Read Out of Empire," 264-296; Erik J. Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists: Identity Politics 1908-38," in: idem, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, London, etc.: I.B. Tauris, 2010, 213-235.

[44] Barkey, "On the Read Out of Empire," 290 and 291.

Empire, but over all the Muslims in the world, including those in the colonies of other European states, like the Netherlands and Great-Britain. The latter form, which promoted the role of the Ottoman Sultan as the caliph, representing the whole Muslim community, the *umma*, was called pan-Islamism.[45]

A third alternative option of identity was Turkism. Language was the decisive element according to many of the people in favor of this view. According to them, being Turkish meant speaking Turkish. Others stressed the (imaginary) racial factor, while still others referred to the history of the Ottomans and the Turks or the common Central Asian background. Religion, Islam, but only in combination with one of the other factors was also seen as a unifying factor for the Turks. Turkism had its inclusionist form, pan-Turkism, which aimed at uniting the people defined as Turks in one large nation-state. The head of this nation-state should be the Ottoman Sultan, who in the new historiography of the nineteenth century once again became the successor not only of the Islamic rulers of the early Islamic period, but also of the pre-Islamic Turks of Central-Asia.[46] For (pan-)Turkists, moreover, Ottomanism had a different, more exclusionary meaning: they regarded the Ottomans to be Turkish and within the Turkish / Turkic peoples of the world, as the most civilized.[47] The Turkism of the Young Turks, however, was not irredentist, but focused on Anatolia as the heartland of a Turkish state and its (Turkish speaking, Muslim) inhabitants as pure Turks uncorrupted by Arabs and Byzantines as the Ottomans were.

Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism thus can be regarded as options of identity which were created by Ottoman statesmen to serve as possible strategies to establish a sense of community amongst those living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. These identities not only served to create a sense of community, but also to construct new legitimacies[48]: the Sultan was depicted as

[45] Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 218-220; 253-269; Jacob Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islamism: ideology and organization,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, 1-72; Caroline Finkel, "The Islamic Empire" in: idem, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300 - 1923*, London: John Murray, 2005, 488-525, 492-499.

[46] Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 313-320; David Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1867 - 1908,* London: Frank Cass, 1977; Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 331-332; 345-349.

[47] Masami Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*, Leiden, etc. : Brill, 1992. See also Kansu who points out this different meaning of Ottomanism for the CUP. Aykut Kansu, *Politics in Post-Revolutionary Turkey, 1908 - 1913,* Leiden, etc.: Brill, 1999.

[48] See for a discussion of descriptive and normative definitions of legitimacy Fabienne Peter, "Political Legitimacy," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2010 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), 2010. http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2010/entries/legitimacy/

the head of the House of Osman, and as such the ruler of the political entity known as the Ottoman Empire, as the Caliph, and thus head of the Muslim community, or as the descendent from the Turkish conqueror Osman or earlier Turkish rulers, and hence the leader of the Turks, respectively.

Identity and legitimacy become particularly important when a state appeals to its citizens in times of war and struggle and asks for major sacrifices. As Tilly remarks:

> With a nation in arms, a state's extractive power rose enormously, as did the claims of citizens on their state. Although a call to defend the fatherland stimulated extraordinary support for the efforts of war, reliance on mass conscription, confiscatory taxation, and conversion of production to the ends of a war made any state vulnerable to popular resistance, and answerable to popular demands, as never before.[49]

To get a positive response to such an appeal and to prevent large-scale popular resistance, those citizens need to be able to identify with the state and to have a sense of belonging to the community which is at war. In nation-states with a hegemonic national identity this proves to be relatively easy: in these cases, states Horne, both the state and the associational life of civil society "[rally] behind the national cause (…) [and galvanize] pre-existing sentiments of national community." Thus, popular support is obtained not through coercion from the state-apparatus, but through persuasion, and, more importantly, self-persuasion.[50]

For non-nation-states, however, this is different. As Healy points out in her work on daily life in Vienna during the First World War, "[s]tate and nation allow (or demand) different levels of commitment from individuals; one may be loyal to a state, but one does not 'belong to' a state in the same way that one belongs to a nation."[51] Thus, while the different nations which constituted the Habsburg Empire would appeal to its respective citizens in various contexts, during the First World War, which was state-based and not nation-based, people were mobilized not on behalf of a nation, but on behalf of the multi-national state. This was complicated because, as she writes, "Austria lacked a coherent

[49] Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990 - 1992,* Cambridge, MA & Oxford UK: Blackwell, 1992 [revised paperback edition of original, 1990], 83.

[50] John Horne, "Introduction: Mobilizing for 'Total War'," 1914 - 1918," in: John Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War,* Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 1-17, quotation 2.

[51] Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I,* Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 165.

Staatsidee – a unifying idea of state – that would emotionally bind disparate peoples to the multi-national, dynastic polity."[52]

Although the situation in the Ottoman Empire was different, the various options of identity explored over a period of more than 50 years, show that its authorities and its ideologists equally struggled with the establishment of a coherent *Staatsidee*, or a corporate political identity.[53]

For the Unionists, the members of the CUP, however, saving the State was the primary concern during the Second Constitutional Period, the period between the Young Turk Revolution of 23 July 1908 and the Armistice of 31 October 1918, and beyond. Since they felt they could only rely on the Ottoman Muslim population, and, over the years increasingly more specifically the Turkish part of that population, the political identity they put forward consisted of an intricate mix of Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism.[54] As Zürcher points out, however, the Unionists, who were in power during the Second Constitutional Period, showed a considerable pragmatism in the policies they followed in the face of political and economic, internal and external confrontations: these were, to say the least, not always consistent with the political identity put forward. He, therefore, argues that, in order to understand the developments of that period, we have to take the *actions* of the men in charge (the Unionist activists turned politicians and bureaucrats) into account rather than the official *ideology/ideologies* of the Unionist publicists.[55]

The actions of the Unionist authorities did not take place in a social vacuum, however. Zürcher refers to two developments during the Second Constitutional Period in which the actions of the Unionists revealed their "national" tendencies: the efforts to establish a *Milli İktisat* (National Economy) from 1914 onwards

[52] Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 14.

[53] This is also clear from the texts used in the direct aftermath of the Young Turk Revolution and in, for example, the texts of Emine Semiye in those days. The above-mentioned exclamations, *Yaşasın Vatan! Yaşasın Hürriyet! Yaşasın Millet!,* in the French local newspaper, *Journal de Salonique*, translated as *Vive la Patrie! Vive la Liberté! Vive la Nation!,* form an example of this struggle: *vatan* and *millet* are both used as distinctive terms. Emine Semiye used yet other terms: she referred to the ethno-religious community using the word *millet* with an additional qualification such as, for example, *Ermeni,* and to the community of Ottoman citizens using the expression *Osmanlı kavm.*

[54] Barkey, "On the Read Out of Empire," 264-296; Erik J. Zürcher, "The Young Turk Mindset," and "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists: Identity Politics 1908-38," in: idem, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, London, etc.: I.B. Tauris, 2010, 110-123 and 213-235, resp.

[55] Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists."

and the large-scale persecution of the Armenian population which started in early 1915. These "actions" would never have had the impact they had, however, without successful appeals to and the active participation of large parts of the public. The appeals made during such political and economic, internal and external confrontations could only be successful if they were experienced as legitimate. Therefore, they had to be made on behalf of a community the public was able to identify with and by authorities experienced to be the legitimate representatives of that community by that public. Nationalism, or rather, nationalist discourse as Özkırımlı calls it, provided the tools through which this legitimacy could be created.

In his *Theories of Nationalism* Umut Özkırımlı gives "a systematic overview of some of the key theoretical approaches to nationalism" and "the main criticisms raised against them."[56] After having done so, he outlines

> a theoretical framework that can be used to study particular nationalisms (…) that would identify the common rhetoric of the nationalist imaginary, without however overlooking the distinctive and unique features of each nationalism.[57]

He prefers to take nationalism as a starting point, rather than the nation, because, as he writes, "it is nationalism that defines nations." Defining nationalism as "a particular form of discourse," that is, "a way of seeing that is at once socially constituted and institutional, hence 'real' in its consequences," he states that within this discourse three interrelated claims are being made: identity claims, temporal claims and spatial claims.[58]

The identity claims in a nationalist discourse serve to create a community by dividing the world into those belonging to "us" and those belonging to "them;" a community recognized by its members as such even though its members do not know each other personally, as Anderson remarks. Through identity claims nationalist discourses define criteria which seem to be objectively observable common cultural characteristics, such as speaking the same language, sharing the same belief, or others. The fact that these features are cultural ones reveals that there is no such thing as an inert, natural national identity.[59] The identity

[56] Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction,* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010 [extended and updated ed. of original 2000], 5.

[57] Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 205.

[58] Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 208-209, quotation 208.

[59] Although some may argue "race" is. Eriksen points out, however, that race in practice turns out to be a cultural construct too, since not only interbreeding of people has blurred the so-called fixed boundaries which makes a distinction based on physical treats impossible and

claims in a nationalist discourse, therefore, rather entail a process of deciding whether a cultural characteristic is socially relevant or not. A national identity, thus, is a socially constructed identity. It varies with the goals set and the legitimacy needed. And thus, as Calhoun points out, "nations are discursively constituted subjects"[60] as we have also seen in the three options of identity developed in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, also an individual can, depending on the context, attach more importance to different characteristics.

As Kafadar says: "one is not necessarily born into a people; one may also become of a people, within a socially constructed dialectic of inclusions and exclusions."[61] Who belongs to "us" today, may not belong to "us" tomorrow. Whether individuals belong to the community or not is based on a choice made by that group and/or those individuals. The choice is legitimized by referring to so-called objective characteristics, which in reality are subjective in the sense that the community (and the individuals) will only choose those characteristics that justify their inclusion or exclusion of certain people. That the choices of the community and the individuals do not always converge may be clear. Somebody who feels he or she belongs to a certain community may not be accepted by that community as a member, while vice versa somebody may not want to be a member of a community, but is regarded as one and is made to fulfil his duties towards the community. People may be forced to follow alliances, which they do not ascribe themselves to.[62] Kechriotis shows very accurately how, for example, such alliances were taken for granted regarding Greeks in Izmir both contemporaneously and in hind-sight by Greek and Turkish historians in disregard of the differences existing within the Greek population of this port city: while some of the Ottoman Greeks felt they were first and foremost Ottomans and regarded the Greeks of Greece as "others," other Ottoman Greeks

meaningless, but also because the differences within one racial group are often larger than those between two members of two racial groups. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity & Nationalism; Anthropological Perspectives*, London & Boulder, Colorado: Pluto Press, 1993, 4-6.

[60] Craig Calhoun, "Nationalism and the Public Sphere," in: Jeff Weintraub & Krishan Kumar (eds), *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, 75-102, quotation 91.

[61] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds; The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkely: University of California Press, 1995, 27.

