Fashion, Handicraft and Women Between the Wars in Turkey: Modernization, Nationalism and Women's Movement

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Abstract

Fashion, Handicraft and Women Between the Wars in Turkey: Modernization, Nationalism and Women's Movement

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This study looks at women's fashion-related agenda, tailoring and handicraft works in interwar Turkey. To that end, it revisits the history of the women's movement and analyzes the activities of four women-run institutions — Women's Branch of Red Crescent, Organization for the Protection of Ottoman (and) Turkish Women, Turkish Women's Tailoring School and Turkish Women's Union. It also focuses on the girls' institutes as well as tailoring schools and enterprises run by women. It demonstrates that women remained active participants of public life in early republican Turkey thanks to their fashion-related activities, tailoring and handicrafts works. Women in this period not only propagated but also produced domestic clothing. A considerable number of women earned their livings as tailors and embroiderers. The Kemalist regime also encouraged their employment in tailoring-related works. Women who participated in these activities thereby rescued themselves from restriction to their homes and instead made themselves visible in the public sphere. In other words, women's engagement in occupations traditionally associated with womanhood and the domestic sphere brought them the opportunity to join public life. This study argues that women's activities in interwar Turkey show that the boundaries between public and private sphere were not strict but porous. Women were in turn able to blur these boundaries to their advantage, which increased their opportunities in public life and improved their social status.

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Özet

İki Savaş Arası Dönemde Türkiye'de Moda, Elişi ve Kadınlar: Modernleşme, Milliyetçilik ve Kadın Hareketi

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Bu çalışma kadınların moda ile ilgili gündemine, terzilik ve elişi faaliyetlerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, kadın hareketinin tarihi yeniden ele alınmış ve kadınlar tarafından yönetilen dört kurumun, Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi, Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği, Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu ve Türk Kadınlar Birliği'nin aktiviteleri incelenmiştir. Kız enstitüleri ile kadınlar tarafından yönetilen terzilik okulları ve işletmeler de çalışmanın konuları arasındadır. Moda ile ilgili faaliyetler, terzilik ve elişi faaliyetleri kadınların kamusal hayata katılımının önemli bir yoluydu. Kadınlar bu dönemde yerli kıyafet tüketiminin propagandasını yapmanın yanında bu kıyafetlerin üreticileri de oldu. Hatırı sayılır sayıda kadın hayatını terzilik ve nakış yaparak kazandı. Kemalist rejim de kadınların terzilik ve dikiş-nakış işlerinde istihdamını teşvik etti. Bu faaliyetlere katılan kadınlar böylelikle evlerine kısıtlı kalmaktan kurtuldu ve kamusal alanda görünür oldu. Diğer bir deyişle, kadınların geleneksel olarak kadınlık ve özel alanla özdeşleştirilen faaliyetlerle ilgilenmesi, onları kamusal hayata dahil eden olanaklar yarattı. Kadınların iki savaş arası dönemdeki faaliyetleri böylece kamusal ve özel alanlar arasındaki sınırların katı değil geçişken olduğunu göstermektedir. Kadınlar bu sınırları kendi avantajlarına göre muğlaklaştırmış, kamusal alandaki imkanlarını arttırmış ve sosyal statülerini iyileştirmişlerdir.

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To my mother

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Glossary of Non-English Terms

Çarşaf	a black over-garment that covers women's entire body
Tesettür	women's covering their head and bodies according to Islamic rules
Peçe	face veil
Ferace	women's outdoor garment in the Ottoman Empire
Yaşmak	a veil used by women to cover their head and face

Abbreviations and Acronyms

BCA	Cumhurbaşkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi
BOA	Cumhurbaşkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi
THAM	Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Mecmuası
TKA	Türkiye Kızılay Arşivi

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1

Introduction

This dissertation attempts to look at women's fashion-related agenda, tailoring and handicrafts work in the interwar period. Ideological reactions against the spread of Western fashion were a common concern for all women's organizations from the Balkan Wars onward. This concern was probably the primary motive for groups of women who came together to form associations in 1913. Women's fashion-related agenda and the search for the revival of national clothing continued in various forms during the 1920s and 1930s. In what follows, I seek to demonstrate that—far from being secondary to the struggle for universal suffrage—fashion-related activities[1] were a crucial component of the agenda of the women's movement. Indeed, these activities

[1] Throughout this dissertation, I used the concept of anti-fashion in the same way as Alexander Maxwell does. In his book, *Patriots Against Fashion: Clothing and Nationalism in Europe's Age of Revolutions*, Maxwell analyzes the discourses of patriots against fashion and demonstrates the exclusivist and gendered nature of anti-fashion attitude from the 19th century to the early 20th century in Europe. Maxwell examines "how patriots imagined the nation" through their views on the definition of national clothing. In a similar way, I will try to analyze the patriotic agenda on clothing to see and compare the approach of the women's movement and the Kemalist regime to better analyze the questions of nationalism and modernization in the single party period in Turkey. See Alexander Maxwell, *Patriots Against Fashion: Clothing and Nationalism in Europe's Age of Revolutions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

constituted a critical mobilizing factor in women's collective action in the public sphere. Moreover, they brought women to public visibility: women's sewing, tailoring, and embroidering allowed women to enter the public sphere in this period. To show that this was the case, I examine women's activities in the following women-run institutions: The *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Heyeti* (Women's Branch of the Red Crescent), the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* (Organization for the Protection of Ottoman (and) Turkish Women), the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* (Turkish Women Tailoring School) and the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Union). I also look at how women were involved in traditionally female-associated activities such as tailoring and textile handicraft production, and how this became their public identity, public work, and main source of income. To that end, I focus on women's experiences in the girls' institutes, and the increasing number of tailoring schools and enterprises in the interwar period as well.

The fashion-related agenda was an appropriate means for groups of women to become visible in public life. Women joined political discussions on clothing in newspapers and periodicals. To support the use of national textiles, women's organizations strove to train Turkish women as tailors and provide them with a living in tailoring-related jobs. They offered women education on tailoring and embroidering. They also employed lower-class women in handicraft textile production. The project of encouraging women's employment in tailoring was not confined to women's organizations either: The Kemalist regime also supported women becoming involved in tailoring-related jobs and activities. Consequently, a considerable number of women worked as tailors and embroiderers in public or private schools. Many women entrepreneurs opened tailoring workshops, where other women also found employment. As such, traditional female activities like sewing, tailoring, and embroidering did not limit women to the domestic sphere. On the contrary, women could enter the public sphere with female-associated works, thereby blurring the boundaries between private and public spheres.

The rest of the chapter proceeds as follows. I first offer a brief review of the literature on the general history of interwar Turkey. Then, I review the feminist scholarship on women's history in this period. Next, I revisit in some detail three topics in the feminist scholarship: the wave narrative, the women's movement, and the public and private spheres. I conclude with a discussion of the sources, followed by a summary plan of the upcoming chapters.

§ 1.1 Review of the Literature on Turkish Modernization

The dominant scholarly narrative during the Cold War saw the Ottoman-Turkish modernization as a case of success. The state was celebrated as the implementer of modernist reforms, transforming an otherwise stagnant society in the direction of contemporary Western countries. Research focused on the legal and institutional façade of reforms, emphasizing the adoption of secular law. This early cohort of researchers shared one premise—namely, the Ottoman-Turkish state's vision as an entity autonomous from civil society. The bureaucracy appeared as a distinct interest group unaffected by society's preferences, which allowed them to adopt a progressive ideology and then impose the implied agenda of reforms on civil society from above.[2]

The assumptions of this literature came under challenge from the 1980s onwards.[3] Instead of taking the Kemalist elite's self-declared

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[2] See Bernard Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: Hurst and Company, 1998[1964]. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002[1977]). For a similar literature review, see Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, "Introduction," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997).

[3] Bozdoğan and Kasaba state that the first criticisms on the conventional literature emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s with the writings of "Marxisant" scholars. These scholars focused on non-elite actors, economic structures and attached importance to conflict rather than consensus. Bozdoğan and Kasaba, "Introduction," 4-5. See, also, Şerif Mardin, "Projects as Methodology Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science,"

enlightened reformism at face value, a younger generation of scholars saw state policies of the time as manifestations of the single party regime's authoritarian character. Studies underlined the similarities between early republican Turkey and the fascisms of the interwar period, with renewed attention on the authoritarian-nationalistic aspects of Kemalist ideology. In this framework, the wave of reforms during the early republic appeared as case studies of how an authoritarian party imposed, often using oppressive measures, a set of Westernizing policies on an unwilling people.[4] Indeed, these scholars' standard premise was that most of the citizens either resisted or pretended to comply with the reforms without really espousing them.

Despite its critical stance, the post-1980s literature shared with the older generation an exclusive interest in the ideology and policies of the ruling elite. In both frameworks, the state stood as an autonomous agent with almost limitless power over a passive society, whereas actors outside the state did not affect policy outcomes.[5] As a result, the social

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in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997).

4 Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetimi'nin Kurulması: 1923-1931* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999); Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları: Kemalist Tek Parti İdeolojisi ve CHP'nin Altı Oku* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992). For similar analysis on the previous literature, see Sevgi Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery: Anti-Veiling Campaigns and State-Society Relations in 1930s Turkey" (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 2015); Hale Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey, 1923-1945* (Syracuse and New York: Syracuse University Press, 2013). Murat Metinsoy, "Everyday Politics of Ordinary People: Public Opinion, Dissent, and Resistance in Early Republican Turkey 1925-1939," (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2010). See, also, Yiğit Akın, "Reconsidering State, Party, and Society in Early Republican Turkey: Politics of Petitioning," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 39 (2007): 435-457.

5 In these studies, only large instances of social resistance became a subject of inquiry. Reactions of the people towards the reforms were studied from the perspective of the state but not from that of rebels or ordinary people. See Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*; Berkes, *The Development of Secularism*. For this kind of a criticism, see Touraj Atabaki, "Introduction," in *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and* Iran, eds. Touraj Atabaki (London and New York: Tauris, 2007), xiii-xiv. See, also, Metinsoy, "Everyday Politics of Ordinary People".

history of the single party period remained one of the least studied realms.[6]

Recently, a wave of revisionist research has challenged both these approaches, questioning the historical narrative of the strong state-passive society dichotomy. Instead of focusing on the ruling elite, these recent studies bring ordinary people, such as peasants, workers, and women, into their understandings of the early republic. To that end, they revisit the early republican modernization experience with specific attention to the implementation of the reforms in everyday life in the light of new archival sources. This shift of perspective helps these scholars portray reforms as dynamic processes of interaction and negotiation between social actors, the Kemalist ruling elite, and provincial state officials in everyday practices.[7] The social histories of Kemalist reforms revise the existing views in scholarship in significant ways. First, they reveal various responses to Kemalist reforms, debunking the earlier monolithic perceptions of social actors as either complete resistors or passive recipients. Furthermore, they cast light on a variety of topics previously neglected by the previous literature.[8]

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6 For example, Touraj Atabaki analyzes the historiography of Turkey and Iran comparatively and asserts that the literature in both countries approaches the modernization process from a "history from above" perspective, dismissing the reactions of society. Atabaki, "Introduction," xiii-xiv. Stephanie Cronin states that for the history on the Middle East and North Africa, conventional scholarship focused on elites and paid little attention to non-elite, "subaltern" groups. See Stephanie Cronin eds., *Subalterns and Social Protest: History from Below in the Middle East and North Africa* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). Murat Metinsoy offers a comparative analysis on the historiography on certain authoritarian regimes in the interwar period and demonstrates some similarities in the history writing of these countries. According to Metinsoy, these studies tended to overemphasize the coercive and transforming power of the state. Similarly, the conventional literature on the early republican period in Turkey foregrounds the elite and state while discarding the agency of ordinary people. Metinsoy, "Everyday Politics of Ordinary People," 3-4. See, also, Gavin D. Brockett, *Towards A Social History of Modern Turkey: Essays in Theory and Practice* (İstanbul: Libra Yayınevi, 2011).

7 See, also, Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 10-11.

8 See, for example, some of the new studies on the single party period in Turkey, such as Metinsoy, "Everyday Politics of Ordinary People"; Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish;* Adak,

This dissertation contributes to this new literature on the social history of the Turkish single party period. It intends to highlight women's agency in an activity that is traditionally associated with the domestic sphere. This agency arguably lends a role to women in the larger modernization process. This in turn allows us both to reconsider the women's movement in this period, and to unravel women's historical role in Turkish modernization during the single-party period.

§ 1.2 The Women's Movement and the Emergence of Women's/Gender Studies

In Turkey, the 1990s saw a burst of interest in the history of the women's movement, which was undoubtedly a result of the rise of the feminist movement. Eager to construct a political lineage for themselves, Turkish feminists turned to the early republican era to find historical predecessors. The political background thus played a significant role in shaping women's history in Turkey. Furthermore, the political discussions heavily affected the central themes and interpretations that dominated the scholarship. A brief review of these political motivations behind the women's historiography in Turkey is therefore helpful in understanding the literature.

It is worth noting that Turkey is by no means a unique case in terms of the heavy influence of the feminist movement on women's history. Women's history emerged in Western academic circles as a field of historical inquiry in the 1970s, and it rapidly grew with interdisciplinary approaches and comparative studies all around the world. The new interest in women's history was undoubtedly part of the more general historiographic trends characterized by increased attention to non-state actors and subaltern groups previously ignored in academic studies. However, it was more directly influenced by the women's movement;

"Kemalism in the Periphery"; Umut Azak, "A Reaction to Authoritarian Modernization in Turkey: The Menemen Incident and the Creation and Contestation of a Myth, 1930-1931," in *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and in Iran* eds. Touraj Atabaki (London and New York: Tauris, 2007), 143-158.

feminists seeking to find traces of their history were among the early practitioners of women's history.[9]

These early practitioners saw women's history as a means to "[make] women visible as historical, social, economic, and political actors."[10] The early studies challenged the previous historical accounts on the grounds that they were androcentric.[11] A turning point in feminist scholarship emerged with the introduction of the new concept of "gender" in the 1980s.[12] This methodological shift deeply affected social sciences in general.[13] During the 1970s, "mainstream historians" treated women's history as a subfield, which was approached separately from the history of men.[14] With feminist scholars' critical questioning, women's history/gender history gradually became a significant research area in social history with significant implications for broader social sciences.