[62] Fiona Wilson & Bodil Folke Frederiksen, "Introduction: Ethnicity, Gender and the Subversion of Nationalism" in: Fiona Wilson & Bodil Folke Frederiksen (eds), *Ethnicity, Gender and the Subversion of Nationalism*, London: Frank Cass, 1995, 1-6, 1.

regarding themselves part and parcel of the Hellenic civilization opted for loyalty to the Greeks of Greece.[63]

Identity claims are often grounded in temporal and spatial claims. Temporal claims in nationalist discourses in most cases serve to legitimize the actual choices made by nationalist elites by attaching a sense of authenticity and historicity to them. By referring to, for example, a golden age[64] in which "our" forefathers and –mothers made similar choices, the "present us" and the "ancient us" are reconciled. As Özkırımlı points out the education of the community on the (idealized) history is an important vehicle for these temporal claims. Temporal claims do not only refer to an (idealized) past, though. Another source of reference is formed by the rural hinterland of modernized cities where the supposedly uncorrupted others of us are living. Through this internal or self-orientalism[65] traditions are "rediscovered" with which an ancient,

[63] Vangelis Constantinos Kechriotis, "The Greeks of Imzir at the End of the Empire: a Non-Muslim Ottoman Community between Autonomy and Patriotism," [Unpublished PhD-Thesis, Leiden: Leiden University, 2005].

[64] This reference to a "golden age" long lost is a common phenomenon in the context of struggles for a cultural identity versus a culture which is regarded as foreign and intruding. In the discussions on women's emancipation in Egypt, for example, nationalist intellectuals were eager to refer to the pre-Islamic Pharaonic Egypt, when women had been queen, while more Islam-oriented intellectuals would refer to pristine Islam. On the congress of the International woman Suffrage Alliance in Rome in 1923, for example, Huda Sharaawi, the president of the Egyptian Feminist Union, told the public that Egyptian women were reclaiming the rights they had lost. The claims she made were based both on the Pharaonic past and the period of the early Islam. In India, on the one hand intellectuals of both Muslim and Hindu background expressed pride with famous women in the history of India, while on the other hand Hindus and Muslims also pointed out that some of the position of women had deteriorated compared to that of women in early Islam and early Hinduism. In the late Ottoman Empire we also see references to different pasts: on the one hand to the golden age of Islam, on the other hand to old Turkic peoples, where the wife of the Khan was supposed to have held an important position and women, moreover, played an important role in shamanism. Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, 91-92; 155; Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, London & New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1994[5] (1986), 78-86.

[65] The way this term is used here differs from the meaning given to it by some scholars writing on China. They use this term in the context of the existing dominant culture of the Han and other, minority cultures in China. Schein, for example, defines internal orientalism as "a set of practices that occur within China, and that, refers to the fascination of more cosmopolitan Chinese with 'exotic' minority cultures in an array of polychromatic and titillating forms." Louisa Schein, "Gender and Internal Orientalism in China," *Modern China,* XXIII, 1, 1997, 69-98, quotation 70. See also Grace Yan & Carla Almeida Santos, "'China, Forever': Tourism Discourse and Self-Orientalism," *Annals of Tourism Research*, XXXVI, 2, 2009, 295-315.

historical, and supposedly unchanged identity is constituted. Temporal claims aid nationalist elites to solve a dilemma they may be wrestling with: whether they should follow the "Indigenous Way of Life," or "The Spirit of the Age" as Geertz calls the choices they have. Should they opt for the first and become essentialist or for the second and become epochalist?[66] By claiming that new and even alien elements are in fact old and authentic no choices have to be made, since new and alien and old and authentic conveniently converge: taking up the norms of the modern, but alien community is nothing more than a return to the uncorrupted past of the own community.[67]

Spatial claims, or territoriality, form another important characteristic of nationalist discourses according to Özkırımlı. Nationalist elites not only claim an identity and a history for their communities, but also a homeland. A nation's geography is, like its history and its identity, not a given, but something continually contested. Interrelated with the identity and temporal claims, the acclaimed geography also alters as we have seen in the abovementioned three options of identity in the late Ottoman Empire: for those claiming a Turkish/Turkic identity and referring to the golden age of the Turkic tribes, the claimed geographical space reached as far as the steppes of Central Asia.[68]

As mentioned above, however, nationalism, and thus the claims referred to, are not only produced by the state and its representatives; nor by its ideologists/publicists. It is just as much (re)generated through everyday, social practices and discourses at all levels of society, where it becomes an unquestioned and unquestionable reality as, for example, Suny experienced.[69] While women may seem to have less involvement with the (re)production of nationalism at state level and in political discourses, their involvement both as object and as subject in the regeneration of nationalism in these everyday, social

[66] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York: Basic Books, 1973, 240-249.

[67] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation," *Millenium: Journal of International Studies*, XX, 3, 1991, 429-443, 433.

[68] See also Sezgi Durgun, *Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2011 in which the "concept of the fatherland in the discourse of Kemalist nationalism is analyzed" in the explicit context of spatial claims. (quotation 15)

[69] See e.g. Suny who relates how he as an American, Armenian scholar of Armenian history was confronted with the difference between identity as a category of intellectual analysis and one of practice and was not allowed to question Armenian national identity during a visit to Armenia. Ronald Grigor Suny, "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," *The Journal of Modern History*, LXXIII, 4, 2001, 862-296.

practices and discourses should and cannot be ignored as several feminist scholars writing on nation and nationalism have convincingly argued.

Amongst the feminist scholars who criticized,[70] from the second half of the 1980s onwards, the mainstream theorizations on nationalism and increasingly started to question the gender-blindness of these theories are Anthias and Yuval-Davis. Anthias and Yuval-Davis listed five ways in which women are involved in the production and reproduction of the nation and, thus, nationalism. Three of the five ways have to do with the reproductive role of women: they are the reproducers of the community[71] in the biological sense, that is they give birth to the new members of the community; through their choice of a sexual or marital partner they can reproduce or trespass the boundaries of the community; they also reproduce that community in the cultural and ideological sense by educating its members. They may furthermore serve as signifiers of national differences, becoming a symbol for the national/ethnic community in ideological discourses. Finally, women may be participants in economic, military and, as Scott remarked, political struggles of the (national) community.[72]

The number of children brought forth and raised in a healthy way by the women of the (national or ethnic) community is of importance for that community.[73] This was one side of, what Vickers calls, "the battle of the cradle."[74] The other side of this battle was, however, whether the children of these mothers - who were recognized as members of the community - would also be members of that community. At this point the second way of women's

[70] Probably the first to do this was Kumari Jayawardena, whose first version of *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* was published in 1982 by the Institute of Social Studies in the Netherlands. When the revised version of this book was published by Zed Press in 1986, it was still one of the first. Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*.

[71] Anthias and Yuval-Davis discuss the ways women are involved in nations. Nations being defined by Anderson as "imagined communities" this text refers to "communities," especially since many of the mechanisms discussed by Anthias and Yuval-Davis are also relevant for communities other than nations.

[72] Floya Anthias & Nira Yuval-Davis, "Introduction," in: Nira Yuval-Davis & Floya Anthias (eds), *Woman - Nation - State*, New York: Macmillan, 1-15, 7; Joan Wallach Scott, "The Problem of Invisibility," in: S. Jay Kleinberg (ed.), *Retrieving Women's History: Changing Perceptions of the Role of Women in Politics and Society,* Oxford: Berg/Unesco, 1988, 5-29. See also Yuval-Davis, *Gender & Nation*.

[73] See Nira Yuval-Davis, "Women and the Biological Reproduction of 'the Nation'," *Women's Studies International Forum*, XIX, 1/2, 1996, 17-24.

[74] Jill McCalla Vickers, "At His Mother's Knee: Sex/Gender and the Construction of National Identities," in: Greta Hofmann Nemiroff (ed.), *Women and Men: Interdisciplinary Readings on Gender*, Ontario: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, 1990, 478-492.

involvement in nationalism as listed by Anthias and Yuval-Davis comes in: women as establishers of the borders of the community.

Whether the children of a woman belong to the community of the mother depends on whether the community has a patrilineal or matrilineal system of descend. Few communities have a matrilineal system – one example formed by the Jewish case – and thus in most cases children born out of parents from different communal backgrounds will belong to the community of the father.[75] Patrilineality often does not only affect the children, but also the women themselves. When they marry with someone of another community – and virilocality is not necessarily a precondition for it –, they will often become, like their children, members of the community of their partner. In the context of (nation–)states their "nationality" and thus their citizenship is altered accordingly.

In most states the rule of patrilineality is confirmed in the laws related to the nationality of married women and their children. A woman marrying a man with another nationality loses her own nationality and gets his while their children will get his nationality, too. This point has been a thorn in the flesh of women's organizations for a very long time, especially for those struggling for equal civil rights between men and women. The subject, therefore, has been an ever returning point on the agenda of national women's organizations, international women's conferences, and the big supranational organizations as the League of Nations and the United Nations since the foundation of the commission for the "Laws concerning Domestic Relations" within the International Council of Women in 1899.[76]

Since thus in most cases women and their children are lost for the own community if they get a partner from another community, women's choice of sexual or marital partners is of relevance to the community. When a woman marries someone of another community, her own community loses its say over her reproductive power. In order to prevent these kinds of losses a community may put limits on the sexual contacts of women with members of another community. When during the tensions between Christians and Muslims in

[75] Although I confine myself here to restrictions on the level of national or ethnic communities, such measures can be taken within/between much smaller communities, too.

[76] Bob Reinalda & Natascha Verhaaren, *Vrouwenbeweging en Internationale Organisaties, 1868 - 1986: Een vergeten hoofdstuk uit de geschiedenis van de internationale betrekkingen.* De Knipe, Ariadne, 1989; Deborah Stienstra, *Women's Movements and International Organizations*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994, 55-61, 70-75.

Greater Syria in the early 1860s a Christian man was caught committing adultery with a Muslim prostitute in Beyrut, for example, the result were violent clashes between the Druze and Christians. The feelings ran so high that the Ottoman authorities had a hard time to quiet down the enraged crowds.[77] On the other hand, systematic rape of the women of another community can be used as a way to defile and subjugate that community. For the children born out of such an action would not belong to the community of its mother.[78]

Through laws the control of (ethno-religious) communities over the sexuality of their women may be sanctioned. Thus, according to all four schools of law within Sunni Islam a Christian committing adultery (*zina*) with a Muslim woman had to be killed, while the punishments for Muslim men were in general lighter (or none at all), depending on whether he was married or not and on the willingness of the woman involved.[79] In the same way Jewish men in seventeenth-century Amsterdam were not allowed to visit the Christian prostitutes of that city.[80]

The fact that family law, which is explicitly dealing with issues of marriage, divorce, custody and inheritance, is often the last part of jurisdiction left in the hands of religious communities when a state is furthermore secularizing its legal system should be interpreted in this context. The state explicitly does not want to interfere with the way in which the different communities are controlling their women and children which leaves almost no possibility for intermarrying.[81] So, for example, the jurisdiction related to family law is still left in the hands of the different religious communities in Lebanon today. In the same way Muslims in India are allowed to apply their own legal system in cases related to family law. In spite of this, in 1985 a Muslim woman who after being divorced was dissatisfied with the provisions granted to her according to Muslim law asserted her rights as a citizen of the secular state of India and applied to the secular Supreme Court to plea for maintenance. The Supreme Court indeed granted her the right to maintenance based on one of the provisions in the secular state law.

[77] For the events occurring in 1860 in Greater Syria, see Ussama Makdisi, "After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* XXXIV, 2002, 601-617.

[78] Wilson & Frederiksen, "Introduction," 3.

[79] Amira Sonbol, "Rape and Law in Ottoman and Modern Egypt" in: Madeline C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*. Leiden: Brill, 1997, 214-231, 215-218.

[80] Lotte van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams Hoerdom: Prostitutie in the Zeventiende en Achttiende Eeuw*, Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1996, 134-136.

[81] Vickers, "At His Mother's Knee," 488.

This verdict evoked a fierce reaction from parts of the Muslim community who felt the state had infringed on their rights to administer their community according to Muslim personal law. Although the Muslim woman won her case, she was in the end enforced by the Muslim community to denounce the rights given to her by the secular Supreme Court and to abide by the rules of her own community. Subsequently, the Shah Bano case as this controversy was called became a subject of study for scholars interested in the relationships between women (and gender), the state, and the (religious) community.[82]

Would this case have aroused such agitation if it had been a man applying to the secular Supreme Court defying the community laws? Probably not, because women not only define the borders of the community by giving birth to its children, but also as signifiers of ethnic and national identity. Gender can play an important role in the ways how one national or ethnic community is distinguished from another.[83]

In order to understand this process it is important to have a closer look at the concept of gender. If gender is defined, as it is by Joan Scott, as a process of exclusion and inclusion namely as a process of "articulation in specific contexts of social understandings of sexual differences" not surprisingly we find points where gender and the identity claims of (national or ethno-religious) communities are closely intertwined.[84] This is reflected on both the level of these communities as a whole as well as in the relationship between individuals and the community. People from a particular background being used to a specific form of gender relations, may have problems understanding the prevailing codes of gender conduct in an alien community. This may lead them to characterize that alien community as uncivilized or barbarian and in need of education. Varikas, for example, describes how from the independence of Greece until the end of the nineteenth century more than anything else the people of all social layers united around the ideas on the sexual conduct of women, the need for their subordination and seclusion. This was a reaction not against the former rulers, the Ottomans, but against the Western(ist) bourgeois, which had partly

[82] See e.g. several articles in: Zoya Hasan (ed.), *Forging Identities: Gender, Communities and the State*, New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1994.

[83] Wilson & Frederiksen, "Introduction," 3-4.

[84] Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1989, 55. See also Andrew Parker, et al., "Introduction," in: Andrew Parker, et al. (eds), *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, New York: Routledge, 1992, 1-18, 5.

returned from its diaspora in Europe and thus was seen as foreign, and their, equally foreign, Bavarian king.[85]

On the other hand, gender can be explicitly included in the codes of appearance and behavior which define whether an individual belongs to a community or is seen as someone from a different one. If an individual is not living up to the articulation of the gender differences as defined according to a specific (cultural) context, he or she may be excluded either from that context or not be regarded as a proper male or female.[86] So, for example, a Turkish woman living in the Netherlands wearing trousers, smoking cigarettes and going out at night may be reproached by her peers for behaving like *a man* or for behaving like *a Dutch woman*.[87] In this sense gender may be part of the process of defining the borders of a community. As Wilson and Frederiksen remark, women's behavior often seems to be of more relevance than that of men: women and their (moral) conduct become a touchstone for the community.[88]

In Mediterranean societies the concept of honor is central to what is defined as the right conduct of women. This conduct is particularly important in their contacts with men and often bears a sexual connotation. While women may be assertive, outspoken and proud in their contacts with other women, in their contacts with men they have to be modest and self-restrained.[89] According to Kandiyoti this is the woman's part in the patriarchal bargain in which independency is traded for protection. As long as a woman is modest, does not go out (for example, to earn a living) and remains dependent on her man (men), this man (these men) will have the obligation to take care of her.[90] Through these kinds of bargains the men of the community, of course, are able to control the sexual behavior of their women, which is of importance for the biological reproduction of the community.

[85] Eléni Varikas, "Question Nationale et Égalité des Sexes," *Peuples Méditerranéens*, 48-49, 1989, 229-239, 233.

[86] Ana Maria Alonso, "The Politics of Space, Time and Substance; State Formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, XXIII, 1994, 379-405, 385-386; Eriksen, *Ethnicity & Nationalism*, 154-156; Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family," *Feminist Review*, 44, Summer 1993, 61-80, 61-62

[87] Another example is given by Eriksen. Eriksen, *Ethnicity & Nationalism*, 154-156.

[88] Wilson & Frederiksen, "Introduction," 4.

[89] Dale F. Eickelman, *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989[2] [1981], 251-252.

[90] Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender & Society*, II, 3, September 1988, 274-290.

The (gender)borders set in this context and which are not to be trespassed are often equaled with the borders between the so-called private and public realms, between the family and other parts of civil society.[91] The private realms of the family are the female domain, while the remaining, public realms of civil society, the market and politics, are supposed to belong to the male domain. According to this paradigm women take care of the family, nurse and raise the children, do household chores, take care of the old and sick within the family, while men deal with what is "outside": they go out to do things such as earning money to sustain the family, getting involved in politics, and fighting in wars. This means that women, although being subject to the state, have no possibility for an active relation with the state, as shown above. The state is often about politics, political streams and therefore automatically excluding women due to the division of public and private. Politics and state affairs are supposed to belong to the male domain of the public realm from which women are excluded. However, to what degree can this paradigm of mutual exclusion of private and public and its gendered meaning assigning the private to women and the public to men be held? Feminist research has shown that this paradigm is problematic.[92]

Leslie Peirce, for example, takes issue over this dichotomy pointing at the hodiecentrism involved in this model on the one hand, and the westerocentrism of it on the other hand. In her book on the imperial harem of the early Ottoman Sultans she argues that the dichotomy of public versus private is a European invention of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.[93] This implicates that it is a

[91] I am referring here to what Weintraub calls, the "feminist approach" to the public/private dichotomy rather than to the liberal-economic one which distinguishes between what belongs to the state and what belongs to the market (as in public welfare vs private charity) or the approach of Jürgen Habermas and Hannah Arendt according to which "[t]he 'public' realm is the realm of political community based on citizenship" where that community actively participates in collective decision making, through debating and deliberating in, e.g., newspapers, clubs and private associations and which should be distinguished from both the state and the market. Jeff Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Private/Public Distinction," in: Jeff Alan Weintraub & Krishan Kumar (eds), *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1997, 1-42, quotation 10.

[92] Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History*, LXXXV, 1, 1988, 9-39. See also Weintraub, "The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction," and Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, 24/25, 1990, 56-81.

[93] Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire,* Oxford, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1993, 6-10.

valid dichotomy or useful paradigm for Mediaeval Europe nor for non-European countries. She shows how in the Ottoman Empire the dichotomy was not one of private/female versus public/male, but one of privileged/sacred/inner versus common/profane/outer. The latter dichotomy was not equal with a dichotomy of gender: both women and men were part of both spheres. The Ottoman Empire was ruled from the household of the Sultan, its ultimate inner. Since women were an important part of the household forming this inner, it was natural for them to meddle with state affairs until relatively recent times.[94]

Other arguments have been raised that these two spheres are in reality not as separate as depicted or ideally wanted. The private turned often out to be public and the public was often to a high extend private as is shown in, for example, the debates on women and the welfare state. They show that the dichotomy private versus public is not to be equated with the dichotomy female versus male. Women are able to create their own separate public realm from which they actively intrude into the private lives of other women and men.[95] The separate public sphere thus created is what Nancy Fraser calls the "counter-public."[96]

Although accordingly the borders may not be as fixed or as essential as seems at first, a(n imaginary) division along supposed lines of private and public may be the ideal situation.[97] Layoun argues that a nation will try to maintain a division along these lines with the help of a set of rules that prescribe "the proper and acceptable situation" and "truth and order." On the other hand, the nation needs rhetoric to persuade and convince its members that this set of rules is logical and natural, that they are effective and desirable. If these two elements are

[94] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem,* 6-10.

[95] See, e.g. Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986; Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*, Cambridge, Ma. & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.

[96] Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere."

[97] Mary Elaine Hegland, "Political Roles of Aliabad Women: the Public-Private Dichotomy Transcended" in: Nikki R. Keddie & Beth Baron (eds), *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991, 213-230. This ideal situation is often connected with social stratum, the urban elite setting the norm. Thus, what is "proper and acceptable" may vary for women of different social backgrounds as Keddie notices. Seclusion of women was a typical elite and urban phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire; rural women and urban women belonging to the lower social strata could simply not afford to stay within the confines of their homes. Nikkie R. Keddie, "Introduction: Deciphering Middle Eastern Women's History," in: Keddie & Baron (eds), *Women in Middle Eastern History*, 1-22.

not completely convening the possibility for change is born, Layoun writes.[98] Although women according to the rules should be at home looking after the children, the (political, economic, social) situation may force them to go out in the streets, because, for example, there are no men left to take care of these outside affairs. In that case the rhetoric element of nationalism will no longer be able to justify the rules. In order to solve this problem either the rhetoric or the rules will have to be adapted to the situation.

Women, however, are not only passive victims having to follow these (hegemonic) rules. Women take an important role in the maintaining of these rules, since they are the medium through which they are transferred from one generation to the other. Women are seen as the first educators of children and therefore the primary transmitters of culture and collective ideology onto the next generation of the community turned nation. This idea combined with the metaphor of the nation as one big family of small families which was taking root from the eighteenth century onward turned women into the raisers and educators of the nation.[99]

Since a mother will not want her child to be excluded, she will try to instill the norms set by the community they belong to into him or her. A mother will not easily take the risk of social death for her child. This might be one reason for the sometimes conservative attitude of women. Kandiyoti gives another reason for the conservatism of women and especially elderly women with control over other women. She argues that women during their life as young girls and women remain subservient as a kind of investment. Women will be able to pick the fruits of this investment when they are older and able to control their daughters-in-law like they had been controlled by their mothers-in-law. Another fruit of the investment would be the right to protection and maintenance from their sons. Therefore, elderly women are not eager to make changes: they would lose their investments without getting any gains from it.[100] If a community wants to change the rules, therefore, it will on the one hand have to offer women an alternative for gaining back their investments[101] and on the other hand have to ensure women that their children will not be isolated, if they do no longer adhere to the old rules, but that they on the contrary will be excluded, if they do

[98] Mary Layoun, "Telling Spaces: Palestinian Women and the Engendering of National Narratives" in: Parker, et al., *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, 407-423.