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9 Offen, Pierson and Rendall state that the influence of the women's movement was one common reason of this interest all around the world. For examples from different countries, see Karen M. Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson and Jane Rendall, "Introduction," in *Women's History Writing: International Perspectives* eds. Karen M. Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson and Jane Rendall (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1991), xx- xxi.

10 This is what Deniz Kandiyoti referred to as the "first phase" of feminist scholarship in the West. See Deniz Kandiyoti, "Contemporary Feminist Scholarship and Middle East Studies," in *Gendering the Middle East: Emerging Perspectives,* eds. Deniz Kandiyoti (London and New York: Tauris, 1996): 2-4.

11 Ibid.

12 Kandiyoti defines these as the second and third phases in feminist scholarship. Ibid., 4-7. In this conceptual change, Joan W. Scott's article, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis", published in 1986, was a significant turning point. Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review*, no 5 (December 1986): 1053-1075.

13 For further information, see Joanne Meyerowitz, "A History of 'Gender'," *The American Historical Review*, no 5 (December 2008): 1353.

14 This was one of the topics that Scott mentioned in her articles while criticizing the approach towards women's history. On this, see Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category," 1055. See, also, Joan W. Scott, "History and Difference" *Deadalus*, no. 4 (Fall 1987): 93-118.

1.2.1 Pioneering Studies on the History of the Women's Movement in Turkey

The birth of women's/gender studies in Turkey followed a similar path to Western Europe and the United States. As an academic discipline, gender studies emerged in the 1980s as a by-product of the emergence of the women's movement in Turkey.[15]

A central concern for women's historians has been to emphasize continuity in the women's movement from the Ottoman Empire to the Republican period.[16] In this sense, Serpil Çakır's book, *The Ottoman Women's Movement* (1994), set the trend. After she investigated the historical roots of the women's movement in the Ottoman Empire, a growing interest in the women's movement in Ottoman and Turkish

15 In Turkey, according to the literature, the earliest women's organizations calling themselves feminist emerged in the 1980s. Although some feminists date the beginning of the post-war feminist movement in Turkey back to the Progressive Women's Organization (*İlerici Kadınlar Derneği*), the members of this organization did not call themselves feminists. Şirin Tekeli argues that we can nonetheless see it as the first organization in this wave of the feminist movement as it drew attention to "gender inequality" in the 1970s. Şirin Tekeli, "The Turkish Women's Movement: A Brief History of Success," *Quaderns de la Mediterrania*, no. 14 (2010): 120. Beginning in the 1980s, with the increasing wave of campaigns, feminists started to publish books related to gender issues. The first center for women's studies, the Women's Research and Education Center, opened in Istanbul in 1989 with others to follow. The center also founded the Women's Library and Information Center in 1990. Yeşim Arat, "Turkey," in *Enyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures Family, Law and Politics*, vol 2, eds. Suad Joseph (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 56. Necla Arat, "Women's Studies in Turkey," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, no. ½ (Spring-Summer, 1996): 40-406. See, also, Arat, "Women's Studies in Turkey," 404.

16 This desire was not unique to the women's movement in Turkey. Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker assert that studies on the history of the women's movement in Middle East was related to the desire to create a continuity with a feminist past. See Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker, "Introduction," in *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* eds. Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1999), 4.

history occurred.[17] Çakır's study entailed detailed archival research on women's periodicals to locate the roots of the first-wave feminist movement, whose birth she dates to the 1900s.[18] She explicitly states the aim for writing the book as challenging the Kemalist claim that "women's rights were first recognized within the frame of legal reforms launched in the republican period" in the absence of any grass-roots "demand coming from women on this topic."[19] Indeed, she shows decisively that a vivid Ottoman women's movement existed, which advocated for improvement in women's status, including political rights.

Subsequent studies share Çakır's critical approach to Kemalist claims and her focus on the movement's history. Şirin Tekeli, another pioneer in the field, classifies the history of the women's movement in Turkey in two consecutive periods. The first wave of the movement covers the years from 1910 to the 1920s, preceded by an approximately 40-45 years preparation period.[20] In this framework, the 1920s appears as the last vivid period of the first-wave movement, which came to an end with the closure of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* in 1935.[21] The second wave of the movement starts in the 1980s, before which there was a period of stagnation, or, in her words, "years of drought."[22]

Tekeli explains the long interval of silence in the women's movement concerning the early republican reforms' symbolic aspect. She argues that it was the "illusion" that women gained their rights, in particular suffrage rights, that kept women away from political activism.[23] This

17 One of the earlier studies on the history of the women's movement is Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi* (Ankara: Ayizi Yayınevi, 2011 [1993]).

18 Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 1996[1994]), 315.

19 Ibid., 7; 313.

20 Şirin Tekeli, "Birinci ve İkinci Dalga Feminist Hareketlerin Karşılaştırmalı İncelemesi Üzerine Bir Deneme," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, eds. Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 337-338.

21 Şirin Tekeli, "Europe, European Feminism, and Women in Turkey," *Women's Studies International Forum*, no. 1 (1992): 140.

22 Tekeli's classification is in parallel with the categories applied to the feminist movement in the West. Şirin Tekeli, "Birinci ve İkinci Dalga," 337-338.

23 Ibid.

"illusion" was, in turn, created by "state feminism"[24] —a concept that Tekeli uses to define the Kemalist reforms concerning women's status. According to Tekeli, these reforms made the women's movement passive for an extended period in Turkey.[25] In other words, the "price to be paid for this 'state feminism' was the myth that Turkish women had full equal rights with men, that they acquired these rights before women in many other European nations, and that consequently there was no further need for women's organizations."[26]

In *Kadınsız İnkılap* (2003), Yaprak Zihnioğlu offers a more detailed periodization. She dates the birth of "the first-wave feminist movement" in the Ottoman Empire to the first appearance of Ottoman women with an unsigned letter in *Terakki-i Muhadderat* in 1868, and ends it with *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*'s abolition of itself in 1935. She further divides this period into three sub-phases: the early Ottoman women's movement period (from 1868 to the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908); Ottoman feminism in the Second Constitutional period and the War of Independence period (1908-1922); and the period of republican first-wave feminism (1923-1935).[27] Zihnioğlu constructs her narrative around the political and personal life of Nezihe Muhiddin and shows how the women's movement under her leadership struggled to achieve women's social and political rights in the single party period in Turkey. Emphasizing the movement's suppression by the authoritarian regime, she argues that the new republic absorbed the achievements of the first-wave women's movement and produced the widespread myth that

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24 Scholars used this concept in various other contexts all around the world. For an analysis on the use of state feminism in Egypt and Turkey, see Mervat Hatem, "Modernization, the State, and the Family in Middle East Women's Studies," in *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* eds. Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1999), 77-79.

25 Şirin Tekeli, "The Rise and Change of the New Women's Movement Emergence of the Feminist Movement in Turkey," in *The New Women's Movement: Feminism and Political Power in Europe and the USA* eds. Drude Dahlerup (London: Sage, 1986), 193.

26 Şirin Tekeli, "Europe, European Feminism," 140.

27 Yaprak Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği* (İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 2003), 20-21.

Kemalists "gave women their rights."[28] As a product of the women's movement, women's studies in Turkey have been highly critical of the state—specifically, the Kemalist regime in the single party period—casting it as a structural manifestation of patriarchy.[29]

The pioneering works on the women's movement's history share two formative premises, which later studies have largely inherited. On the one hand, they accept the wave narrative[30] in the periodization of the women's movement's history. According to the literature, the women's movement existed only in two periods in Ottoman-Turkish history and, for the most part, remained silent in the republican period. They emphasize that the women's movement was vivid from the mid-19th century until the dismissal of Nezihe Muhiddin in 1927, paying less attention to the active period of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* between 1927 and 1935. After this period, according to the literature, the movement remained silent until the 1980s.[31]

The second premise is that the value of Kemalist reforms was mostly symbolic in the single party period in Turkey. The literature emphasized

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28 Ibid., 22-23.

29 Feminist scholars emphasized patriarchal character of the Kemalist regime. See Zehra F. Arat, "Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, eds. Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 51-70. See Ayşe Saktanber, "Kemalist Kadın Hakları Söylemi," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Kemalizm* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları,2004), 323-343. Durakbaşa, "Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey," 148-150. See, also, Yeşim Arat, "Women's Movement of the 1980s in Turkey: Radical Outcome of Liberal Kemalism?," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East* eds. Fatma Müge Göçek and Shiva Balaghi (New York: Colombia University Press, 1994), 102.

30 The wave narrative has been central to many accounts of the women's movement in Western literature. It basically defines three historical waves in the development of the movement. According to this narrative, the first women's movement started in the mid-19th century and lasted until the achievement of suffrage rights. The second wave started in the 1940s and reached its peak in the 1960s. Finally, the third wave started after the 1980s. I will offer a more detailed critical analysis of the wave narrative in section 1.3 of the chapter.

31 See, also, Selin Çağatay, "The Politics of Gender and The Making of Kemalist Feminist Activism In Contemporary Turkey (1946-2011)," (PhD diss., Central European University, 2017), 16-18.

that although the regime encouraged women's appearance in the public sphere, it left traditional gender norms intact and "women's primary responsibility remained within the private domain."[32] The literature also draws attention to the increasing emphasis on domesticity, motherhood, and household management as women's key functions.[33]

1.2.2 Feminist Literature on Kemalist Reforms and Women

Until the 1980s, one of the dominant themes in the studies[34] was the conviction that the new administration prioritized women's education as central to modernization. Two significant improvements in education informed this view—namely, the increase in the number of schools and

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32 Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "Women's Subordination in Turkey: Is Islam Really the Villain?" Middle East Journal, no. 4 (Autumn 1994): 652.

33 Zehra F. Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic," in *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman",* eds. Zehra Arat (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 175. Selda Şerifsoy, "Aile ve Kemalist Modernizasyon Projesi, 1928-1950," in *Vatan Millet Kadınlar*, eds. Ayşe Gül Altınay (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004). Ayşe Durakbaşa, "Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey," in *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman",* eds. Zehra Arat (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 140; 143; 144. Kadıoğlu, "Women's Subordination in Turkey," 652. Elif Ekin Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği: Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005). Yeşim Arat, "The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997), 100. See, also, Elif Ekin Akşit, "Girls' Institutes and the Rearrangement of the Public and the Private Spheres in Turkey," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women*, eds. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013). See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 22-24. Nükhet Sirman, "Feminism in Turkey: A Short History," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, vol. 3 (Fall 1989), 9; 12.

34 The traditional modernist view is expressed in the following works: Afet İnan, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının Hak ve Görevleri* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1982); Afet İnan, *Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması* (İstanbul: MEB Yayınları, 1964); Afet İnan, *The Emancipation of the Turkish Woman* (Paris: UNESCO, 1962); Tezer Taşkıran, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Türk Kadın Hakları* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1973); Tezer Taşkıran, *Women in Turkey* (Istanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1976); Emel Doğramacı, *Atatürk'ten Günümüze Sosyal Değişmede Kadın* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1993); Muhaddere Taşçıoğlu, *Türk Osmanlı Cemiyetinde Kadının Sosyal Durumu ve Kadın Kıyafetleri* (Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1958).

enrolled students, and the enactment of the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (Unification of Education Law) in 1923, which made primary education mandatory for both sexes.

The apparently enlightened character of single party rule manifested itself also in legal regulations. In 1926, the new Civil Law, based on the Swiss Civil Code, replaced Islamic family law and thereby annulled numerous legal practices in marriage, inheritance, and divorce that functioned to the disadvantage of women. But the regime's crowning achievement in this respect was undoubtedly the granting of full suffrage for women in 1934. The early scholarship assumed these reforms amounted to no less than an emancipatory transformation for women in Turkey.

The post-1980s revisionism criticized the earlier generation's sympathetic treatment of women's rights and status in the early republican period and drew attention to the limited application of the legal and institutional measures that seemed to bring women onto an equal footing with men. The curriculum in the republican period was also gendered; it was arguably used above all as a tool for raising "competent mothers and 'modern housewives'."[35] Likewise, the Civil Code had articles that reproduced gender-based inequality.[36] In general, the revisionist scholarship concluded that the Kemalist reforms remained mostly at the symbolic level, while the Kemalist ideology reinforced traditional gender roles.[37]

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35 Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic," 175. See Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "Cinselliğin İnkarı Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadını," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, eds. Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998).

36 See Arat, "Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını." Zehra F. Arat, "Turkish Women and the Republican Construction of Tradition," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East*, eds. Fatma Müge Göçek and Shiva Balaghi (New York: Colombia University Press, 1994), 57-78. Saktanber, "Kemalist Kadın Hakları Söylemi," 326. See, also, Arat, "The Project of Modernity," 105-106.