[99] Anthias & Yuval-Davis, "Introduction."

[100] Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy."

[101] See also Yuval-Davis, "Women and the Biological Reproduction of 'the Nation'," 23.

not change.[102] Since women and their behavior in many cases form a crucial part of the identity through which communities distinguish themselves from other communities, the fact that women play a crucial role in the transmission of culture makes them dangerous at the same time. Changes in the roles of women may be associated with changes in essential parts of what constitutes the identity of the community. Women may transmit these dangerous changes onto the next generation, and thus destabilize the community. The community, therefore, may force women back into their traditional roles, especially if the changed roles are perceived as threatening and/or as belonging to an alien community.[103] The everyday, social practices of women and the reactions generated by them, thus, form an important source of (in)formation for, what Özkırımlı calls, the identity claims of nationalism.

While the mainstream theories on nationalism lacked references to women and gender, many prominent scholars on particular nationalisms including those working on the late Ottoman Empire proved to be equally gender-blind and completely disregarded the female element in both nationalist discourses and actions.[104] As such this book aims at contributing to the existing literature on nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire. At the same time, it aims at contributing to the ever increasing body of work on women in the Ottoman Empire in general and on Ottoman women in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, more specifically.

[102] McClintock connects the depicting of women as the carriers of national tradition, with the socalled "temporal anomaly within nationalism." With this she is referring to the double attitude of nationalism vis-à-vis time: on one hand it is opting for progress and modernization, while on the other hand it is legitimizing it with references to the past. She argues that this contradiction is gendered by showing women as conservative, while men are depicted as the "progressive agent of national modernity." Thus she turns women into passive subjects of symbolization denying them the possibility to be agents of change as often was the case; not all women are conservative and desiring continuity, nor are all men progressive and in favor of discontinuity. Moreover, she equals nationalism with modernization and change, which is not always the case. Finally, the far past was not only used by nationalists but also by feminists as the legitimization for a demand for change. McClintock, "Family Feuds," 61-80.

[103] Valentine M. Moghadam, *Modernizing Women; Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*, Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993, 136.

[104] E.g., Arai, *Turkish Nationalism in the Young Turk Era*; Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islamism*, 1-72. And, of course, the collection of articles by Zürcher. Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building*. An exception may be made for Berkes who includes a section on the "family" in which he explores the different visions on the family and women as expressed by "westernists," "islamists" (liberal and less liberal), and "Turkists." Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 385-393.

In 2002 Kreiser published a comprehensive overview of the existing literature on Ottoman women. In his article he covers the field from the literature written on women during the (late) Ottoman period until the 1990s.[105] As he points out, Ottoman women had been largely ignored by the Kemalist historians of the Turkish Republic. Barzilai-Lumbroso succeeded in pinpointing the turning of the tide. She shows how young Turkish male historians started to get interested in Ottoman women's histories in the 1950s and 1960s. Using letters of dynastic Ottoman women they found in the newly opened Ottoman archives, memoirs of Ottoman women, and travelogues of European women, they published widely in the popular history magazines of the day. In the post-Kemalist era of the 1950s, these historians sought to spread a "new Ottoman-oriented national discourse" in which the image of powerful and actively participating Ottoman women took the place of the image of the pre-Islamic Turkish women of the Kemalist nationalist phase.[106] From that point on, incidental studies continued to appear. It would last until the 1990s, however, before the study of Ottoman women's history came of age. Three developments were important for this: the growth of Turkish feminism in the 1980s, the growing interest of historians for the late Ottoman period, and, more generally, the rise of social history.[107]

Until the 1980s the field of history in Turkey was strongly divided between those studying the history of the Republic of Turkey and those studying Ottoman history, which meant in particular the classical period. Only in the 1980s the interest for the period of transition, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, started to grow. Historians working on this period discovered the Ottoman newspapers and periodicals published in that time as a potential source for (social) history and meanwhile stumbled upon the many surviving women's

[105] Klaus Kreiser, "Women in the Ottoman Empire: A Bibliographical Essay," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations,* XIII, 2, 2002, 197-206. See also the following entries in *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures:* Fatma Müge Göçek, "Ottoman Empire: 15th to Mid-18th Century," in: Joseph, Suad, et al. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures,* [6 Vols], Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2003-2007, [Vol 1: Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources], 72-81; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Women in the Ottoman World: Mid-18th to Early 20th Century," in: Joseph, Suad, et al. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures,* [6 Vols], Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2003-2007, [Vol 1: Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources], 153-163.

[106] Ruth Barzilai-Lumbroso, "Turkish Men and the History of Ottoman Women: Studying the History of the Ottoman Dynasty's Private Sphere Through Women's Writings," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies,* V, 2, 2009, 53-82, quotation 76.

[107] See also Ulrike Freitag & Nora Lafi, "Daily Life and Family in an Ottoman Urban Context: Historiographical Stakes and New Research Perspectives," *The History of the Family,* 16, 2011, 80-87.

periodicals of the period.[108] These periodicals formed a ready source for Turkish feminists eager to rediscover "their" past – that is, once they had mastered Ottoman Turkish – as well as for foreign scholars with an interest in women of the late Ottoman Empire. Several publications appeared which were based on these women's periodicals as well as on general periodicals and newspapers of the period. The interest for women's history meanwhile also increased amongst scholars working on earlier periods of Ottoman history and using the more traditional sources of Ottoman historians.[109] Thus the body of publications as well as unpublished MA and PhD theses on Ottoman women by Turkish[110] as well as foreign scholars expanded rapidly in the 1990s and 2000s.

While some of the Kemalist authors referred briefly to the associational life of, particularly, Ottoman *Muslim* women,[111] more recent authors writing on Ottoman (Muslim) women wrote more elaborately on Ottoman associational life and dedicated articles, chapters or even a whole book to women's organizations of the late Ottoman period.[112] These works generally deal with

[108] More on sources for Ottoman women's history follows below.

[109] Kreiser, "Women in the Ottoman Empire."

[110] For an overview of, specifically, the work of Turkish scholars see Serpil Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: the Discovery of Ottoman Feminism," *Aspasia,* 1, 2007, 61-83; Serpil Çakır, "Feminist tarih yazımı: tarihin kadınlar için, kadınlar tarafından inşası," in: Serpil Sancar (derl.), *Birkaç Arpa Boyu…: 21. Yüzyıla Girerken Türkiye'de Feminist Çalışmalar* (2 Vols), İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011, 505-533.

[111] Cahit Çaka, *Tarih Boyunca Harp ve Kadın,* Ankara: AS. FB. Basımevi, 1948. The work of this military officer was referred to by Tezer Taşkıran in her, *Cumhuriyetin 50. yılında Türk kadın hakları,* Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Cumhuriyetin 50. Yıldönümü Yayınları, 1973, 38-40. Most authors publishing after 1973 refer to this latter work.

[112] Serpil Çakır, "Bir Osmanlı kadın örgütü: Osmanlı Müdâfaa-ı Hukuk-u Nisvân Cemiyeti," *Tarih ve Toplum* 66, 1989, 16-21; Serpil Çakır, "Osmanlı Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği," *Toplum ve Bilim*, 45, 1989, 91-97; Serpil Çakır, "Osmanlı kadın dernekleri," *Toplum ve Bilim*, 53, 1991, 139-157; Serpil Çakır, "XX. yüzyılın başında kadın ve aile dernekleri ve nizamnâmeleri," in: *Sosyo-Kültürel Değişim sürecinde Türk Ailesi,* Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992 (3 Vols), Vol 3, 988-1012; Rahmi Çiçek, "Asker Ailelerine Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti'nin faaliyetleriyle ilgili bir belge," *Tarih ve Toplum,* XX, 116, 1993, 14-15; Leyla Kaplan, "Osmanlı Hanımları Müdâfaa-i Milliye Hey'eti ve faaliyetleri," *Askerî Tarih Bülteni* XIX, 37, 1994, 114–138; Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti himayesinde savaş yetimleri ve kimsesiz çocuklar: 'Ermeni' mi, 'Türk' mü?" *Toplumsal Tarih* XII, 69, 1999, 46-55; Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Şişli Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvâniyesi 1915," *Tarih ve Toplum* XXXV, 210, 2001, 5-12; Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "'Osmanlı Hilâl-i Ahmer Terakkiperver Cemiyet-i Nisvâniyesi': dolandırıcıların 'sahte' Osmanlı kadın örgütü," *Tarih ve Toplum* XXXVII, 220, 2002, 11-16; Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Women, War and Work in the Ottoman Empire: Society for the Employment of Ottoman Muslim Women 1916 - 1923,* İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005; Tiğince Oktar, *Osmanlı toplumunda kadının çalışma yaşamı: Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma*

only one particular organization and are in most cases based on one main source such as a *nizamname* (statutes) or a year report. An exception is formed by the books of Çakır[113] and Kurnaz;[114] they both dedicate a chapter of their books to list the Ottoman women's organizations they discovered in various (primary) sources during their research. This work seeks to go beyond the work of these pioneer scholars of women's history during the Second Constitutional Period in two ways. Since this work focuses on female associational life in the late Ottoman Empire, it surpasses the work formerly done on this specific topic in quantity. Due to the substantially larger number of sources used – and the considerably larger amount of time invested in the research of these sources – more information on a larger number of women's organizations has been gathered. Moreover, as mentioned above, the associational life of Ottoman (Muslim) women and their activities are not only described, but analyzed in the wider context of the historical processes taking place in the years between 1908 and 1918.

Çakır and Kurnaz made a start with such an analysis by grouping the women's organizations in separate categories mostly based on their names and the aims expressed by them. Çakır classified them into eight categories: charitable organizations; organizations which give importance to women's education, and aim rather than at charity at opening places where they can work thus finding a solution to the problem of sustenance of women; organizations which aim at finding a solution to the problems of the country; women's organizations of political parties; feminist women's organizations; women's organizations for the defense of the country; and women's organizations with a

Cemiyet-i İslâmiyesi, Istanbul: Bilim Teknik Yayınevi, 1998; Tiğinçe Özkiper Oktar, "Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi 1920 senesi raporu." *Toplumsal Tarih* IX, 54, 1998, 19-22; Muzaffer Tepekaya & Leyla Kaplan, "Hilâl Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi'nin kuruluşu ve faaliyetleri (1877 - 1923)" *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 10, 2003, 147-202; Zafer Toprak, "Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti: Kadın askerler ve Milli Aile," *Tarih ve Toplum* IX, 51, 1988, 34-8; Zafer Toprak, "İttihat ve Terakki ve Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti," *Toplum ve Bilim,* 43-44, 1989, 183-90.