37 Adrian Bingham analyzes post-1980s research and finds a similar emphasis on backsliding in the interwar period in the feminist studies in Europe. For a literature review, see Adrian Bingham, "'An Era of Domesticity'? Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain," *Cultural and Social History*, no. 2 (2004): 225-233. See, also, Angela Kershaw and Angela Kimyongür, "Women in Europe Between the Wars: A Culture of

Revisionist scholars rightly underlined that the early reforms were products of the ruling elite's instrumentalist approach to women's public image rather than the fruits of a sincere concern for gender equality. For example, Şirin Tekeli saw the recognition of women's political rights as a mere strategic gesture by the Kemalist regime to differentiate itself from contemporary fascist regimes in the West. According to Tekeli, the fascist regime alienated women from the social and political life in Germany. In this respect, women's acquisition of the right to vote had a symbolic value for the Kemalist regime, which was trying to differentiate itself from the European fascisms and place itself among the contemporary democratic countries.[38]

The feminist literature argued that Kemalist reforms did not change the patriarchal structure of society. Deniz Kandiyoti defined women's position in the single-party period as "emancipated but unliberated": The Kemalist reforms had progressive impacts on women but did not transform traditional gender relations and inequalities. According to Kandiyoti, women's experiences continued to be determined by cultural norms.[39] Zihnioğlu also drew attention to the essentially instrumentalist take of the new republic on women: the republican elite did not see

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Contradictions," in *Women in Europe Between the Wars: Politics, Culture and Society*, eds. Angela Kershaw and Angela Kimyongür (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 6.

38 See Şirin Tekeli, "Türkiye'de Kadının Siyasal Hayattaki Yeri," in *Türk Toplumunda Kadın,* eds. Nermin Unat Abadan (İstanbul: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1982), 399; Şirin Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal-Toplumsal Hayat* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982), 215-216. See, also, Şirin Tekeli, "1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadınlar," in *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar,* eds. Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1993).

39 Deniz Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case," *Feminist Studies*, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 317-338. Kandiyoti also showed the centrality of woman question in the political and ideological discussions between the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and the early republican period. She stated that for the Kemalist regime, woman question became a pawn to dissociate itself from Islam and the Ottoman past. Deniz Kandiyoti, "End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey," in *Women, Islam and the State*, eds. Deniz Kandiyoti (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1991), 22-47. See, also, Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns?," in *Women-Nation-State,* eds. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989), 139.

women as individuals and political agents. Theirs was instead "a patriarchal and reductionist approach where women's role in society was defined as being 'mothers who raised soldiers/sons for the nation.'"[40] Zehra Arat also underlined the symbolic value of "women's presence and visibility in the public sphere" for the Republican elite whose primary purpose was to present Turkey as a modern country. Granting women their political rights was simply part of this agenda.[41]

Feminist scholars pointed out that the Kemalist nationalist project had a set of patriarchal objectives, which included controlling women's public presence and constructing women as asexual subjects in the public eye. Compliance with these objectives was a precondition for women's entrance to the public sphere. Feminist literature significantly demonstrated that the new ideal Turkish woman was "a comrade-woman", "an asexual sister-in-arms" or "an asexual companion."[42] The new woman was "modern-yet-modest", associated with chastity and honor.[43] Ayşe Durakbaşa stated that Kemalist ideology saw the eradication of women's sexuality as the only way equality between sexes could be obtained.[44] She also drew attention to several conflicting feminine images attached to the republican woman. She was an educated employee, a volunteer in social organizations, a "good mother" and a "good wife," and a resolute follower of the republic's new cultural

40 Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 22-23.

41 Zehra F. Arat, "Introduction: Politics of Representation and Identity" in *Deconstructing Images of "The Turkish Woman"*, eds. Zehra Arat (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 15.

42 Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State," 143. See, also, Arat, "Kemalizm ve Türk Kadını," 55. Kadıoğlu, "Cinselliğin İnkarı," 95-96. Kadıoğlu, "Women's Subordination in Turkey," 659.

43 Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State," 143. Kadıoğlu, "Cinselliğin İnkarı," 95-96. Kadıoğlu, "Women's Subordination in Turkey," 652; 660. Durakbaşa, "Kemalism As Identity Politics in Turkey," 147-148. See, also, Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 46. See, also, Pınar Yelsalı Parmaksız, "Modern yet Modest: Women Allegories in Turkish Modernization," in *The Gender of Memory: Cultures of Remembrance in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe*, eds. Sylvia Paletschek and Sylvia Schraut (Frankfurt and New York: Campus-Verlag, 2008).

44 Ayşe Durakbaşa, *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 126.

values.[45] According to Durakbaşa, the Kemalist regime encouraged women to be in the public sphere but inside traditional feminine roles and moral codes.[46]

The new regime's emphasis on motherhood and household management meant an affirmation of traditional gender norms. The Kemalist regime located the ideal middle-class woman inside the boundaries of the middle-class household. It tried to allocate women's time inside the house meticulously, promoting "ordered houses" where women would adopt a scientific approach to housework to increase efficiency.

Against this backdrop, the republic initiated new policies for the scientific education of homemakers.[47] Undoubtedly, the foremost among a housewife's duties was giving birth. A woman was supposed to raise new generations for the nation. The emphasis on the domestic responsibilities of women was undoubtedly related to the new regime's demographic concerns. Underpopulation was a big problem in the early years of the republic, and the rulers encouraged marriage to compensate for the population loss after the war.[48]

The feminist scholars' emphasis on the persistence of patriarchal structures and gendered aspects of the nationalist project during the interwar period was a welcome correction to the earlier scholarship's

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45 Durakbaşa, "Kemalism As Identity Politics in Turkey," 147. Ayşe Durakbaşa, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu: Kemalist Kadın Kimliği ve 'Münevver Erkekler'," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, eds. Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 46. See, also, Zehra Toska, "Cumhuriyet'in Kadın İdeali: Eşiği Aşanlar ve Aşamayanlar," in *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler*, eds. Ayşe Berktay Hacımirzaoğlu (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998).

46 Durakbaşa, "Kemalism As Identity Politics in Turkey," 147-148.

47 Yael Navaro-Yaşın, "'Evde Taylorizm': Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin İlk Yıllarında Evişinin Rasyonelleşmesi (1928-1940)," *Toplum ve Bilim,* no. 84 (Spring 2000): 54. See, also, Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*. See, also, Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic"; Durakbaşa, "Kemalism As Identity Politics in Turkey".

48 For an analysis of the Republican People's Party programs and women, see Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap,* 220-223. See, also, Pınar Öztamur, "Defining A Population: Women and Children In Early Republican Turkey, 1923-1950," (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004).

uncritical conceptions of women's liberation. In doing so they sought to answer two questions: how Kemalist states' practices sought to control and discipline women,[49] and how women's tasks in the private sphere were redefined as part of these practices. As such, women's domestic life and the state's discourses on the ideal domestic life became widely studied, whereas women's public-sphere experience escaped scholarly attention, which meant that women's public activities in the single party period would go unnoticed.[50] In other words, in their eagerness to demonstrate the patriarchal core of the early republican regime, feminist scholars tended to underestimate women's capacity to influence the course of the early republican policies.[51] This is not to say that the literature was not willing to reconstruct the agency of women. On the contrary, we owe our knowledge of a lively women's movement in the last years of the Ottoman Empire to the revisionist scholarship produced by feminists. But their conception of women's agency remained confined to the struggle for political rights. What needs to be done, then, is to extend the search for women's agency to previously unexplored realms of social life.

Some studies have brought new perspectives on the history of women in early republican Turkey. For example, Sibel Bozdoğan argues that the feminist critique of Kemalism "does not alter the progressiveness of the reforms as viewed in their own time, especially by women themselves, who felt empowered by their new rights and new visibility in public

49 See, also, Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 177; 204-205; 265-266.

50 See, also, Selda Tuncer, "Going Public: Women's Experience Of Everyday Urban Public Space in Ankara Across Generations Between the 1950s and the 1980s," (PhD diss., METU, 2014), 14-15.

51 Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 175-178. See, also, Lila Abu-Lughod, "Introduction: Feminist Longings and Postcolonial Conditions," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* eds., Lila Abu-Lughod, (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 5-6. For a criticism on the nation-state-centered approach of the feminist literature, see Bilge Fırat, "Dissident, But Hegemonic: A Critical Review of Feminist Studies on Gendered Nationalism in Turkey," (master's thesis, Binghamton University, 2006). For a criticism of the feminist literature's conception of nationalism and the state, see Dağtaş, "Married to the Military".

life."[52] Likewise, Sevgi Adak argues that "patriarchal and limited as they were, legal and social reforms introduced by the Kemalist regime significantly increased the space and capacity for women's visibility and participation in the public life, as well as for their empowerment in their social lives."[53] Adak also draws attention to the implementation of the Kemalist anti-veiling campaigns at the local level, where women were involved as "active supporters and even initiators" of the campaigns.[54]

Following these revisionist researchers' footsteps, I attempt to show how women were active with a female-associated work in the public sphere in the interwar period in Turkey. But first, in the following section, I reevaluate the two basic assumptions of the post-1980s feminist scholarship in the light of recent developments in gender history—namely, the wave narrative and the public-private sphere division.

§ 1.3 Questioning the Wave Narrative

The wave narrative is an analytical tool used to classify the history of European and American women's movements into epochs with distinctive characteristics. According to this narrative, the first wave started in the mid-1800s and lasted until women acquired suffrage rights in the early twentieth century. First-wave women's movements devoted most of their activism to demands for civil and political rights.[55] The second wave started in the mid-1960s. Its distinctive aim was to broaden the political agenda of the movement and struggle against inequality in various social realms such as employment, education, and

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52 Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 82. See, also, Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 177.

53 Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 177.

54 See chapter 5 in Sevgi Adak's study, "Kemalism in the Periphery". See, also, Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 177; 204. See, also, Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish;* Metinsoy, "Everyday Politics of Ordinary People".

55 Kathleen A. Laughlin, "Introduction The Long History of Feminism," in *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945-1985* eds. Kathleen A. Laughlin and Jacqueline L. Castledine (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 2.

reproduction.[56] Beginning in the 1980s, third-wave feminists carried feminist critique to linguistic practices and categories of thought. They rejected dichotomies such as male versus female and private versus public. Instead, they counseled flexibility in using concepts appropriate to the diversity of identities and varieties of oppression.[57]

It is commonplace in Western scholarship to read the history of the women's movement through the categories of the wave narrative.[58] However, the accuracy of this framework has not escaped criticism. For instance, scholars have argued that it was not possible to apply the wave narrative to all of Europe since the women's movement did not emerge in these countries simultaneously with their European counterparts.[59]

Another implication of the narrative that came under challenge has been the inactivity and apparent "silence" of the women's movement in the interwar years. Indeed, an implicit assumption of the narrative is a period of interregnum between the first and second waves, which corresponds to an interval of silence during the interwar years and the 1950s. In fact, a growing literature demonstrates that women's organizations were struggling for the betterment of women's lives

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56 Nicholas Pedriana, "United States' Women's Movements in Historical Perspective," in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*, eds. by Nancy A. Naples (Wiley Blackwell: 2016), 1. See, also, Laughlin, "Introduction The Long History of Feminism," 2.

57 Pedriana, "United States' Women's Movements," 5. Laughlin, "Introduction The Long History of Feminism," 2.

58 For this kind of an analysis, see Elisabeth Evans and Prudence Chamberlain, "Critical Waves: Exploring Feminist Identity, Discourse and Praxis in Western Feminism," *Social Movement Studies,* no. 44 (2015): 396-409. Kathleen A. Laughlin and Jacqueline L. Castledine eds. *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations and Feminisms, 1945-1985* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011).

59 Jonathan Dean and Kristine Aune "Feminism Resurgent? Mapping Contemporary Feminist Activisims in Europe," *Social Movement Studies*, no. 4 (2015): 2. See examples from post-communist regimes: Agnieszka Graff, "Lost Between the Waves? The Paradoxes of Feminist Chronology and Activism in Contemporary Poland," *Journal of International Women's Studies*, no. 2 (2003): 100-116. Katalin Fábián, "Disciplining the 'Second World': the relationship between transnational and local forces in contemporary Hungarian Women's Social Movements," *East European Politics*, no. 1 (2014): 1-20.

throughout the interwar period.[60] One such study has been offered by Caitriona Beaumont, who argues that the reason behind this inactivity claim was the exclusive focus of the previous literature on those women and women's organizations who defined themselves explicitly as feminists.[61] In her view, this self-imposed limitation on research caused many to dismiss various women's associations that did not call themselves feminist or pursued a political agenda outside suffrage.[62] Similarly, Selin Çağatay questions the feminist argumentation on the absence of a women's movement between 1935 and 1980 in Turkey. In her opinion, the literature approached Kemalism and feminism as two opposing concepts and did not pay attention to Kemalist women's activism. According to Çağatay, this approach even led to the conclusion that "women who did not claim to be feminists were considered to be as not interested in feminism or they were in fact anti-feminists."[63]

In reaction to this dismissive attitude, a later generation of feminist historians started to question the inflexible use of the concept of

60 See, for example, Sue Innes, "Constucting Women's Citizenship in the Interwar Period: the Edinburgh Women Citizen's Association," *Women's History Review*, no. 4 (2004): 621-647 ; Caitriona Beaumont, *Housewives and Citizens: Domesticity and the Women's Movement in England, 1928-1964* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Caitriona Beaumont, "Citizens Not Feminists: the boundary negotiated between citizenship and feminism by mainstream women's organisations in England, 1928-1939," *Women's History Review*, no. 2 (2000): 411-429. Valerie Wright, "Women's Organizations and Feminisms in Interwar Scotland" (PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2008). See, also, Ingrid Sharp and Matthew Stibbe, "Women's International Activism during the Interwar Period, 1919-1939," *Women's History Review*, no. 2 (2017): 163-172. Bingham, "'An Era of Domesticity'?".

61 See the review on Beaumont's study by Emily Flaherty, "Caitriona Beaumont, *Housewives and Citizens: Domesticity and the Women's Movement in England, 1928-1964* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016)," *Gender and History*, no. 2 (August 2014): 389-390.