[113] Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi,* İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994. This book was republished in an edited and extended (i.e. including pictures) version in 2011 also by Metis Yayınları. Throughout this book, the first version has been used.

[114] Şefika Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996. This book was republished in an edited and extended (i.e. including pictures) version in 2011 under the title *Yenileşme Sürecinde Türk Kadını,* İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat. Throughout this book, the first version has been used.

political aim.[115] Kurnaz groups them in four categories: women's organization with the aim of supporting the state and the army; charitable and philanthropic organizations; organizations with economic aims; women's organizations with educational, cultural, art and feminist aims.[116] Framing the women's organizations within these rather specific categories does however not do justice to them, because they were not static, but vivid institutions, whose aims could be multiple and alter according to the circumstances, as will be shown in the chapters to come. Instead of classifying the organizations based on their names and projected aims, therefore, it makes more sense to analyze their activities.

From the classifications by Çakır and Kurnaz and the speeches referred to at the beginning of this introductory chapter, it seems that the activities of Ottoman (Muslim) women and the women's organizations established between 1908 and 1918 can be organized along three main lines: they were feminist, patriotic and/or philanthropic.

The term "féminist" is a French word that started to be used in France in the 1890s. From there it spread to the rest of Europe in the beginning of the twentieth century.[117] The term was appropriated – and rejected – by many groups who all had in common that they wanted to improve the position of women in society. Although they may have had this very broad goal in common, the exact interpretation on how to improve this situation was very diverse. According to Offen, however, these different forms of feminisms could be divided into two basic forms: "individualist" or "integral" feminists on the one hand and "familial" feminists on the other hand. The former feminists questioned the basic inequality between women and men in society and demanded a radical reform of the patriarchal structure of society to turn it into one with equal rights and opportunities for all individuals, women and men alike, in all facets of social and political life. Other authors refer to this form of feminism as "radical feminism" or "political feminism." "Familial" feminists, on the other hand, were opting for a better position of women within the existing patriarchal system. They stressed the complementarity of men and women and demanded, for example, better educational provisions for women using the

[115] Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi,* 43-78.

[116] Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, 193-234.

[117] Gisela Kaplan, "Feminism and Nationalism: the European Case," in: Lois A. West (ed.), *Feminist Nationalism*, New York & London: Routledge, 1997, 3-40, 5; Karen Offen, *European Feminisms 1700 - 1950: A Political History*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000, 183-188.

argument that they wanted to become better mothers and housewives. Rather than looking for equality with men, they were looking for equivalidity or, as Offen calls it, "equality in difference." This form of feminism has also been referred to as "bourgeois" or "liberal feminism" or also "social feminism."[118] The first one had its roots in the Enlightenment philosophies which stressed the importance of human reason above traditions and stated that the differences between men and women were socially created and not naturally endowed and gave importance to the individual. The second form of feminism originated from the religious revival movements, which stressed the relevance of feminine qualities in the prevention of moral decay and their importance for the community.[119]

This latter form of feminism is often qualified as being less or not feminist, because less emancipatory, in the sense that it does not free women from their familial tasks nor pleads for equality between men and women. This implies a normative stand as to what feminism should be like. For many feminist scholars today this norm is indeed that of the equal rights feminism. Thus, they do not qualify the activities of women in other times and cultures who were or are striving to improve their situation in one way or another, but not directly asking for equal rights as feminist or emancipatory.[120]

Instead of trying to fit Ottoman women in such fixed categories and thus defining them as "real" feminists or not according to these categories, looking at what they thought about the position of women in society and *vis-à-vis* men and what they actually did in their efforts to change the position of women in general and in relation to men will be more rewarding. Since the definition of feminism given by Margot Badran in her book on Egyptian women leaves room for such an approach, her definition will be used as a working definition:

> [Feminism] includes the awareness of constraints placed upon women because of their gender and attempts to remove these constraints and to evolve a more equitable gender system involving new roles for women and new relations between women and men[121]

[118] Kaplan, "Feminism and Nationalism,"; Offen, *European Feminisms 1700 - 1950*, 183-188; Mary Nash, "Political Culture, Catalan Nationalism, and the Women's Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Spain," *Women's Studies International Forum,* XIX, 1/2, 1996, 45-54.

[119] Olivia Banks, *Faces of Feminism: a Study of Feminism as a Social Movement*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981, 7-47.

[120] Nash, "Political Culture, Catalan Nationalism," 45-46. See e.g. Moghadam, *Modernizing Women*.

[121] Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation,* 19-20.

Having defined feminism as such, feminism implies changes in women's activities and in their roles. As we have seen above, such changes may be associated with changes in essential parts of what constitutes the identity of a community and thus evoke reactions and raise questions of identity. So, if the activities of Ottoman Muslim women and their organizations can be characterized as feminist, then what can these activities (and the reactions to them) tell us about the identity of the community(ies) these women belonged to and what do they tell us about the so-called identity claims of nationalist discourse in the late Ottoman Empire?

Philanthropy seems to have been another characteristic of Ottoman women's activities during the Second Constitutional Period. In the introduction to her book on charity in Islamic societies, Singer shows how the terms "philanthropy" and "charity" are used and defined differently and incoherently by various scholars. In many cases, the two terms are simply used interchangeably as synonyms for the act of beneficent giving. Smith, et al., for example, define philanthropy as "allocation of one or more of the following to one or more individuals or nonprofit groups outside the family: money, goods, other property, or services (time) (…) This is charitable giving."[122]

Others do make a distinction. While some base the distinction on the religious inspiration (charity) or lack thereof (philanthropy), others define charity as an act of acute relief for individuals, referring to philanthropy when dealing with a development aiming at the improvement of the community to prevent the need for charity.[123] If philanthropy is indeed about giving to improve the community, it involves decisions on what community to give to and thus on how to define that community. In fact, philanthropy, as Lindenmeyr stated, could create, to cite her again, "new types of communities and new forms of social cooperation that cut across lines of gender, estate, ethnicity, religion, or status."[124]

It should be pointed out, though, that not only cooperation is relevant in the creation of these communities. What Singer refers to as the "unexamined [aspect] in writing of the history of charity" namely the role of those "who (…) did *not* give and those who did *not* receive" (emphasis by Singer) becomes

[122] Smith, *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms & Concepts,* 172.

[123] Amy Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*, Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 2-9.

[124] Lindenmeyr, *Poverty is Not a Vic*e, 224.

utterly meaningful as well.[125] Not-giving and not-receiving are just as much constitutive elements for community formation through philanthropic practices as giving and receiving. Through the decisions made to give or not give and to receive or not receive, the us are separated from the them.

Thus an analysis of both the objects and subjects of (female) philanthropic associational life in the Ottoman Empire as well as its non-objects and non-subjects, will give us another clue about the understanding of the women involved regarding the identity of their community.

The last field of Ottoman Muslim women's activism is what I refer to as "patriotism." Primoratz defines it "as love of one's country, identification with it, and special concern for its well-being and that of compatriots."[126] He points out that the term patriotism has often been used interchangeably with the term nationalism, since "[b]oth patriotism and nationalism involve love of, identification with, and special concern for a certain entity."[127] According to Primoratz, the object of one's love differs in both cases: the patriot loves his *patria*, which he translates as "one's country," the nationalist his *natio,* his nation. He continues to argue that where "there is much overlap between country and nation," the same goes for nationalism and patriotism. "But," he adds, "when a country is not ethnically homogeneous, or when a nation lacks a country of its own, the two may part ways."[128]

Taylor in his article entitled "Nationalism and Modernity" which was published in 1997, agrees that patriotism and nationalism do not necessarily overlap.[129] He argues that "patriotism" is a prerequisite for societies which make an effort to establish "popular sovereignty through a representative government."[130] Such a society, or democratic state, needs its members to be motivated to contribute out of free will, or by, what he calls, "self-enforcement" instead of despotic enforcement. The members of the society need to identify themselves first and foremost as "citizens" belonging to that society, or state. Such a state, he continues, "needs a healthy degree of what used to be called 'patriotism,' a strong

[125] Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*, 16.

[126] Igor Primoratz, "Patriotism," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2009 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), (http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2009/entries/patriotism/, consulted 13-2-2012)

[127] Primoratz, "Patriotism."

[128] Primoratz, "Patriotism."

[129] Charles Taylor, "Nationalism and Modernity," in: Robert McKim & Jeff McMahan (eds), *The Morality of Nationalism,* Oxford, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1997, 31-54.

[130] Taylor, "Nationalism and Modernity," 39.

sense of identification with the polity, and a willingness to give of oneself for its sake."[131] It becomes, therefore, he argues, important for these states that the identity of the "modern citizen" takes precedence over "other poles of identity, such as family, class, gender, even (perhaps especially) religion."[132] Since he defines nationalism with Gellner as "the political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent,"[133] the main source of identity for a modern citizen is, according to him, nationalism.

Although this may be the case for nation-states with a hegemonic national identity, the patriotism of communities in a non-nation-state or a state lacking such a hegemonic national identity may have alternative sources for identification: in a state with multi-tier citizenship, multi-tier identification and thus multi-tier patriotism is apt to appear. If this is the case, the question becomes what the sources of identification for Ottoman Muslim women were. What was the character of their patriotism and who or what were they willing to give themselves for? And, again, what does that tell us about the so-called identity claims of nationalist discourse in the late Ottoman Empire?

Sources[134]

The press played an important role in the public negotiations on women's changing position in society and thus forms an important source on the activities of Ottoman (Muslim) women and their associational life. Newspapers and the periodical press formed the platform where the increased civil participation and public presence of Ottoman Muslim women was continuously contested and negotiated.[135]

The development of a printing culture in the Ottoman Empire aiming at a larger public in the nineteenth century was indeed instrumental in creating a

[131] Taylor, "Nationalism and Modernity," 40.

[132] Taylor, "Nationalism and Modernity," 40.

[133] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, 1.

[134] This paragraph is mainly based on an article published earlier: Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the Past, Sources for the Future," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations,* XI, 3, 2000, 369-383.

[135] See, e.g. Elizabeth Brown Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: State, Press and Gender in the Hamidian Era," [Unpublished PhD-Thesis, Princeton: Princeton University, 1996]; Tülay Keskin, "Feminist/ Nationalist Discourse in the First Year of the Ottoman Revolutionary Press (1908 - 1909): Readings from the Magazines of Demet, Mahasin and Kadın (Salonica)," [Unpublished MA-Thesis, Ankara: Bilkent Univerity, 2003].

sense of community beyond one's direct environment[136] and thus proved to be an effective tool in the organization of women beyond the circles of their direct relatives despite their physical limitations. In the course of half a century – the first Ottoman Turkish women's periodical having appeared in 1869 – this printing culture was gradually democratized. The owners and authors of the early women's periodicals were mostly men from the urban, administrative elite and their wives, sisters and daughters. By the turn of the century this changed. The expanding opportunities of education for women[137] living in the large coastal cities had led to an increasing number of literate, educated women from a different social background who not only eagerly contributed to the growing women's press, but also did not hesitate to author articles in the regular newspapers especially after the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908.[138] As mentioned above, the printed sources thus created form one of the main sources for the study of late Ottoman social history and thus also of Ottoman women and their associational life.

Newspapers from the post-July 1908 period, both Ottoman and foreign, form a rich, but labour-intensive, source for information on women and women's organizations. Many of the Ottoman newspapers, especially those appearing after 1908, showed ample interest in the activities of women and stressed their importance for the progress of the nation. Immediately after the Young Turk

[136] According to Anderson the development of "print capitalism" is one of the formative processes of the creation of national identities. Persons who read in the same language about events that are deemed relevant to all of them without actually knowing each other thus feel connected. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 33-36.

[137] On the ideas and the development of education for Ottoman Muslim women see Bahar Baskın, "II. Meşrutiyet'te kadın eğitimine yönelik bir girişim: İnas Darülfünunu," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 38, 2008, 89-123; Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı modernleşme döneminde kız eğitimi." *Kebikeç*, 10, 2000, 223-238; Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Sources on the Education of Ottoman Women in the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archive for the Period of Reforms in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in: Amira El-Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005, 295-306; Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Kandilli Sultânî-i İnâs: Bir devlet adamının teşebbüs-i şâhsisi nasıl sonuçlandı?" *Tarih ve Toplum,* XXVIII, 163, 1997, 26-34; Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Osmanlı Müslümanlarında feminizm" in: Mehmet Ö. Alkan (ed.), *Cumhuriyet'e devreden düşünce mirası: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in birikimi,* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001, Vol. 1, 335-347.

[138] Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: the Emergence of an Ottoman Public Sphere." in: Armando Salvatore & Dale F. Eickelman (eds), *Public Islam and the Common Good*, Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2004, 99-125; Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Women in Late Ottoman Intellectual History," in: Elisabeth Özdalga (ed.), *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy,* London and New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2005, 135-161.

Revolution of July 1908, which had put an end to the period of "despotism" and "zealotry" and had opened the doors to "freedom" and "enlightenment," there was a host of not only newly-founded periodicals and newspapers, but also of organizations. For this early period, therefore, it is worthwhile to look through these often short-lived newspapers, such as, to mention only a few, *Metin* (Trustworthy), *Hürriyet* (Freedom), and *İttifak* (Alliance). *Tanin* (Echo) which was known for its sympathy for the Committee of Union and Progress, but also the more independent *Sabah* (Morning), the slightly oppositional *İkdam* (Perseverance) and *Tasvir-i Efkar* (Indicator of Ideas) are only a few of the longer-lived daily newspapers which also published articles on women's organizations regularly and which have been used by scholars on the women's movement and women's organizations.

Besides these Ottoman Turkish newspapers, newspapers published in foreign languages in the Ottoman Empire, especially when printed in, for example, Istanbul, also provide information on the Ottoman Muslim or Turkish dominated organizations. The German–French *Osmanischer Lloyd/Lloyd Ottoman* (Ottoman Lloyd), for example, reported extensively not only on the *Osmanlı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (Ottoman Women's Charitable Organization), but also on the German Women's Organization, the Austrian–Hungarian Women's Organization and several Armenian, Greek and Jewish organizations. Other foreign language newspapers published in the Ottoman Empire, like the English *Levant Herald* and the many French newspapers and periodicals appearing during this period,[139] amongst which *Stamboul* and *La Turquie*, are other sources relevant for the obtaining of a full picture of the constellation of women's activities and women's organizations in the period under discussion.

In addition, internet has made it possible to access and browse or search historical newspapers all over the world. Newspapers aiming at a public with vested interests in the late Ottoman Empire such as the *New York Times*[140] and the *Christian Science Monitor*[141] in the United States also paid ample interest to women and their activities in the Ottoman Empire.[142]

[139] See for an overview of the Ottoman French press: G. Groc & İ. Çağlar, *La Presse Française de Turquie de 1795 à nos Jours: Histoire et Catalogue*, Istanbul: Editions Isis, 1985.

[140] Accessible through http://query.nytimes.com/search/.

[141] Accessible through http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/csmonitor_historic/advancedsearch.html.

[142] Many national libraries have started to make their collections of historical newspapers available through internet. Thus French (through http://gallica.bnf.fr/), New Zealand (through http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast) and Australian (through http://newspapers.

Not only in newspapers, but also in the periodical press of the time information on women and women's organizations was published. Especially those periodicals which were connected with the political streams which regarded the emancipation of women an indispensible part of the progress of the community or nation, such as *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Home), *Yeni Felsefe Mecmuası* (New Philosophy Periodical), and *Mekteb Müzesi* (School Museum) articles on the status of women and on their activities by men and women featured regularly. However, even in these periodicals the information consisted generally of fragments here and there, apart from an occasional extensive article on the women's movement in general,[143] or one or more women's organizations specifically.[144]

By their nature, the women's periodicals of the time form an extremely rich source on women and their organizations. Some of these periodicals were published by women's organizations, others were published by more loosely organized men and women or male or female individuals.[145]

nla.gov.au/) historical newspapers are searchable. Those from Austria(-Hungary) (through http://www.anno.onb.ac.at/) are not searchable, but can be browsed.

[143] Such as, e.g., Rusen Zeki, "Bizde hareket-i nisvan," *Nevsal-i Milli,* 1330, 343–52.

[144] See e.g. Lebib Selim, "Türk kadınlığının harb-ı umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu,* IV, 22 Tesrinievvel 1331 (4 November 1915), 2797–9; Lebib Selim, "Türk kadınlığının harb-ı umumideki faaliyeti," *Türk Yurdu,* V, 5 Tesrinisani 1331 (18 November 1915), 2812–6.

[145] Ottoman women's periodicals have been an object for research of many (unpublished) MA and PhD theses in Turkey and abroad, especially since 2000. MA theses: Vuslat Devrim Altinoz, "The Ottoman Women's Movement: Women's Press, Journals, Magazines and Newspapers from 1875 to 1923," (Miami: Miami University, History, 2003); Emel Asa, "1928'e kadar Türk kadın mecmuaları," (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1989); Ceren Aygül, "Change in the status of Turkish women during the Ottoman modernization and self-evaluation of women in *Kadınlar Dünyası* of 1913," (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, History, 2010); Aybala Arı, "*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (201-300) (tahlili fihrist/ inceleme/ seçilmiş metinler)" (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2004); Hale Çaglıyan, "Defining the Ottoman Woman: the *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (1869 - 1870) as the First Women's Journal in the Ottoman Empire," (Ankara: Middle East Technical University, History, 2002); Fatma Kılıç Denman, "*Kadın*: II. Meşrutiyet dönemi'nde bir Jön Türk dergisi," (Istanbul: Bosphorus University, History, 2006); Hale Gürbüz, "*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*," (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2001); Tülay Keskin, "Feminist/Nationalist Discourse in the First Year of the Ottoman Revolutionary Press (1908 - 1909): Readings from the Magazines of *Demet, Mahasin* and *Kadın* (Salonica)," (Ankara: Bilkent Univerity, 2003); Gülsen Sürücü, "Osmanlı kadın dergilerinde kadının dünyası," (Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2008); Arzu Şeyda, "*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (101-200) (tahlili fihrist/inceleme/seçilmiş metinler)," (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2003); Yasemin Ünalan "Mehmet Rauf'un kadın dergileri: *Mehasin* ve *Süs* (inceleme ve metinler)," (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007); M. Fetih Yanardağ,

Although some of the periodicals were published as bulletin boards (*neşr-i efkar*) of women's organizations, from their content it is clear that they did not only aim at their members, but also at the general public. These periodicals contained information on the daily activities of the organizations, such as invitations to and reports on the meetings held, lectures and conferences given, exhibitions and courses opened, excursions made, while contributions of a more

"'*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*' üzerine bir araştırma," (Diyarbakır: Dicle Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1995).

PhD theses: Serpil Çakır, "II. Meşrutiyet'te Osmanlı kadın hareketi ve *Kadınlar Dünyası* dergisi," (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1991); Elizabeth Brown Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: State, Press and Gender in the Hamidian Era," (Princeton: Princeton University, 1996).

Besides these unpublished theses, several publications have appeared dealing with one or more of these women's periodicals: Yıldız Akpolat, *Sosyoloji Araştırmaları Osmanlı'da Kadın Dergileri ve Sosyoloji Dergileri*. Erzurum: Fenomen Yayını, 2004; Hakan Aydın, "*Kadın* (1908–1909): Selanik'te yayınlanan ilk kadın dergisi üzerine bir inceleme," *Selcuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 22, 2009, 147-156; Pelin Başçı, "Advertising "The New Woman": Fashion, Beauty, and Health in Women's World," *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, XI, 1&2, 2005, 61-79; Stefo Benlisoy, "Mektep Müzesi dergisi: 'aile müdireleri' yetiştirmek," *Müteferrika,* 30, 2006, 183-213; Yıldız Akpolat Davut, "II. Meşrutiyet döneminde Selanik menşeli bir kadın dergisi: *Kadın*," *Turkiye Günlüğü*, 43, 1996, 68-73; Davut, Yıldız Akpolat, "II. Meşrutiyet'te toplumda kadına başat rol vermeyen kadın dergisi *Mahasın*," *Tarih ve Toplum,* XXVI, 156, 1996, 42-47; Fatma Kılıç Denman, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Döneminde bir Jön Türk Dergisi: Kadın*, İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2009; Ruth Haerkötter, *Mahasin: Ein Beispiel für die osmanische Frauenpresse der Zweiten konstitutionellen Periode,* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992; Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Arşivden bir belge (12): *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*'ye imtiyaz verilmesi (1895)," *Toplumsal Tarih* XIII, 75, 2000, 41-45; Tülay Keskin, "*Demet* dergisi'nde kadın ve ilerleme anlayısı," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi,* XXIV, 37, 2005, 289–312; Ayşenur Kurtoğlu, "Tanzimat dönemi ilk kadın yayınında dinin yer alış biçimleri," in: *Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete kadının tarihi dönüşümü*, Istanbul: Pınar Yayınları, 2000, 21-52; Ayşenur Kurtoğlu, "Osmanlı kadınlarının gazeteleri ile ilk tanışıklıkları," *İslâmiyât,* XXXIII, 2, 2000, 87-96; Cüneyd Okay, "Meşrutiyet döneminde kadınlara yönelik bir dergi: *Mektep Müzesi*," *Tarih ve Toplum* XXXI, 181, 1999, 4-7; Işık Özel, "Kadın hareketinde bir öncü: *Kadınlar Dünyası*," *Toplumsal Tarih* VII, 39, 1997, 46-8; Hatice Özen, *Tarihsel Süreç İçinde Türk Kadın Gazete ve Dergileri (1868–1990)*, İstanbul: Graphis Ltd., 1994; Ebru Sönmez, "Bir devri hürriyet/Meşrutiyet dergisi: *Demet*," *Müteferrika,* 30, 2006, 159-181; Ayfer Karakaya Strump, "Debating Progress in a Serious Newspaper for Muslim Women: The Periodical *Kadın* of the Post-Revolutionary Salonica, 1908 - 1909" *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* XXX, 2, 2003, 155-181; Zehra Toska, "Haremden kadın partisine giden yolda kadın dergileri, gündemleri ve öncü kadınlar, I," *Defter*, 21, 1994, 116-42; Mehmet Törenek, "Kadın dergiciliği ve Mehmet Rauf," *Toplumsal Tarih,* IX, 51, 1998, 26-30; Fatma Tunç Yaşar, "Osmanlı kadının eğitimine yönelik ilk süreli yayın: *Terakki-i Muhadderat*," *DEM Dergi,* I, 3, 2008, 98-105; İpek Yosmaoğlu, "Yüzyıl başında bir kısım Osmanlı hanımı ve talepleri, öncü feministler." *Toplumsal Tarih,* V, 27, 1996, 12-17.