62 See Beaumont's criticisms on the previous studies on the history of women's movement in Britain in Beaumont, *Housewives and Citizens.*

63 Çağatay demonstrates the activities of Kemalist women's movement in the multi-party period in Turkey. Çağatay, "The Politics of Gender," 16-18.

feminism.[64] For example, Karen Offen suggested a new, more flexible conceptualization of feminism.[65] She underlined feminism's constant state of change as an ideology and argued that feminism could not be viewed as a product of "any single national or sociolinguistic tradition."[66] By contrast, her definition perceived feminism "as a concept that can encompass both an ideology and a movement for sociopolitical change based on a critical analysis of male privilege and women's subordination within any given society."[67] On the other hand, Nancy F. Cott criticized this definition on the grounds that Offen's use of the term would blur the nuances between "large areas of women's thought."[68]

Although Offen's attempt to extend the boundaries of research is welcome, it seems plausible to take Cott's advice not to "equate the term" with "what women did"[69] and "multiply our vocabulary" instead.[70] Caitriona Beaumont arguably does as much when she distinguishes between *feminism* and *the women's movement*. In this way, she argues

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64 Serpil Çakır offered an early criticism on the strict definition of the women's movement in the literature. She sees one of the reasons that leads to the acceptance that women did not struggle for their rights in the Ottoman-Turkish context is the strict definition of the women's movement in reference to the mass and violent suffrage movement in England. This kind of women's movement did not arise in the Ottoman Empire and early Republican period. Çakır states that Ottoman women nevertheless struggled in various important ways to gain their rights. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 318.

65 Karen Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Signs*, no. 1 (Autumn 1988): 126-120.

66 Ibid., 126; 150-151.

67 Ibid., 126-151. For criticisms on the conceptualization of Offen, see Ellen Carol DuBois, "Comment on Karen Offen's 'Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach'," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, no. 1 (1989): 195-197; Nancy F. Cott, "Comment on Karen Offen's 'Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach'," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, no. 1 (1989): 203-205. See, also, Wright, "Women's Organizations and Feminisms," 15-16.

68 Cott, "Comment on Karen Offen's,'" 205. See Wright, "Women's Organizations and Feminisms," 16.

69 Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 9.

70 Cott, "Comment on Karen Offen's,'" 205. See Wright, "Women's Organizations and Feminisms," 16.

that it becomes possible for the history of the women's movement to encompass "all women's organizations, including feminist, political and conservative women's groups, who campaigned to improve the position and status of women in society throughout the twentieth century."[71] Beaumont's conceptual distinction is a significant contribution to the history of the women's movement in that it enlarges the scope of the research program to include the histories of non-feminist and conservative women's organizations.

1.3.1 Studies on Women's Associations in the Ottoman-Turkish Context

Studies on women's associations in the late Ottoman and early republican eras typically rely on a statute (*nizamname*) or an annual report (*salname*) of a single association.[72] There are nonetheless a few comprehensive surveys that merit discussion in some detail.

Şefika Kurnaz suggested that women's associations be classified according to their activities and political stance. In so doing, she placed women's associations into four categories: those aiming to support the state and the army, charitable and philanthropic associations, associations with economic aims, and associations with educational, cultural, artistic, and feminist purposes.[73] In her groundbreaking study, Serpil Çakır establishes more categories, defining philanthropic associations, associations with educational aims, associations with cultural aims, associations aiming to find a solution to the problems of the country, feminist associations, associations aimed at the country's defense, and associations involved in politics, including women's

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71 Beaumont, *Housewives and Citizens,* 3. See, also, Beaumont, "Citizens not Feminists,"; Caitriona Beaumont, "Housewives, Workers and Citizens: Voluntary Women's Organizations and the Campaign for Women's Rights in England and Wales during the Post-War Period" in *NGOs in Contemporary Britain Non-State Actors in Society and Politics Since 1945*, eds. Nick Crowson, Matthew Hilton and James McKay (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

72 Nicolina Anna Norberta Maria Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism: Female Associational Life in the Ottoman Empire," (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2013), 29-30.

73 Şefika Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını* (İstanbul: MEB, 1996), 193-234.

branches of political parties.[74] In her seminal work, *Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism: Female Associational Life In the Ottoman Empire*, Van Os argues that these categories prevent us from seeing the diversity of the associations' aims and actions.[75] Instead, she detects three distinct categories of "activities of Ottoman women" between 1908 and 1918: "feminist, patriotic, and/or philanthropic."[76] Women's associations adopted various combinations of these activities in different historical periods.

In the late Ottoman period, the only association that openly declared feminist goals was the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Organization for the Defense of Women's Rights).[77] In the periodical of this association, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, women writers did not refrain from employing the concept and defended feminism against conservative criticisms.[78] This association was the only women's association to include a demand for suffrage rights in its statute, published in 1921.[79] During the interwar years, the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* campaigned for women's enfranchisement and called for their position in social life to be improved. The majority of women's organizations engaged in various public activities to enhance women's social conditions from the Ottoman Empire's last decades. It is nonetheless useful to distinguish between those women's associations that adopted

74 Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 43-78. Serpil Atamaz categorized women's associations into five categories: philanthropic associations, associations encouraging women in economic activities, associations "improving women's mental and physical capacity", patriotic associations, and associations working for women's rights. See Serpil Atamaz, ""The Hands That Rock the Cradle Will Rise": Women, Gender, and Revolution in Ottoman Turkey (1908-1918)" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2010), 90-97.

75 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 31.

76 Ibid.

77 Çakır*, Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 57.

78 Ibid., 110-135. See, also: Elif İkbal Mahir Metinsoy, "The Limits of Feminism in Muslim-Turkish Women Writers of the Armistice Period (1918-1923)," in *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women*, eds. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).

79 Ibid., 58.

an explicitly feminist agenda, such as suffrage demands, and those that did not.

Most of the late Ottoman and early republican women's associations, and many women activists, refrained from calling themselves feminists.[80] For instance, Zihnioğlu observes that Nezihe Muhiddin avoided using the word and was at pains to differentiate herself from the suffragettes.[81] One possible reason for this was the common understanding of feminism as a concept imported from the West and the fear that might provoke conservative reactions among the elite.[82] Although it falls outside the scope of this study, a possibly fruitful line of inquiry could be to investigate precisely when the concept of feminism entered the vocabulary of the women's movement in Turkey and how the reactions towards feminism evolved.[83]

Previous studies focus mainly on one women's association (i.e., the TKB) at the expense of many others, which comes with an exclusive interest in suffrage demands and give less attention to any activity that falls outside this agenda. I argue that limiting women's actions to the first-wave feminist movement's struggle for political rights prevents us from seeing a variety of topics and agendas that many women's organizations considered important. The subject of the present study—women's occupation with fashion, tailoring and handicrafts—was among the most prevalent of these agendas. Indeed, a fresh look at the topic immediately reveals that not only did women's organizations deem sewing and embroidering important, but these activities also had real implications for women's lives and social status. Women's tailoring-related works in the public sphere opened various possibilities for women in the interwar period in Turkey. It was possible because women could use an occupation traditionally equated with female domestic life

80 See, also, Metinsoy, "The Limits of Feminism," 89.

81 Zihnioğlu states that Muhiddin refrained to label her ideas and activities with feminism. Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 98.

82 See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 116-118.

83 Beaumont poses this question vis-à-vis women's organizations in England between 1928 and 1939. See Beaumont, "Citizens not Feminists," 411.

to assert a legitimate place in the public sphere. In the following section, I briefly survey the literature on the history of the public-private separation and show that the boundaries between public and private spheres were not fixed but porous.

§ 1.4 Beyond the Public-Private Dichotomy

A widespread conviction in women's history is that industrialization restricted women inside their houses. As the allocation of labor shifted from agriculture and cottage industries to mass production in factories, women became increasingly attached to domestic duties, such as household management and motherhood. A more robust separation between home and work accompanied this process. According to this argument, the transformation appeared first in bourgeois families and then spread to the working classes. By the late 18th century, a visible separation between the public and private sphere had occurred, with men associated with the former and women with the latter. The differentiation of public and private spheres as spheres of, in order, men and women, is delineated as "the ideology of separate spheres" from the late 18th century.[84] Nor was it a uniquely Western phenomenon: emphasis

[84] The summary of the separate sphere ideology based on the following pioneering studies: Louise A. Tilly and James Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (New York and London: Routledge, 1989[1978]). Leonore Davidoff, "The Separation of Home and Work? Landladies and Lodgers in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century England," in *Fit Work for Women* eds. Sandra Burman (London and New York: Routledge, 2013[1979]). Catherine Hall "The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology," in *Fit Work for Women* eds. Sandra Burman (London and New York: Routledge, 2013[1979]), 15-32. One of the earlier academic writings belongs to Barbara Welter. In her well-known article "The Cult of True Womanhood:1820-1860" (1966), she points to the relationship between "the cult of true womanhood", the ideal femininity in the 19th century and new ethics of capitalist societies. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 151-174. See, also, Mary Louise Roberts, "True Womanhood Revisited," *Journal of Women's History*, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 150-155. See, also, Leonor Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 2002[1987]). See some of the recent studies: Eleanor Gordon and Gywneth Nair "The Economic Role of Middle-class Women in

on domesticity and the private sphere as women's sphere was undoubtedly a widespread discourse in interwar Turkey.[85] Yet one must distinguish between the existence of an ideology of separate spheres in the early republican Turkey as such, and the claim that women's lives were constrained to the private sphere because of this ideology. In other words, the existence of widespread discourses on domesticity and women's roles as mothers and homemakers need not mean that women never found ways to use their assigned roles in the Kemalist project to penetrate the public sphere.

In fact, a cursory look at the scholarship on the evolution of public-private spheres dichotomy suggests that women were far from passive recipients of the separation imposed on them. Feminist studies demonstrate how the division between the two spheres was blurred by women's increasing involvement in Europe's public sphere from the 19th century onwards. Through their increasing employment outside the home, women repeatedly transgressed and negotiated that division. This transgression reached such an extent that it is now widely accepted that public and private spheres should be understood as flexible categories.[86]

Victorian Glasgow," *Women's History Review*, no. 4 (2000): 791-814. Cathy Ross, "Separate Spheres or Shared Dominions?," *Transformation*, no. 4 (October 2006): 228-235; Prudence Flowers, "White Ribboners and the Ideology of Separate Spheres, 1860s-1890s," *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, no. 1 (July 2006): 14-31; Deborah L. Rotman, "Separate Spheres? Beyond the Dichotomies of Domesticity," *Current Anthropology*, no. 4 (August 2006): 666-674; Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *The Historical Journal*, no. 2 (Jun 1993): 383-414.

85 See the subsection titled as "Feminist Literature on Kemalist Reforms and Women" in the introduction of this dissertation. There was also an emphasis on domesticity in the interwar period in Europe. See Wright, "Women's Organizations and Feminisms," 49.

86 Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, xv-xvi. See, also, Davidoff, "The Separation of Home and Work?"; Gordon and Nair, "The Economic Role of Middle-class Women"; Ross, "Separate Spheres or Shared Dominions?"; Flowers, "White Ribboners and the Ideology of Separate Spheres"; Rotman, "Separate Spheres?"; Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?". Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997 [1977]), 10.

One activity that women used to blur the boundaries between the two spheres was philanthropy. Since philanthropy was considered a suitable occupation for women, it allowed them to participate in public life without explicitly challenging the ideology of separate spheres in the 19th and early 20th centuries.[87] The management of philanthropic enterprises permitted elite women to appear in work life as organizers and offered many other women employment in these organizations. Furthermore, in the absence of political rights, philanthropic activities were a means for women's participation in significant public discussions on topics such as poor relief. Scholars argued that women's voluntary activities played a role in "the rise of national welfare states."[88] Another channel through which philanthropic organizations came involved in politics was the production of nationalist discourse. Through these organizations' role in nationalist campaigns and propaganda, women joined the process of nation-building. The new literature approaches women's activities as a contribution to the nation-building process, with

87 Anne Summers, "A Home From Home Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century," in *Fit Work for Women* eds. Sandra Burman (London and New York: Routledge, 2013[1979]), 51.

88 Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Women and Philanthropy Charting a Research Agenda," in *Measuring the Impact of the Nonprofit Sector*, eds. Patrice Flynn and Virginia A. Hodgkinson (Newyork: Springer, 2001), 163-164. See Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women and Philanthropy in the United States, 1790-1990*, Curriculum Guide #1 (Spring 1998) (New York: Graduate School &University Center, City University of New York, 1998), 2. Recently, studies have focused on the history of voluntary associations with a feminist agenda to explore women's political activities before the suffrage movement in Europe. See D. McCarthy, "Women and Philanthropy," 163-164; Summers, "A Home From Home," 33- 63. See, also, Beth Baron, "Islam, Philanthropy and Political Culture in Interwar Egypt: The Activism of Labiba Ahmad," in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts* eds. Michael Bonner, Mine Ener and Amy Singer (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003); Beth Baron, "Women's Voluntary Social Welfare Organizations in Egypt," in *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East* eds. Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Ingvild Flaskerud (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005). Other studies include Maria Luddy, *Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Shurlee Swain, "Women and Philanthropy in Colonial and Post-colonial Australia," *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, no. 4 (December 1996): 428-443.

women entering public life, explaining their views, and doing various philanthropic work such as childcare, helping the impoverished, providing food and clothing, and employing poor women.[89]

Philanthropy was among women's primary public activities in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the republic as well. Women-run philanthropic organizations provided education in handicraft textile and household manufacture for poor women to help them earn a living.[90] Both the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and the single party regime encouraged middle-class women to participate in these activities since both philanthropy and handicrafts and tailoring were considered women's work.[91] During the CUP period,

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89 See D. McCarthy, "Women and Philanthropy". See, also, D. McCarthy, *Women and Philanthropy in the United States*.

90 Women were encouraged to be interested in various branches of textile production in the late Ottoman Empire. See Elisabeth B. Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism: The Emergence of An Ottoman Public Sphere," in *Public Islam and The Economic Good*, eds. Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 107-108. Textile production was the principal industry throughout the 19th century in the Middle East and North Africa, and employed women in great numbers. Global economic integration in the late 19th century altered the patterns of division of labor in favor of sectors where women were the traditional employees; handicrafts such as silk and carpet making grew in response to rising demand, despite the decrease in textile crafts in general. Judith E. Tucker, "Women in the Middle East and North Africa: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Women in the Middle East and North Africa* eds. Guity Nashat ad Judith E. Tucker (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 73-101. See, also, Julia Clancy-Smith, "A Woman Without Her Distaff: Gender, Work and Handicraft Production in Colonial North Africa," in A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East eds. Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1999), 25-62.

91 This is not unique to Turkey. In the USA, the convention was that the arts belonged to women's sphere. Taking up this assigned role, women contributed to the emergence of America "as an international art capital." See Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991). The association of handicrafts with women goes back to the Middle Ages. Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London and New York: Tauris, [1984] 2011). Decorative arts such as embroidery were also associated with womanhood. Fanny Davis states that women's embroidery attracted much attention in the Ottoman Empire; it was believed that a

many women's philanthropic organizations were founded to train poor women in sewing and tailoring, and some of them carried over into the single party period. An example of how women were associated with sewing and tailoring would be the girls' institutes. The first of these institutes was opened in 1928. The girls' institutes became among the most prominent institutions in the Kemalist era. The schools recruited from among the children of middle-class families, offering them education in tailoring branches. The graduates of these institutes entered professional work life in tailoring-related jobs.

Women's organizations such as the *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi* and the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* carried out similar projects as part of their broader philanthropic mission. They devoted most of their time and energy to employing lower-class women in their handicrafts and tailoring schools and workshops. The *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was a private tailoring school solely devoted to educating the daughters of middle-class families. All these groups contributed to the making of the discourse on fashion at a time when women's clothing stood at the center of the modernist aspirations of Kemalist cultural policy. A study of these organizations' discourse on attire and their attitude towards the penetration of Western fashion and the course of their relations with the ruling party promises new insights on interwar cultural policies in Turkey.

Women also had a central role in the revival of national handicrafts. Women produced national clothing and embroidery and various kinds of household goods, which the elites of the period considered to be *san'at* (art); they also saw women as *san'atkâr* (artists) representing the nation.[92] Unlike the hierarchical division of fine arts and decorative arts

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woman's embroidery reflected her character. Women of all ranks knew embroidery as part of their education. This included the palace women. Fanny Davis, *Osmanlı Hanımı* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009), 247-249. Clancy-Smith also states that embroidery was associated with the "prestige and status" of upper class women in Algeria in the 19th century. Clancy-Smith, "A Woman Without Her Distaff," 34. See, also, Tucker, "Women in the Middle East," 94.

92 All around the world, women's handicraft works gained significance from the 1860s, which is accepted as the year in which the Arts and Crafts Movement began in Europe.

in European history,[93] women's products were accepted as examples of fine arts in the Ottoman Empire and the early republican period.[94] Through philanthropic organizations and women's entrepreneurship in tailoring-related jobs, women were in the public sphere and contributed to cultural production in this period in Turkey.

§ 1.5 Sources

One of the primary sources for the present study was the Ottoman and Republican Archives. The parts on the history of the *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi* drew on the archive of the *Kızılay* (Turkish Red Crescent). However, minimal information exists in the archives, and there

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The artists of the movement rejected the hierarchical positioning of fine arts, architecture, and decorative arts, which they claimed did not exist in the Middle Ages. Alan Crawford, "Ideas and Objects: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain," *Design Issues*, no. 1 (Spring 1997): 16.

93 In her outstanding work, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, Rozsika Parker stated that "the development of an ideology of femininity coincided historically with the emergence of a clearly defined separation of art and craft." Parker states that the division between art and craft emerged in Renaissance when women increasingly involved in embroidery as amateurs. This division also occurred in the art education. Parker significantly questioned the hierarchy between fine arts and crafts, the roots of which historically dated back to the emergence of "an ideology of femininity as natural to women." Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, 4-5. This was also one of the topics of the third wave feminist movement. Craftivism, a term coined in 2003 by Betsy Greer with combination of two terms, crafts and activism, first developed in the USA. The movement in a short period of time became universal and supporters of this activism also exist in Turkey. The aim of this activism is to revalue the previously neglected women's handicrafts which were considered to be insignificant and limited to the household production. Craftivists usually perform women's domestic arts in public. For example, they knit and sew in public places; or prepare political banners with knitting or needlework; or decorate trees with yarnbombing (*iplik bombardımanı*). For further information, see Parker, *The Subversive Stitch*, xi-xxi.

94 states that the word *san'at* was used to refer to both "art" and "crafts" in the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1971), 431. See, also, Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu, "The Birth of an Aesthetic Discourse in Ottoman Architecture," *METU JFA*, no.2 (1988): 115.

is no data available even on the associations' status.[95] Therefore, the dissertation has relied primarily on data derived from the daily newspapers and women's periodicals of the period.

Women's periodicals were published discontinuously and for short terms in this period.[96] The end of 1914 was a turning point when almost all the women's publications ceased publishing until the Armistice. In this period, *Kadınlar Dünyası* (Women's World), the magazine of the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-ı Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti*, which was accepted to be the only feminist women's organization,[97] began publication (in 1913). It continued until the beginning of 1915.[98] *Kadınlar Dünyası* provided an opportunity to see the discussions among women in 1913, a turning point in the adoption of Turkism and the national economy (*milli iktisat*) policy.[99] For analysis on the first 100 issues of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, I used the

95 See, also, Nicole A.N.M. Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the Past, Sources for the Future" *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, no. 3 (2000): 369-383. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism".

96 The first Ottoman women's periodical was published in 1869. From then, to the establishment of the republic in 1923, a total of 35 women's magazines were in circulation at one time or another. Most were published after 1908, when the Second Constitutional Monarchy was established. The densest period for publications between 1869 to 1928 was the decade from 1909 to 1919. From 1908 to 1914, 16 women's magazines were in circulation. A total of 38 women's magazines written in the Ottoman script were in circulation at one time or another up to 1928. See Zehra Toska et al. *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası (1869-1927)* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993) p, xvi. Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations," 374. See, also, Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*.

97 See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*.

98 *Kadınlar Dünyası* was reissued through the end of World War I in March 1918 and continued to be published until mid-1921. *Hanımlar Alemi* ceased publication in mid-1914 but was relaunched in April 1918. Short lived magazines such as *Kadınlık* and *Kadınlar Alemi* also ceased publication in July 1914. *Seyyale* was a one-issue magazine that was brought out in June 1914 and *Siyanet*, as a four-issue magazine, was published in June and July 1914. Only one magazine, *Bilgi Yurdu Işığı*, came out in the last two years of the Great War. Toska, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri,* 17-21. See, also, Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations," 374.

99 Specifically, in the first 80 issues of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, women discussed fashion consumption and suggested policies to create a national fashion. See Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 236.

transcription of the periodical published by *Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfi* (The Women's Library and Information Center Foundation).

Ten women's periodicals were established in the Armistice Period, and a lively women's press ensued. The women's publications played a significant role in the introduction of Western fashion in this period. They also provided information on elite reactions to Western fashion. In the early republican period, the women's periodicals' activity was less lively, with only a few in circulation and each publishing for one or two years maximum.[100] Therefore, it is not possible to conduct a comprehensive analysis to determine how views on fashion evolved in this period. Still, some information on women's associations can be found in these periodicals.

I also drew on material in THAM, the periodical of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* (Ottoman Red Crescent), which provided information on the women's branch and the art-house of the *Hilal-i Ahmer*. Apart from them, *Resimli Ay* (The Illustrated Monthly) and *Muhit* (Neighbourhood) were two significant periodicals containing discussions on fashion, which I consulted to gain a better sense of the social transformation in this period and gather information on women's activities in public.

Among the newspapers scrutinized for this study, *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) was by far the most the forefront as the most important

100 The women's periodicals published in the early republican period included *Ev Hocası* (1 issue/ 1923), *Firuze* (3 issues/ 1924), *Süs* (55 issues/ 1923-1924), *Yeni Inci* (12 issues/ 1923), *Asar-ı Nisvan* (20 issues 1925-1926), *Kadın Yazıları* (4 issues- 1926), *Kadın Yolu/ Türk Kadın Yolu* (30 issues/ 1925-1927), *Hanımlar Alemi* (16 issues/ 1929), *Elişi* (8 issues/ 1930), *Aile Dostu* (12 issues / 1931-1932), *El Emekleri* (22 issues/ 1931-1933), Cumhuriyet Kadını (2 issues/ 1934), Salon (5 issues/ 1934), Moda Albümü (47 issues/ 1936-1941), Ev-İş (180 issues/ 1937-1952), Ana (50 issues/ 1938-1942), Elişleri (24 issues/1938-1950), Kadın Dünyası (4 issues- 1940), Kadınlar Alemi (1 issue/ 1940), Kadın Ev (2 issues/ 1944-1945), Asrın Kadını (5 issues /1944), Türk Kadını (12 issues/1944-1948), Ev Kadın (64 issues/ 1945-1950). Unfortunately, copies of certain issues of some of the periodicals have been lost. For further information, see Toska, *İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri,* 17-21. Aslı Davaz-Mardin, *Kadın Süreli Yayınları Hanımlar Aleminden Rosa'ya Bibliyografya 1928-1996 Dergiler, Gazeteler Bültenler* (İstanbul: Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, 1998).

source of women's activities in public. This newspaper published even the most insignificant activities of women's associations. Furthermore, prominent women figures, such as Sabiha Sertel, Suat Derviş, and Efzayiş Suat, wrote articles for *Cumhuriyet*. At the same time, it was something of a "paper of record" as it closely reflected the regime's policies towards women, given its strong ties to the party. Other newspapers that were drawn on to analyze the period were *Milliyet* (Nationality) and its successor, *Tan* (Dawn), *Akşam* (Evening), and *Vakit* (Time).[101] Significantly, Suat Derviş undertook research and published articles in *Milliyet* and *Tan*. *Akşam* surveyed the women elites of the period and the female leaders of associations on subjects such as marriage, love, and work. All the newspapers provided information on women's views, associations, and various public activities and events.

§ 1.6 The Plan of the Study

As mentioned, this study's primary aim is to investigate women's mobilization and public action—specifically, the fashion-related agenda, tailoring and handicrafts work of women in the early republican period. This study also aims to understand the relationship between the women's movement and the Kemalist regime by comparing and contrasting their approaches to the fashion question. Here, cultural policy in the early republican period serves as a central locus of the comparative analysis. With these aims in mind, the thesis is divided into nine chapters, including an introduction and conclusion.

The second chapter deals with the political, economic, and social transformation the country underwent during a long period of conflict from the Balkan Wars (1912-13) to the end of the War of Independence (1922). This chapter demonstrates that the prolonged period of war provided women with many opportunities to become actively involved in the public sphere. For example, it sheds light on how women contributed

101 I carried out a search in *Cumhuriyet* covering the period 1924 to 1943, *Akşam* (1924 to 1939), *Milliyet* (1926 to 1930), and *Vakit* (1923 to 1928). In addition, I researched specific dates and events in the newspapers *Milliyet*, *Vakit* and *Tan*.

to the national struggle through their activities in associational life. Due to wartime necessities, many women entered paid employment and took up jobs in the various branches of textile production. This chapter provides information on women's role in the production of clothing in wartime. It also touches upon the anti-fashion agenda of the women's movement and Ankara's position on the fashion question before the republic's formal establishment in late 1923.

The third chapter analyzes women's periodicals in the Armistice Period. The magazines adopted a contradictory attitude towards Western fashion in this period, introducing Western styles and designs and encouraging women to embrace them while taking a critical stance towards excessive or extravagant fashion consumption. In laying out this aspect, the chapter sheds light on the intra-elite debate on the fashion question before the establishment of the republic and the contradictions in the approaches of the women's periodicals on this issue. Through the analysis, the chapter also details how the publications propagated new styles of clothing in Turkey, especially by publishing foreign, mostly European, designs, and trends.

Chapter four analyzes the cultural policies of the new republic. It explains how the Kemalist regime approached culture—specifically, Western fashion. It also seeks insights into the regime's cultural policy concerning the modernization process in this period. The new republic desired to create a modern and secular society. This transformation was mostly carried out at the symbolic level, for example, in adopting Western fashion and Western ways of living. The chapter underlines that women and women's clothes were at the center of this symbolic transformation, showcasing the regime's modern and civilizing objectives. It also shows that the new republic's cultural policy differed from the women's political agenda, which adopted a form of sartorial nationalism. In making this argument, the chapter compares and contrasts the Kemalist regime's policies with the ideological approach of Ziya Gökalp and the policies of contemporary fascist regimes. It also unveils a shift in cultural policies in the Kemalist government from the mid-1930s.

Chapter five focuses on the so-called girls' institutes as a window on the new republic's policy towards clothing and women's vocational education and training. This chapter argues that the institutes' two main aims—namely, to raise ideal Turkish homemakers and train Turkish women as tailors—were not mutually exclusive. While the focus in vocational education and training for girls and women was tailoring and household management, the aim was not to deny women a place in the public sphere by limiting them to private space. On the contrary, the girls' institutes created a considerable number of tailoring-related job opportunities for graduates and opened space for them to become actively involved in the public sphere. In sum, the girl's institutes' curriculum sought to give women the skills to participate actively in the professions and earn an independent living and become highly skilled, modern household managers and mothers. The chapter also details how the institutes became fashion centers, especially for middle-class women in the cities, and their role in the adoption of Western clothes. This chapter's final aim is to show the shift in the regime's cultural policy from the mid-1930s.