general nature were also published.[146] The first organization to have its own periodical was the *Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Women's Organization for the Advancement of the Fatherland). Under the auspices of this organization *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Gazette for Ladies), which had been the longest living Ottoman Turkish women's periodical before the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, was revived.[147] Very few copies of this second series of the famous Ottoman women's periodical have survived, and it is not clear how long this series ran.[148] Also the *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (Women's Organization for the Consumption of Locally Produced Goods)[149] published its own periodical. While it originally used *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World) as its bulletin board, from early 1914 onwards it communicated with its members and others interested through its own periodical, *Sıyanet* (Protection).[150] The *Kadınlar Dünyası* was also the organ of the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyetix* (Ottoman Organization for the Defense of Women's Rights). In this case the situation was somewhat different: the organization was founded in June 1913 by the women active around the periodical that had been published since the middle of April 1913.

Some of the women's organizations which did not have their own periodical used other periodicals as their bulletin board. Two women's periodicals in particular offer in this way important information on women's organizations. The first one is *Kadın* (Woman), the first women's periodical to be published after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 in what at that time was still Ottoman Selanik.[151] This became the organ of several women's organizations located in this town. The *Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniye* (Women's Charitable Organization), the

[146] For more detailed information on the contents of the periodicals mentioned see: *Istanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harflı Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası (1869–1927)*, Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993.

[147] See the advertisements in *Tanin*: "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete," *Tanin*, 26 Mart 1326/8 April 1910, 4; "Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete," *Tanin*, 9 Nisan 1326/22 April 1910, 4. The bibliography on Ottoman women's periodicals does not contain any information on these series of the *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*.

[148] In my possession are only photocopies of the numbers one to three, ten and nineteen. The catalogue of the National Library in Ankara mentions one later copy, but this was never found.

[149] Which later also used the name *İstihlak-i Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti* ((Women's) Organization for National Consumption). See the part on Women and Economy in this volume.

[150] The periodical is referred to in the secondary sources as *Siyanet*. However, since the Ottoman and Turkish dictionaries only know this word spelled as *Sıyanet* this spelling is used here.

[151] Denman, *Kadın*.

Osmanlı Kadınları 'Şefkat' Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi (Ottoman Women's Charitable Organization 'Compassion') and the *Kırmızı-Beyaz Kulübü* (Red-White Club) published information on their activities in that periodical.

The other is the *Kadınlar Dünyası*. As soon as it started to be published it became the regular bulletin board for the *Osmanlı Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği* (Organization for the Protection of Ottoman and Turkish Ladies) and the *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* before the latter started to publish its own periodical. Moreover, the annual report over the year 1913 of a charitable organization under the presidency of the wife of the French Ambassador, Mrs Bompard, the *Société des Abeilles* (Organization of Bees) was published in the French part of the periodical, which was published for only eight weeks at the end of 1913 and the beginning of 1914.[152]

The information given by women's organizations in the articles in the women's periodicals they chose as their bulletin board is often also very concise and in most cases easy to recognize, because they have their own heading. However, many bits and pieces consisting of 2–3 line announcements related to other women's organizations are often hidden in more general columns with titles like *Şüun-u Nisvan* (Women's Affairs) or *Havadis-i Dünya (*Stories of the World*)* or *Havadis-i Müteferrika* (Various Stories).

During the First World War most of the women's periodicals stopped appearing. One of the few that started to appear during these difficult years was the *Bilgi Yurdu Işığı* (Light of the Home of Knowledge), which was renamed *Bilgi Yurdu Mecmuası* (Periodical of the Home of Knowledge) after the first thirteen numbers had been published. This was a periodical published by Ahmet Edib, who also founded the *Bilgi Yurdu* (Home of Knowledge). This organization might not be a women's organization in the strict sense, but aimed at providing women with the possibility to get a form of education. The periodical too was used as a tool to educate women. It contained educational materials, such as, for example, sums with which women could practice their accounting skills.

Newspapers and women's periodicals were also used to publish statutes (*Nizamname*) and (annual) activity reports. These, however, were sometimes also published separately as small booklets.

For the limited number of women's organizations that existed before the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908 there seem not to exist any statutes. One

[152] L'Ambassadrice de France G.B. Bompard, "Société des Abeilles: Rapport de l'année 1913," *Kadinlar Dünyassi,* 122, 14/27 Décembre 1913, 4.

can think of various reasons for their absence. One reason might be that there were such statutes, but that they did not survive. It is also possible that these organizations never had any statutes, because they either lacked an official status due to their occasional character, or – in the case of the non-Muslim women's organizations – because they did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman central authorities, but under the jurisdiction of the authorities of their own religiously based community (*millet*). The most likely reason is, however, that statutes were not officially required until the *Cemiyetler Kanunu* of 1909. Only with the issuing of this law, every organization had to be officially registered and had to publish at least its statutes, in which its aims, the place of its establishment and headquarters, and its organizational structure were described.

The first statutes to be published in that form were probably those of the *Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Organization for the Advancement of Women) which was founded in Istanbul "eight months after the Constitution," in March 1909, by four women.[153] Other women's organizations of which statutes are available are the above-mentioned *Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti*,[154] the *Osmanlı ve Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği*[155] which was founded by a group of women amongst whom Nezihe Muhittin; the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* (Turkish Women's Tailor's Home), founded by Behire Hakkı on 23 July 1913;[156] the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti*, published in June 1913 as a booklet and as an announcement in the periodical *Kadınlar Dünyası* and the daily newspaper *Tanin;*[157] and the *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi*

[153] *Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti (Nizamnamesi)*, [Istanbul], [n.d. (1909?)]; "Halide Hanımefendinin hitabesi," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, 134, 8 Mart 1330 (21 March 1914), 4-5, quotations 5. See also [Adıvar], Halide Edib, *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, New York & London: The Century Co., n.d., 334-335.

[154] *Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti (Nizamnamesi)*, Selanik, 1325. A transliteration of these statutes can be found in Toprak, "İttihat ve Terakki ve Teali-i Nisvan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti," which in turn was reproduced in Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 324–327.

[155] *Osmanlı ve Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneğin Nizamnamesi* [Istanbul], [n.d. (1912?)]. A transliteration of this nizamname is available in: Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, 209–210.

The date of its foundation is unclear, but is probably 1912. One reason for the lack of clarity is that the statutes are undated. They were found, however, in an archival file from July/August 1915, together with the statutes of two other organizations which were dated 1327/1911–12. On the confusion around this organization and its date of foundation see Chapter Eight.

[156] This booklet also describes its course programme. *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu nizâmnâmesi ve ders programı*, Istanbul, 1329/1913–14.

[157] *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti mukaddeme,* Istanbul, 1329/1913. "Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti programı," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, 55, 28 Mayıs 1329

(Islamic Organization for the Employment of Women),[158] which was founded by Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, in June 1916.[159]

Another informative source for the study of women and women's organizations is formed by the activity reports of the organizations. Although they contain concrete information on an organization and its activities in a particular year in a concise form, one has to be careful in using them. As shown in Chapter Eleven, the figures given in such reports are not always as reliable as they seem to be. Some of the organizations used existing media – for example, their own or other women's periodicals – for such reports.[160] Others, such as the *Şişli Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniye* (Şişli Women's Charitable Organization),[161] the *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi*[162] and the women's branch of the Red Crescent, the *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar (Genel) Merkezi* (Red

(10 June 1913), 1–2; Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti, "Alem-i nisvan: Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti nizamnamesi," *Tanin*, 21 Haziran 1329 (4 July 1913), 4. For the transliterated text see Çakır, "Bir Osmanlı kadın örgütü: Osmanlı Müdâfaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvân Cemiyeti," and Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 332–335.

[158] *Devletlü Ismetlü Naciye Sultan hazretlerinin zir-i himayelerinde Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i Islamiyesi Nizamname*, Dersaadet, 1332. These statutes were published in Latin characters in Toprak, "Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti," and were reproduced in Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 335–337 (Çakır quotes another article as her source, but in that article these statutes are not reproduced). Whether or not this organization can be qualified as a women's organization is subject to debate, because, although its target group were poor Ottoman Muslim women, its founders and the members of its board were all men. However, at least during some time of its existence, a large part of its membership was female and it had a Women's Committee within its organizational structure. See the other chapters in this volume and Karakışla, *Women, War and Work in the Ottoman Empire*.

[159] Two later statutes are those of the *Çerkes Kadınları Teavün Cemiyeti* (Circassian Women's Organization for Mutual Support), an organization founded in 1335/1919–20 by the author Hayriye Melek Hunç and the teacher Seza Poh and those of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Union) which was founded in February 1924 by, amongst others, again Nezihe Muhittin. *Çerkes Kadınları Teavün Cemiyeti Nizamname-i Esasiye*, Istanbul, 1335/1919–20. A reproduction of the text in modernized Turkish can be found in Sefer E. Berzeg, *Gurbetteki Kafkasyadan Belgeler*, Ankara, 1985 which was reproduced in turn in Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 339–340; *Kadın Birliğinin Nizamnamesidir*, İstanbul: [Kadın Birliği], 1340/1924.

[160] See e.g. "Kırmızı-Beyaz Kulübü, üçüncü sene-i devriyesi," *Kadın*, 18, 9 Şubat 1324 (23 February 1909), 8–10; Kadınlar Dünyası, "Birinci sene-i devriyesi münasebetiyle," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, 138, 4 Nisan 1330 (17 April 1914), 2–7.

[161] *Şişli Cemiyeti-i Hayriye-i Nisvaniyesi 1333 senesi rapor ve bilançosudur*, Dersaadet, 1334/1918.