Chapter six deals with the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*, which was the only women's association struggling for suffrage rights in this period. The previous literature focuses mostly on Nezihe Muhiddin and describes the period after she was dismissed as one of inactivity and compromise with the Kemalist regime. This chapter offers a comparative analysis of the association during and after Muhiddin's reign. It demonstrates that under her leadership, the association actively pursued political rights for women, engaged in philanthropic activity, and dealt with the issue of morality. It also indicates the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* continued to be active after Muhiddin departed. In the second period, the association increased its philanthropic activities and continued to demand women's political and social rights. The chapter also seeks to shed light on the keen interest the association took on the fashion question in both periods and how its approach became closer or distanced from the republic's policy at different times. It also argues that the closure of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* in 1935 was a significant turning point, ending the activities of the most

prominent women's association and women's suffrage claims. However, this chapter states that it was not the end of women's activities in the public sphere.

Chapter seven analyzes three women's organizations—the *Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası/Sanatevi* (women's art-house), the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği,* and the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*—which were active during the interwar years in Turkey. All three organizations shared a common aim to struggle against women's fashion consumption. They also sought to provide a living for Turkish women as tailors and embroiderers. This chapter focuses on these organizations' aims and activities, which have been overlooked or underprioritized in previous historical studies covering the early republican period. It offers a detailed analysis of the many public activities of women's groups in the early republican period and sheds much-needed light on the women's movement's fashion-related agenda. Besides the commonalities, the chapter also details how each women's organization differed in its policy towards fashion. It also analyzes how the organizations' aims differed from or aligned with various aspects of republican policy.

Chapter eight focuses on exhibitions, an important activity undertaken by women's organizations in this period. It details how women organized exhibitions inside Turkey and their participation in international exhibitions as representatives of the country abroad. Exhibitions were a significant part of the new public sphere in which women were active participants, allowing them to connect with large audiences at home and overseas. This chapter aims to understand the role the exhibitions played in the construction of women's identity and national identity. Against this backdrop, a central theme that arises is the role of professional tailoring as a source of employment and income for women in this period. The chapter analyzes how exhibitions contributed to women's involvement in the professions by supporting and showcasing women's embroidering, sewing, and tailoring activities at home and abroad.

2

Women and the Anti-Fashion Agenda in Wartime (1913-1922)

The extended period of war that began with the Tripoli War (1911-1912), followed by the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and World War I (1914-1918) and carried through to the end of the War of Independence (1919-1922), had a dramatic effect on the Ottoman Empire. As a result of ten years of war, the empire lost most of its territories and eventually dissolved. The war years also significantly ravaged economic and social life in the empire.

In this regard, the Balkan Wars were a particularly significant turning point. First, they marked the onset of direct rule by the Committee of Union and Progress (hereafter, the CUP). During the peace negotiations after the First Balkan War in London, the Unionists launched a coup d'état to prevent the loss of the city of Edirne. From this date until the end of World War I, the Unionists held the country under their "complete control."[1] Second, the Balkan Wars led to a drastic shift in the empire's demographic outlook. The defeat and the subsequent loss of territory

1 For further details, see Erik Jan Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 108.

reduced the empire to its Anatolian provinces and the population comprised for the first time by a clear majority of Muslims. In response, the CUP government adopted Turkism as the state ideology.

Following the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman Empire joined World War I on the side of the Axis powers. Hoping to recover lost territory, participation in the war only deepened the empire's economic and political problems. On 30 October 1918, the defeated Ottoman government was forced to sign the Armistice of Mudros. This onerous agreement entitled Allied forces to occupy the empire, seize control of its transportation and communication systems, and disband its armed forces.[2] The infamous Article 7 stated that the Allies could occupy any place if they saw their security under threat, while Article 24 enabled the Allies to occupy the six "Armenian" provinces in Eastern Anatolia if disorder occurred.[3] The final step in the Allied attempt to partition the empire came with the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on 10 August 1920. This treaty would have reduced the Ottoman Empire to a small, mostly landlocked country in central and northern Anatolia.[4]

The Allied occupation began just after the Armistice was signed. Allied forces first entered Mosul, and then occupied the Bosphorus Straits and Istanbul, the empire's capital, on 13 November 1918. This *de facto* occupation was rendered *de jure* on 16 March 1920, based on Armistice provisions.[5] Occupation of Anatolian cities such as Adana, Antep, Maraş, and Afyon followed. The Allied invasion of Izmir on 15 May 1919 was especially important because it awakened a widespread national resistance movement, triggering reactions against foreign occupation.[6]

The Armistice period was one of transition from an empire to a new nation-state and a new political regime. As such, it was a unique moment in the history of modern Turkey.[7] There were two competing claimants

2 Ibid., 133-134.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., 147.

5 Bilge Criss, *İşgal Altında Istanbul* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), 14-15.

6 Ibid., 17-18.

7 Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Mütareke Dönemi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 58.

to power in Ottoman lands through this period. In Istanbul, there was the official cabinet and the Sultan, whose legitimacy was in constant decline between 1918 and 1922. Meanwhile, the leaders of the national resistance were laying the foundations of a new state in Ankara. Tarık Zafer Tunaya has pointed to this dualism in claims of the right to govern to country and the power vacuum it created as the definitive characteristic of the Armistice.[8] Indeed, the question of political power was not to be decided until the National Assembly in Ankara, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), emerged triumphant over the Greek forces in 1922.

In the Armistice period, the CUP remained influential in the army and within the state bureaucracy[9] even though the party had dissolved itself, and its prominent leaders had left the country.[10] In particular, the party forged the resistance movement in Anatolia through its secret organizations.[11] The role of these organizations was to transfer ammunition and people, especially CUP members, to Anatolia.[12]

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8 Ibid, 33; 58.

9 Erik Jan Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 114.

10 The prominent leaders of CUP were Enver Pasha, Talat Pasha and Cemal Pasha. For more details, see Ibid., 112-113; 116. The party's last congress took place on 1 November 1918. Soon after, the committee abolished itself and established a new party, *Teceddüd Fırkası* (Renewal Party), which however did not last long. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Mütareke Dönemi*, 112-122.

11 The name of the party's secret organization was *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* (Special Organization). It was established in 1913 and was active throughout World War I. This organization was dismantled when the committee was abolished in 1918. The same year it was re-established under the name *Umum Âlem-i İslam İhtilal Teşkilatı* (General Revolutionary Organization of the Islamic World). However, the Ankara government worked with another secret organization, *Karakol* (The Guard's Society), which had also been founded by the leaders of the committee before they left the country. After a disagreement, the leaders in Ankara disbanded *Karakol* as well. They then established another secret organization under their direct control, *Mim Mim*. The secret organizations made up the primary channel through which the Unionists participated in the national struggle. Zürcher states that, except for *Mim Mim*, the secret organizations active in the Armistice period all had connections with the Unionists. For further information, see Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey,* 135-136. See, also, Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 129-133; 185-186.

12 Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 128-129.

In Anatolia, many local resistance societies under the common name *Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyetleri* (Local Defenders of Rights) had been emerging from the end of 1918.[13] In July 1919, delegates from these societies elected the Representative Committee (*Heyet-i Temsiliye*) at the Erzurum Congress, with Mustafa Kemal Pasha as its head. In September 1919, the Sivas Congress united all the local resistance societies under the name *Anadolu Rumeli ve Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti* (The Union for the Defense of Law in Anatolia and Rumelia, ARMHC), which laid the basis of the future Republican People's Party (RPP).[14]

From 1920, Ankara gradually gained power and legitimacy. After the occupation forces shut down the Ottoman Parliament, the resistance movement founded a National Assembly in Ankara on 23 April 1920.[15] This assembly led the War of Independence, and its ultimate success saw the constitutional monarchy replaced by a republican government and the rise of Mustafa Kemal Pasha to unquestioned political power.

The war ended with the Armistice of Mudanya, signed between the Allies and the National Assembly of Turkey in the town of Mudanya on 11 October 1922. The *de facto* occupation of Istanbul continued until the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923. In Lausanne, the great powers recognized Turkey's sovereignty over the greater part of its territories, as declared in the National Oath (*Misak-ı Milli*).[16]

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13 Ibid., 117.

14 Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey*, 150-151.

15 As the congresses took place in Anatolia, a political shift in Istanbul's attitude to the Anatolian resistance movement occurred in 1919 with the formation of Ali Rıza Pasha and Salih Pasha's cabinets. The Istanbul governments secretly contacted the resistance and allowed the election of many members of the Defense of Rights to the Ottoman Chamber of Deputies (*Osmanlı Mebusan Meclisi*) when it was reopened in 1920. This parliament accepted the six articles of the future War of National Liberation, the National Oath, which defined the territorial boundaries of Turkey with a few exceptions. The collaboration between the Istanbul government and the resistance movement in Anatolia resulted in the closure of the Ottoman Parliament in Istanbul. The allies occupied the chamber and arrested some of the deputies, whom they sent into exile in Malta. For further information, see Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık*, 125. Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey*, 151-152. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Mütareke Dönemi*, 39-40.

16 Criss, *İşgal Altında İstanbul*, 38.

§ 2.1 Women in the War

The war-time period provided an unprecedented opportunity for women to participate in public life. Elite women opened associations to protect widows, orphans, and the poor, provide work for women and children, and produce needed supplies for the army. Women also joined the war effort and contributed to propaganda activities in cities. In these associations, administrative duties were mostly reserved for upper-class women, usually the daughters or wives of bureaucrats, intelligentsia, and statesmen.

No exact estimate of the number of women's associations active during the war years exists, nor for the 1908–1923 period.[17] Nevertheless,

17 The first women's associations were established as charities by non-Muslim women. Muslim women later initiated and headed women's associations as charity. The establishment of Second Constitutional Era in 1908 restored the Ottoman Parliament and constitutional monarchy and was a turning point after which the number of women's associations gradually increased. During wartime, specifically from the Balkan Wars on, women's associations expanded in number. While no exact data exists, some studies provide information on the number of associations established in this period. For example, according to the information in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler* (Associations from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic), which was published by the Department of Associations (*Dernekler Dairesi Başkanlığı*), the total number of women's associations founded between 1908 and 1923 was 79. From the Balkan Wars to the end of the Armistice period, the number was 48. The number of women's associations established in the Armistice period was 17. All these numbers include branches of the same association opened in different districts. See *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler* (Ankara: İç İşleri Bakanlığı Dernekler Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2013); *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri* (Ankara: İç İşleri Bakanlığı Dernekler Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2013), 124-131. In her seminal book, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, Serpil Çakır provides an inventory of women's associations from 1908 to the Republican period. According to her tally, there were 45 such associations. Interestingly, most of the associations Çakır finds were not on the list prepared by the Department of Associations. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. Tarık Zafer Tunaya lists 14 women's associations as active after 1908. See Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 503. In her study, Van Os counts approximately 100 women's associations—including non-Muslim, Muslim, non-Ottoman, and mixed women's organizations—from the establishment of the first association until 1935. See Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations," 372. Van

it seems that women became involved more frequently in the public sphere starting with the Balkan Wars, as the number of women's associations began to increase from 1913.[18]

From this time, women's associations increasingly contributed to the war effort through philanthropic activities such as helping the poor and orphans, providing basic commodities for needy military families[19], delivering nursery care for soldiers, and supporting the army by sewing clothes or collecting donations.[20] For example, the women's branch of *Hilal-i Ahmer, Hanımlar Merkezi,* was established in 1913. This organization provided nursing and sewing training for women to meet the necessities of the army. *Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi* (The Islamic Society for the Employment of Ottoman Women) was established by Enver Pasha, one of the leaders of CUP, to provide jobs for women in textile production and produce clothes for the army in

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Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," XVII-XX. See, also, Şefika Kurnaz*, Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi (1908-1918)* (Istanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2013), 265-327. Serpil Atamaz states that approximately 40 women's associations were established after 1908. See Atamaz, ""The Hands That Rock the Cradle Will Rise,"" 89.

18 Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 45. See, also, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler*, 124-131; Hülya Toker, *Mütareke Döneminde Istanbul Rumları* (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 2016), 156-157.

19 For example, *Şehit Ailelerine Yardım Birliği* (Union for Helping Martyrs' Families), *Asker Ailelerine Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti* (1914) (Ladies' Association for Supporting Soldier's Families) and *Bîkes Ailelere Yardımcı Hanımlar Cemiyeti* (1916) (Ladies' Association for Supporting Indigent Families) were established for helping soldiers' families. Nakiye Hanım was among the founders of *Şehit Ailelerine Yardım Birliği*. In 1915, *Asker Ailelerine Yardımcı Hanımlar Derneği* was founded to be helpful for the needy soldiers' families. See *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler.* See, also, Kurnaz*, Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi (1908-1918)*, 293-297; Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," XVII.

20 For example, women's branch of *Donanma Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Navy Society) collected money and organized conferences, shows and lotteries for the navy. It was established by Nezihe Muhiddin after the Balkan Wars. *Müdafaa-i Milliye Kadınlar Heyeti* (Women's Committee for the Defence of the Nation) was established after the Balkan Wars and organized conferences for helping the army. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 72-74. See Ayşegül Baykan and Belma Ötüş-Baskett eds. *Nezihe Muhiddin ve Türk Kadını 1931* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), 137.

1916.[21] *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* was established in 1913 to employ poor women in sewing and provide them with a living. All these associations worked to improve women's social conditions. *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan*, otherwise known as the only feminist organization with an explicit women's rights agenda in this period[22], also joined efforts to employ women in handicraft textile production.

Besides providing employment for poor women and the army's necessities, women also worked to encourage domestic consumption of clothing and fight against fashion consumption, which was considered an economic burden. In line with the national economic policy, the CUP supported women's activities in domestic production. For example, *Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi* also produced fashionable clothes for Ottoman women.[23] *Hilal-i Ahmer*'s women's branch also pursued this aim and even opened an art house for clothing production.

Crucially, women activists established *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği,* and *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* to cultivate a national fashion. The prominent associations of the period, such as *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği,* and *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* all supported the national fashion agenda. To exemplify the shared concern for national fashion, it is worth pointing out that the statute of the *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti*—an association famous for its feminist inclinations—declared "producing clothes for women" and "promoting consumption of domestic goods" among its primary tasks. Thus, these organizations were the primary vehicle by which women promoted the creation of a national

21 Yavuz Selim Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti (1916-1923)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2015), 116-117.

22 Serpil Çakır states that the only association which worked with a feminist agenda to protect and enhance the living standards and working conditions of women was *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti*. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*.

23 *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi, 1336 Senesi Raporu* (İstanbul: Orhaniye Matbaası, 1336). Quoted in Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti,* 355.

fashion, and the related production saw poor women employed to earn a living under harsh economic conditions.

Thus, alongside the desire to promote war aims and contribute to the development of a genuinely national fashion in the empire, it appears that an anti-fashion agenda occupied a central place for women from 1913 onwards.

2.1.1 The Women's Anti-Fashion Agenda After 1913

The diffusion of European fashion into the Ottoman Empire started in the first half of the 19th century and quickly triggered a conservative anti-fashion response among the elites of the period. The Balkan Wars (1912-1913) were a turning point in the intensification of this anti-fashion attitude and a proliferation of attempts to cultivate a national fashion.[24]

The year 1913 saw territorial losses in the Balkan peninsula as a result of losing the war. The changing territorial and demographic structure this produced in the empire—which was reduced to the Anatolian core and left for the first time with an overwhelming Muslim majority population—paved the ground for the rise of Turkism as the state ideology. This ideological turn then framed an environment favorable to the pursuit of national economic policy and the aim of creating a Muslim Turkish bourgeoisie.[25]

Fashion, a sector dominated by non-Muslims, increasingly became an economic problem in the elite mind from 1913. The elites tried to prevent fashion consumption, which they regarded as a significant expenditure

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24 See chapter 7 in Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism". See, also, Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 177. For the discussions on fashion and for the encouragement of the consumption of domestic goods in the Hamidian press, see Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism," 112-116. See, also, Elisabeth B. Frierson, "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late Ottoman Society," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), 243-260. Elisabeth B. Frierson, "Women in Late Ottoman Intellectual History," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, eds. Elisabeth Özdalga (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 135-161.

25 Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015), 170.

item. Campaigns were conducted to create a "national fashion"—the elite encouraged domestic producers and domestic consumption. The women's movement had a pioneering role in these campaigns, especially under Nezihe Muhiddin's leadership.

Van Os underlines how fashion consumption became a topic of criticism, especially from 1913 onwards on the grounds that purchasing foreign goods meant that money would be transferred to foreign countries and, even worse, to "the enemy."[26] The elites of the Ottoman Empire considered Greeks as "one of the potential enemies" from the revolts in the first decades of the 19th century.[27] Van Os asserts that this perception of "enemy" created reactions toward Greek goods and resulted in boycotts from 1910 to the end of 1911.[28] Significantly, Doğan Çetinkaya sees the 1910-1911 boycott as an important step in "the elimination of non-Muslims from the empire's economy" as part of the national economy policy of the CUP.[29] But it was the boycott wave in 1913-1914 that excluded the non-Muslims from the national identity.[30]

This attitude found ardent supporters among the elite women of the period. Led by Nezihe Muhiddin, some of the writers in *Kadınlar Dünyası* even equated non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire with foreigners and called on women to boycott non-Muslim fashion shops.[31] To demonstrate how the women's movement perceived Western fashion in 1913, I will elaborate in the following section on the discussions in the early issues of *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

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26 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 227. For example, see Behice Mehmet, "Osmanlı Hanımlarını İntibaha Davet," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 35, 8 Mayıs 1329 (21 May 1913): 3; Hadiye İzzet, "Moda Sevdasını Bırakalım!" *Kadınlar Dünyası,* no. 40, 13 Mayıs 1329 (26 May 1913): 4.

27 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 227-228.

28 Ibid., 228. After 1908, boycotts became a useful tool for the ruling party, CUP. See Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks and the Boycott Movement: Nationalism, Protest and the Working Classes in the Formation of Modern Turkey* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 89-159. See, also, Frierson, "Gender, Consumption and Patriotism," 118-120.

29 Çetinkaya, *The Young Turks*, 120; 136.

30 Ibid., 169; 219-202.

31 See chapter 7 in Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism".

2.1.1.1 Discussions on Fashion Consumption in *Kadınlar Dünyası*

The anti-fashion attitude was closely linked to improving the national economy and was central in the activism agenda of the women's movement. This attitude can be seen from the first issue of the periodical. Semiha Nihal wrote an article titled "What is Fashion?" (*Moda Nedir?*)[32] in the first issue of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, where she approached fashion as an economic burden on the country. The author argued that adornment was an exaggeration that caused extreme poverty in every nation where it emerged.[33] In the periodical, fashion was perceived to be a significant expenditure item for a family, and it counseled that every women should be discouraged from indulging in it.

On the other hand, the journal's contributors were divided as to whom the anti-fashion boycotts should target. Following the ideology of Turkism, one party suggested boycotting non-Muslim shops, while the others, who supported the ideology of Ottomanism, rejected such a move, stating that non-Muslim subjects were also a part of the empire. The latter group included non-Muslims in their definition of the nation. On the contrary, the supporters of Turkism excluded them and called on women to boycott non-Muslim shops and products.

A conference held by a group of women intellectuals organized in *Darülfunun* on 18 April 1913 and the discussions in its aftermath revealed the controversy between Ottomanists and Turkists over fashion consumption. At the conference, which was dedicated to discussing the country's progress, Nezihe Muhlis (Muhiddin),[34] gave a speech about the empire's economy.[35] On many prior occasions, she gathered with women and talked about economic issues, which she considered the main source

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32 This article was appreciated by one of the readers in Konya. Yerebatanlı Şadan, "Muhterem *Kadınlar Dünyası!*" *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no.10, 13 Nisan 1329 (26 April 1913): 4. For another example of an anti-fashion article in *Kadınlar Dünyası*, see Rafia Rıfat, "Muhterem Müdire Hanım," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 19, 22 Nisan 1329 (5 May 1913): 2.

33 Semiha Nihal, "Moda Nedir?" *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 1, 4 Nisan 1329 (17 April 1913): 3.

34 Muhlis was at that time her family name, as she was married to Muhlis Bey.

35 "Konferans," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 3, 6 Nisan 1329 (19 April 1913): 3-4.

of political and social problems in the country.[36] For her, the only way to achieve national well-being was to achieve economic independence. Muhiddin criticized the unequal economic and political relationship between the empire and Europe from the 19th century onwards. Furthermore, she held the Sultan, the Ottoman council of ministers, and the statesmen who signed the capitulations—"the death warrant" of the empire—responsible.[37]

To save the empire, she proposed abolishing the capitulations, which enabled European states to establish their own consular courts, control taxes, open post offices, and retain armed forces in the ports.[38] She also complained that "some foreigners, who found themselves poor and miserable in their native lands, came and damaged our national morality"; retained control of the country's economy without paying taxes.[39] According to Muhiddin, European countries did not want "to give us the right to survive, the right to liberty and national pride (*izzet-i nefs-i milli*)."[40]

She insistently underlined that the main reason for the empire's contemporary situation was economic and political dependence on Europe. In order to cast off this dependence, she emphasized that "women, as a significant component of the Ottoman Empire, and as future mothers," had to "struggle determinedly with … Christians and fanatic Europeans."[41] As part of this struggle, women should forsake, if necessary, the desire of adornment (*hiss-i tezeyyün*) that she accepted as an order of nature for women.[42] She made two proposals: wearing domestic products even if they were roughly made;[43] and, if the first option was not possible, to shop only from Muslim stores.[44]

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.

Muhiddin's two proposals were well-received by some of the participants at the conference. For example, following her lead, Fehamet Handan suggested that women consume domestic products regardless of how they looked, and shop from only Muslim stores.[45] She was also in favor of boycotting foreign shops [46] and cast as "ungrateful" non-Muslim subjects who did not do anything for the country but took advantage of the privilege given to them by the Ottoman state.[47] Another author stated that one of the determinants of national fashion should be that it was sold by a domestic trader or made by a domestic producer.[48] Muhiddin underscored the asymmetrical relationship between the Ottoman Empire and European countries. Seeing fashion consumption as one side of this unequal relationship, she frequently asked women to refrain from shopping in European or non-Muslim shops. She made no distinction between the two in her speeches and writings.[49]

However, not all authors in the periodical agreed with Muhiddin. The directorate of *Kadınlar Dünyası* did not support her ideas. For example, Emine Seher Ali found Muhiddin's speech "fervent and short-tempered," which she attributed to Muhiddin's young age. Seher Ali agreed on the necessity of abandoning the desire of adornment but distanced herself from Muhiddin's anti-European perspective.[50] She also supported creating a national fashion, but she frequently emphasized that by national, she meant the Ottoman nation (*millet-i Osmani*) and Ottomanism.[51]

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45 Fehamet Handan, "Konferans Münasebetiyle," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no.9, 12 Nisan 1329 (25 April 1913): 3.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 For example, see Maizer Cavit, "İstihlak-ı Dahili Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesine," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 26, 29 Nisan 1329 (12 May 1913): 4.

49 Van Os demonstrates that many authors also made no distinction between "foreign" and "non-Muslim" in their writings in this period. Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 237.

50 Emine Seher Ali, "İktisat," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no.4, 7 Nisan 1329 (20 April 1913): 1-2.

51 For example, see Emine Seher Ali, "Artık İş Başına!" *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 21, 24 Nisan 1329 (7 May 1913): 1-2.

Without mentioning her name, the leading article of the 13th issue of *Kadınlar Dünyası* criticized Muhiddin's proposal "not to shop from foreigners."[52] The article stated that Ottoman Christians formed an integral part of the nation and that it was crucial to work to commingle the Ottoman elements under the union of Ottoman communities (*Anasır-ı Osmaniye*).[53] Aziz Haydar likewise emphasized the Ottoman identity regardless of religious adherence or community. Haydar encouraged women to consume goods *produced by Ottoman subjects*—be Muslim or non-Muslim.[54] Another critic, Belkıs Ferit, favored using domestic products, but critical of Muhiddin's proposal to boycott foreign products. Ferit thought boycott was not a feasible alternative due to the economic dependence of the country.[55]

Muhiddin replied to these objections in an article asking why the phrase "not to shop from foreigners" should become a reason for anxiety and dispute concerning the empire's non-Muslim subjects. Emphasizing each entity's distinct interests in the empire, Muhiddin underscored the significance of the economic movement (*cereyan-ı iktisadi*) that enhanced the country's welfare.[56] The economic movement Muhiddin mentioned was an attempt initiated by women's associations such as *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* and *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* to produce national fashion. She wrote with a revanchist tone in her article and stated that "we did not think that we had the right to be offended, the right to object when Christian citizens worked for their welfare and happiness in the past."[57] Under the influence of Turkism, she also stated that "our entity [the

52 *Kadınlar Dünyası*, "Vesait-i Tenevvür," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 13, 16 Nisan 1329 (29 April 1913): 1.

53 Ibid.

54 For example, see Aziz Haydar, "Yerli Malları," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no.53, 26 Mayıs 1329 (8 June 1913):1-2.

55 Ferit acknowledged Muhiddin's contributions in spreading very widely through the population the idea of how important domestic consumption was. Belkıs Ferit, "Terakkimiz," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 18, 21 Nisan 1329 (4 May 1913): 3.

56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

nation] should appear as a tenacious, obstinate and conservative nationalist mass to pursue welfare and salvation [or else] we will be ruined and vanish."[58]

She finished her article with the statement that "worshipping our racial character (*şahsiyet-i ırkiye*) and national identity (*hüviyet-i milliye*)" will provide strength for the struggle.[59] Muhiddin emphasized Turkishness as the main source of national identity. However, *Kadınlar Dünyası* did not support her ideas and, in a brief reply at the end of her article, recommended that she adopt a more moderate tone.

The supporters of the two approaches seemed in conflict with each other in the first issues of *Kadınlar Dünyası* in 1913. That year the Turkist ideology started to gain ground at least among a group of women,[60] who began propagating the use of domestic clothes and organizing boycotts of non-Muslim shops in Beyoğlu. These women became pioneers in the project to boost domestic consumption by swaying public opinion against consuming European goods.

2.1.1.2 Proposals for National Clothing in *Kadınlar Dünyası*

Women's clothing underwent continual change during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. The mere existence of change and the growing variety of styles worn under the influence of fashion in different districts

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58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

60 See Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 236. Recent studies question the existence of a sharp return to Turkism after 1913, and instead draw attention to the acceleration of ideological debates and to the plurality of ideas on the future of the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, I try to show the existence of a lively debate among women in the first issues of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, in which Ottomanism continued to be as influential as Turkism. See Efi Kanner, "Transcultural Encounters: Discourses on Women's Rights and Feminist Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Interwar Period," *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 28, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 80. See some of the revisionist studies: Ramazan Hakkı Öztan, "Point of No Return? Prospects of Empire After the Ottoman Defeat in the Balkan Wars (1912-1913)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 50 (2018): 65-84. See, also, Alp Yenen, "Envisioning Turco-Arab Co-Existence Between Empire and Nationalism," *Die Welt Des Islams*, vol. 61, no. 1, (08.04.2020): 72-112.

of Istanbul and even in Anatolia became a subject of criticism in the periodical. To prevent the spread of European fashion, the authors in *Kadınlar Dünyası* tried to set national standards in clothing in 1913. In doing so, they also defined the contours of national identity from their perspective.[61]

In the periodical, the authors complained that Istanbul women did not dress in a way consistent with Islam but preferred to adopt the latest European fashions and imitated European women with their make-up and narrow skirts. As a solution, some authors proposed modernizing the *çarşaf* or Muslim overgarment and creating new "nationally suitable" clothes.[62] They saw consuming domestic goods and updating the national attire as a service to the nation.[63]

The most frequently emphasized points related to clothing was that it should be made with domestic fabric. In this sense, women Istanbulites were the target of criticisms for not wearing clothes made of Turkish domestic fabric. A difference noted between Istanbulites, and Anatolian women was their clothing preferences. Bergüzar, an author in *Kadınlar Dünyası,* pointed to this dichotomy and added that she was "Turk and proud of Turkishness." Bergüzar deplored the fact that while in Anatolia, everyone wore Turkish domestic products, women Istanbulites were not aware of what kind of products Turks had and what to buy. The author proposed that men could bring various clothes produced in different parts of the empire to Istanbul, open shops, and force women to consume

61 See chapter 7 in Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism".

62 Nebile Kamuran, "Kıyafetimiz," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 20, 23 Nisan 1329 (6 May 1913): 3. See, also, Nebile Kamuran, "Kıyafetimiz," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 31, 4 Mayıs 1329 (17 May 1913): 4. Hikmet Hıfzı, "Bizde Modacılık," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 25, 28 Nisan 1329 (11 May 1913): 4. One of the authors proposed to create a national veil (*kisve-i milli-i tesettür*) to end the variety in women's outer garments. See Pertev-nisar, "Muhterem Kadınlar Dünyası'na," *Kadınlar Dünyası,* no. 35, 8 Mayıs 1329 (21 May 1913): 3-4. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 237-240. Atamaz, ""The Hands That Rock the Cradle Will Rise,"" 177-194.