[162] *Devletlü Ismetlü Naciye Sultan hazretlerinin zir-i himayelerinde Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi 1333 senesi raporu*, İstanbul, 1334/1918; *Devletlü Ismetlü Naciye Sultan hazretlerinin zir-i himayelerinde Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi 1336 senesi raporu*, İstanbul, 1336/1920.

Crescent Women's (General) Center)[163] published separate reports, mostly containing information on the previous (financial) calendar year.

The women's branch of the Red Crescent also published what can perhaps be regarded the first women's memo-books. In these memo-books information was given which was thought to be relevant to women. They all had, for example, in the margins of every page sayings or aphorisms which stressed the importance of the elevation of women for the progress of the whole nation.[164] They also gave information on the organization itself, its activities and some information on other women's organizations.

An additional source is formed by a number of published ego-documents of women. In recent years a host of books of this kind has been published. Most of these printed ego-documents are written by women who were born after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Only a limited number of them were written by women born in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century and cover the period dealt with in this book either because the authors lived themselves during this period or because they describe the lives of their foremothers. So, for example, Cahit Uçuk,[165] who was born in 1909, mentions some activities in which her mother took part such as sewing underwear, clothing and bandages for the *Donanma Cemiyeti* (Fleet Organization), while she also remembers how she as a young girl, together with an older female relative, was sent to collect money from passers-by in the street for the Red Crescent.[166] On the other hand, one should be very cautious when using these published ego-documents. The information Nezihe Muhittin gives in her *Türk Kadını* (The Turkish Woman), which can perhaps not be characterized as an ego document proper, is at places completely wrong. Luckily, the mistakes are

[163] *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti (Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi)*, İstanbul, 1330. A special booklet was published on the *Darüssınaa* (Craftswork Home) of the organization. *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssanaası Eytam ve Eramil-i Şühedaya Muavenet*. [İstanbul], 1339/1921.

[164] *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi tarafından tertib edilen takvim 1*, Istanbul, 1331/1915–1916; *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi tarafından tertib edilen takvim 2*, Istanbul, 1332/1916–1917; *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi tarafından tertib edilen takvim 4*, Istanbul, 1918; *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi tarafından tertib edilen takvim 5*, Istanbul, 1919/1335. Although it is clear from the contents and the numbering of the other memo-books that there must have been a third memo-book, I have never had the opportunity to see it.

[165] She was called Cahit by her father, while her official name was Cahide.

[166] Cahit Uçuk, *Bir Imparatorluk Çökerken …-Anılar-*, İstanbul: YapıKredi Yayınları, 1995, 222–223; 225–227; 237.

sometimes quite obvious from the text itself. So, for example, on the *Teali-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* she writes that is was founded one year after the constitution was restored, which would be 1909, which is correct. In the same sentence she gives 1912 as its date of foundation. In the same way, she states on the one hand that it continued its activities for five years, until 1917, while she also writes that the organization was closed at the outbreak of the First World War.[167] The reason for this confusion remains to be guessed at, but it might be that she mixed up the dates, because of the different calendars which were used side-by-side during that period.

Thus, the best source for some of the organizations is formed by the women's periodicals which were used as bulletin boards by them. However, the number of organizations that did this is limited. To get a more complete picture of all women's organizations, therefore, other printed sources are indispensable. Newspapers are in this context invaluable, but also time-consuming sources. In short, we can say that printed materials contain an enormous amount of information on Ottoman Muslim women and their organizations. What about the traditional place of research for historians, the archives?

Archives, together with libraries of manuscripts, form a traditional source of information for historians. Although the Ottoman archives until quite recently were regarded the domain of researchers on male realms such as politics, war, finance, and economics,[168] research done from the late 1980s onwards shows that Ottoman archives[169] are also rich in material on Ottoman women, dynastic[170] as well as the more ordinary.[171] Documents on Ottoman women's

[167] 1909–1914 is indeed five years. Nezihe Muhittin, *Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: Numune Matbaası, 1931, 84–85. A new edition of this book with an extensive introduction by Aysegül Baykan and a modernized text by B. Ötüs-Baskett has recently been published. Aysegül Baykan & B. Ötüs-Baskett, *Türk Feminizminin Düşünsel Kökenleri ve Feminist Tarih Yazıcılığından bir Örnek: Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk Kadını*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999.

[168] When I started to visit the Ottoman archives to do research on Ottoman women in the early 1990s, I was even asked by some prominent scholars on Ottoman history of the nineteenth century what I was doing there. They were convinced there "were no women in the Ottoman Archives."

[169] Such as, e.g., Ottoman Sharia court records, see Iris Agmon, "Women's History and Ottoman Sharia Court Records: Shifting Perspectives in Social History," *Hawwa,* II, 2, 2004, 172-209. See also Barzilai-Lumbroso, "Turkish Men and the History of Ottoman Women."

[170] See e.g. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Turhan Sultan*, Aldershot, UK/Burlington, VT: Ashgate Press, 2007; Ali Akyıldız, *Mümin ve müsrif bir Padişah kızı: Refia Sultan,* Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998.

[171] See e.g. Leslie P. Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003 and the articles in Madeline C. Zilfi (ed.),

organizations, however, are relatively rare. The archives of the women's organizations founded in the period under discussion seem to have disappeared with the dissolution of the organizations, themselves.[172] In the archives accessible to researchers, most notably the Prime-Ministerial Ottoman Archives in Istanbul, the amount of documents on Ottoman women's organizations is limited. The reason for this was that until after the First World War these organizations fell under the jurisdiction of local authorities and not of the central authorities. Only if the organization had or wanted to get the special status of being for the benefit of the public (*umumi menfaate hadim*),[173] if there had been irregularities, if the organizations wanted permission to organize a public event, or if the lower authorities did not know how to handle a certain case, the central authorities, which in most cases meant the Ministry of Interior, got involved. Examples of these are the documents on the *Bursa Terakki-i İnas Cemiyeti* (Bursa Organization for the Advancement of Girls) which was declared to be an organization for the public benefit by the Council of State in November 1909[174] and the exchange of documents between the local authorities in Thessalonica and the Ministry of Interior regarding the *Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti* discussed in Chapter One. Only after the First World War do organizations seem to have become obliged to ask for permission for their foundation from the Ministry of Interior and are we able to find short documents on some women's organizations.[175] After the First World War, moreover, the authorities (of the occupational forces) seem to have had an interest in the associational life prevalent in Istanbul: the police made lists of all organizations which had been registered over the years including details such as

Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era, Leiden: Brill, 1997 to mention only a very limited number of publications.

[172] There might be one exception, on which an increasing numbers of documents are becoming available for research: the Women's Branch of the Red Crescent. The archives of the Red Crescent are opened to researchers and documents are being catalogued continuously. From these archives researchers might be able to find more materials not only on the Women's Branch of the Red Crescent, but also on other women's organizations, since especially during the First World War the Red Crescent became the coordinating institution for most charitable organizations.

[173] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (hereafter BOA), Dahiliye Nezareti, Muhaberat-i Umumiye İdaresi (hereafter DH.MUİ), 45–1/13, 2 Zilhicce 1327 (15 December 1909).

[174] BOA, DH.MUİ, 43-1/10, 12 Zilkade 1327 (26 November 1909).

[175] It should be noted, though, that despite the lack of materials on Ottoman women's organizations, the Prime-Ministerial Ottoman Archives, as mentioned above, do offer an enormous amount of information on individual women, their lives and activities, and, moreover, on the intricate relationship of Ottoman (Muslim) women with the local and central authorities.

their names, dates of foundation, their addresses, whether they were still active and, sometimes, the names of the members of their boards.[176]

Structure

The book consists, besides this introductory chapter and a conclusion, of three parts. Each of these parts has an introduction followed by three or, as in the last part, four chapters. The first part is dedicated to female associational life as such. In the other two parts the activities and the associational life of Ottoman Muslim women are put in the context of economic and political, or rather, military struggles, respectively.

The first part commences with an introduction on the legal and social aspects of the development of associational life in the late Ottoman Empire in general and female associational life more specifically. This chapter is followed by Chapter Two which seeks to put the establishment of associational life of Ottoman Muslim women within the context of the international female associational life which was developing rapidly in the period. In the following two chapters some particular women's organizations are described in detail. The organizations described in these chapters are organizations on which there are relatively many source materials are available. Although the chapters deal with specific organizations, they serve to give us an idea on the way organizations in general functioned, their membership, the flexibility they displayed in choosing their aims, and the ways they were able to generate incomes.

The second part of the book starts with an introduction on the developments in the Ottoman economy during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century as represented in mainstream studies of economic history of the Ottoman Empire. In the chapters which follow, the economic activities of women are discussed in an effort to gender these mainstream studies. Chapter Six describes and analyzes the strike of a group of female silk workers in the Bursa area in July and August 1910, based on gender, class and ethno-religious affiliation. Chapters Seven and Eight deal with

[176] BOA, Dahiliye Nezareti, Emniyet-i Umumiye, 5. Şube (hereafter DH.EUM.5.Şb), 79/30, 30 Zilhicce 1337 (26 September 1919); BOA, Dahiliye Nezareti, Emniyet-i Umumiye, 6. Şube (hereafter DH.EUM.6.Şb), 53/78, 29 Cemaziyelevvel 1339 (8 February 1921); BOA, Dahiliye Nezareti, Emniyet-i Umumiye, Asayış Kalemi (hereafter DH.EUM.AYŞ), 72/49, 12 Cemaziyelevvel 1341 (31 December 1922).

Ottoman Muslim women belonging to the urban middle and upper-middle class. They relate how individual women and women's organizations actively discussed and participated in the development of a national economy and how they did so in a gendered way.

The third part of this book is dedicated to the activities of Ottoman Muslim women as individuals and in organized form *vis à vis* the military in general and during times of political and military struggle in particular. In the introduction to this part the military reforms in the Ottoman Empire and the efforts of the authorities to mobilize the nation during the nineteenth and early twentieth are briefly described. The four chapters which follow deal with different aspects of women's involvement in the military and war. Chapter Ten explores the workings of an embryonic form of organized state welfare which was initiated in the course of the nineteenth century but became only functional during the wars of the Second Constitutional Period: family aid or separation allowance. The rules and regulations pertaining to this allowance for those left without breadwinners are analyzed in the context of gendered citizenship. The chapter, shows, moreover, how women's organizations stepped in where the state failed to fulfil its duties towards its (female) citizens. The ways the Ottoman military and civil authorities tapped into the female labour force for both manufacturing and agriculture during, particularly, the First World War and the effects of this on women form the topic of the next chapter. The last two chapters cover the activities of women and their organizations for the military. The support of Ottoman (Muslim) women and their organizations for, on the one hand, the army as an institution and, on the other hand, the soldiers, are described and analyzed in the context of a developing sense of citizenship amongst the women as well as in the context of the development of a changing state identity by the Ottoman authorities.