63 One author criticized the dress style of students who were influenced by European fashion. Aliye Cevat, "Fıkdan-ı Maarif ve Kıyafetlerimiz," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no.32, 5 Mayıs 1329 (18 May 1913) 3.

these products.[64] The author also demanded *Kadınlar Dünyası* publish a warning for women in every issue, encouraging them to wear Turkish clothes. She considered the choice of domestic products a duty for the country and the nation.[65] The domestic products she referred to here was the garment made of domestic fabric produced within the empire's borders.[66]

In order to encourage the consumption of domestic goods, one of the authors suggested that the heads of girls' schools make domestic fabric mandatory in student clothes.[67] Disregarding how rough the product was, another author proposed that clothing necessities be met within the empire's boundaries. For example, people could buy silk from Damascus, sheets from Baghdad, towels from Bursa, fabrics from Hama, niello from Bitlis, and carpets from Sivas.[68]

Fashion consumption and any kind of adornment and import from European countries were regarded as an obstacle to developing small handicraft production. Rather than "furnishing houses with decayed European objects that have no value other than adornment", one author stated that buying domestic furnishings could increase the number of artisans.[69] The consumption of domestic products was directly related to the nation's progress because—as another author asserted—it would prompt local entrepreneurs to open factories. In turn, it would boost employment and help the poor; the state would also collect taxes.[70] Despite the emphasis on the consumption of domestic products, it seems

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64 Bergüzar, "Muhterem Hanımefendi Hazretleri!" *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 6, 9 Nisan 1329 (22 April 1913): 3-4.

65 Ibid.

66 For another article that underscores the need to promote domestic fabric, see Hıfzı, "Bizde Modacılık,"4.

67 Rebia Edhem, "İnas Mekatib-i Rüşdiyesi Müdürlerinin Nazar-ı Dikkatine," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 47, 20 Mayıs 1329 (2 June 1913): 4.

68 Atiye Şükran, "Bilmek İsteriz," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 18, 21 Nisan 1329 (4 May 1913): 1-2. See, also, Zehra Hacı, "Sevgili Hamiyet-perver Hemşirelerim," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 16, 19 Nisan 1329 (2 May 1913): 3-4.

69 Şükran, "Bilmek İsteriz,"1-2.

70 Ferit, "Terakkimiz," 3.

that finding them was not easy[71] and prices were also high.[72] Furthermore, the authors complained about the impolite attitude toward customers in Turkish Muslim shops [73] while just the opposite took place in foreign shops.[74]

Other contributors to the journal thought that the domestic design of clothes was just as important. For instance, an article titled "Milli Moda" (National Fashion) in *Kadınlar Dünyası* stated that wearing domestic fabric would not be sufficient to "nationalize the clothing"[75] and asserted that the form was an important aspect of a cloth's nationality. The author proposed to establish an association that would include three kinds of members: historians, seamstresses and painters along with women teachers.[76] According to the author, due to the dearth of women historians, the association could ask eligible male historians to write books on "national clothes by analyzing Turkish history."[77] These books would constitute norms through which the fashion of every year would be determined.[78] Another author, Fatma Şaziment, focused attention on a topic not mentioned before in the periodical, the revival of traditional embroidery, which she saw as a significant component in any future national fashion.[79]

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71 Fatımatüzzehra, "Kadınlar Dünyası Gazete-i Muteberesi Müdiriyet-i Aliyesine," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 18, 21 Nisan 1329 (4 May 1913): 3.

72 Sıdıka Ali Rıza, "Ticarette Nezaket Elzemdir," *Kadınlar Dünyası,* no. 46, 19 Mayıs 1329 (1 June 1913): 3.

73 For further information on the impolite attitude of Muslim traders, see Ibid.

74 Nazife İclal, "Böyle Ticaret Terakki Edemez!" *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 41, 14 Mayıs 1329 (27 May 1913): 3-4. See Emine Sait, "Kadınlar Dünyası Gazete-i Muhteremesi İdare-i Beytiyesine," *Kadınlar Dünyası,* no. 43, 16 Mayıs 1329 (29 May 1913): 3; Hereke Fabrikası Müdürü İrfan, "Kadınlar Dünyası Müdireliğine," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 44, 17 Mayıs 1329 (30 May 1913): 2-3. Nazife İclal, "Bizde Dert mi Ararsın?" *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 46, 19 Mayıs 1329 (1 June 1913): 3-4.

75 C.H. "Milli Moda," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 26, 29 Nisan 1329 (12 May 1913): 4.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid.

79 Fatma Şaziment, "Milliyetimizi Bilelim," *Kadınlar Dünyası,* no. 48, 21 Mayıs 1329 (3 June 1913): 4.

In the discussions, three elements of national fashion came to the forefront: domestic fabric, local producers,[80] and national embroidery. Although these debates did not evolve into attempts to create unique Turkish forms, some women organizations founded in 1913 later dedicated considerable effort to revive Turkish embroidery tradition, which they regarded as one of their principal tasks. Indeed, in 1913 some women's associations were established with the very purpose of fostering national fashion and reviving this old practice, including *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi*, *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği,* and *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*.[81]

Campaigns supporting the consumption of domestic products and boycotting European goods had previously been conducted a couple of times but had not been successful.[82] The position of the women's movement in this period was compatible with what Alexander Maxwell defines as "national fashionism," a new kind of sartorial nationalism that emerged in the 19th century.[83] According to Maxwell, 19th-century patriots in Europe were not interested so much in the form of clothing but still problematized their import from other nations.[84] He states that patriots encouraged domestic manufacture to produce fashionable clothes rather than banning fashion but paid less attention to domestic design.[85]

Despite some remarks to that effect, most women in *Kadınlar Dünyası* did not desire to create a new form in clothing. Women's definition of the national fashion was much more related to the usage of domestic materials, specifically the fabric, but less attention was given to Turkish national motives. Women authors saw consumption of Western fashion as an economic burden on the economy and produced propaganda about

80 See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 237.

81 Examples include *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi*, *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* and *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi*. See chapters 7 and 8 in this dissertation.

82 Fatımatüzzehra, "Kadınlar Dünyası Gazete-i Muteberesi," 3.

83 Maxwell, *Patriots Against Fashion*, 180.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

the consumption of domestic goods. Even some of them initiated a campaign to boycott foreign and non-Muslim stores.

Maxwell demonstrates that women had a leading role in "national fashionism" as "patriotic consumers" and organizers of boycotts in Europe.[86] He also notes how the women influencing the public sphere with their leading role as consumers and boycotting came from a "feminine" sphere, transgressing boundaries between the public and private spheres.[87] In the Ottoman Empire, fashion had always been associated with the women's sphere and enabled women to be influential in the public sphere from the 19th century onwards. The discussions in *Kadınlar Dünyası* also demonstrated how women influenced the public sphere through a topic associated with the private sphere.

2.1.1.3 Women's Associations, the Fashion Question, and National Identity

To shed further light on the women's political agenda, this section details information on the women's associations established after 1913 that stated interest in women's clothing and the question of fashion consumption.

One such association was *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti,* established on 9 June 1913.[88] The founders[89] perceived that time of transformation for the empire had arisen. The changing perception of women's social position could be seen in the foreword to the association's statute, which stated that Ottoman women should unite and

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86 Ibid., 205.

87 Ibid. See, also, chapter 9 in Maxwell, *Patriots Against Fashion*.

88 See, also, Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi.* The general directorate of the association was in Binbirdirek in the executive office of *Kadınlar Dünyası*. See *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi (İstanbul: Serbesti Matbaası, 1913), 3; Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri, 288.*

89 The president of the association was Ulviye Melvan Hanım. The general secretary was Pakize Sadri and the accountant was Azize Haydar Hanım. The members of the association were Fatma Pakize, Süreyya Lütfi, Sara Arif, Nimet Cemil, Şükriye Nihal and Bedra Osman Hanım. See *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler*, 126. See, also, Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi.*

move forward in the organization of their social and working lives and promote the advancement of women's education so that they could contribute meaningfully to the development of the country.[90]

The association declared its mission had three goals — namely, reducing women's marginalization by boosting female employment, improving women's education, and remaking women's outer garments.[91] The association thus sought to improve women's social position in all aspects. For example, it aimed to renew women's working lives (*hayat-ı mesai*) by organizing social life, preparing mothers to raise educated future generations, and establishing enterprises to boost female employment and educational outcomes.

Tied to all these other aims, the goal of reforming women's outer attire was paramount.[92] As the association's statue detailed, the principal goal was to promote plain and suitable external garments according to the Islamic code — specifically, for women who were eligible to work.[93]

In line with the aim of establishing suitable clothing standards by consensus, the association sought the views of the elites on national clothing, and proposed to publish their proposals selectively in *Kadınlar Dünyası*.[94] Articles on *tesettür* (being covered), *peçe* (face veiling) and the contemporary form of *çarşaf* filled the pages of *Kadınlar Dünyası* along with the recommendations for what to do and what to avoid. The association also declared that it would present the selected clothes to the

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90 See the foreword in the constitution *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi*, 1; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri,* 287.

91 *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi*, 3; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri*, 288.

92 *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi*, 1; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri,* 287. See, also, Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 57.

93 *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi*, 2; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri,* 287.

94 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Kıyafetimizin Islahı," *Kadınlar Dünyası,* no. 57, 30 Mayıs 1329 (12 June 1913): 1. Kadınlar Dünyası, "İşe Başlamalı," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 62, 4 Haziran 1329 (17 June 1913): 1. Kadınlar Dünyası, "Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Faaliyette," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 64, 6 Haziran 1329 (19 June 1913): 1.

government to be put into practice.[95] It also announced that it would make it obligatory for its thousands of members to wear the selected clothes and, in this way, encourage women to abandon *çarşaf*, just as *ferace* and *yaşmak* had disappeared in the past.[96] *Kadınlar Dünyası* emphasized that the foremost aim of the association was to create an over-garment for women to wear outside. Complaining about the contemporary situation of women's clothing, the periodical stated the significance of reforming and simplifying the outer garment as a necessary part of eliminating wastefulness "caused by fashion trouble."[97]

Against the irregularity and diversity of women's clothing as a subject of criticism, this association aimed to create a national dress according to national and religious traditions and good taste.[98] The association obviously desired to work with the government to be a part of the policy of creating certain national norms in women's clothing. Although the government did not pursue a systematic clothing policy due to the war-time conditions, the association vowed to implement this policy independently as indeed, a couple of women's associations did during this period.

Concerning the association's clothing policy, the secondary aim was to establish numerous art houses to employ women to ease their misery and help them establish a dowery while contributing to national manufactures (*sanayi-i milliye*).[99] The main working area of women was textile production. Similar to the activities of other women's associations, *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* intended to open schools,

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95 *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi*, 2; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri,* 287. Kadınlar Dünyası, "Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Faaliyette," 1.

96 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Kuvvet ve Mevcudiyetimizle Müzaheret Edelim," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 73, 15 Haziran 1329 (28 June 1913): 1.

97 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Faaliyet Başlıyor," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 54, 27 Mayıs 1329 (9 June 1913): 1.

98 See Aziz Haydar, "Çok Düşünmeli," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no.56, 29 Mayıs 1329 (11 June 1913): 1-2. Kadınlar Dünyası, "Kıyafetimizin Islahı," 1.

99 *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi*, 2; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri,* 287.

organize conferences and publish material[100], which was achieved with the inclusion of *Kadınlar Dünyası* under the association's auspices.[101]

Women's changing social lives were always linked to their clothes. In working to defend women's rights and enhance women's social position after 1913, *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* attempted to create new clothes for women that would be compatible with their changing circumstances in the society. The association considered tailoring as prominent work for women and decided to open a tailoring house on 27 June 1913[102] to train and employ female tailors to prevent the transfer of money to foreigners and achieve one of the aims of the national fashion project.[103] The association opened art houses, one of them was for clothing production, and the tailoring house, which taught women sewing to earn an income and worked on order basis as a business organization.[104]

An announcement in *Kadınlar Dünyası* stated that the tailoring house would compete in terms of quality with the leading foreign tailors in Beyoğlu[105] and, more significantly, save Ottoman women from the high prices the foreign tailors charged.[106] *Kadınlar Dünyası* attempted to mobilize women by encouraging them to use local tailors and refrain from giving their money to foreigners.[107] An announcement in the

100 See *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi*, 2; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri,* 287.

101 *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti Nizamnamesi*, 5; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri*, 289.

102 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Terzi Evi," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 72, 14 Haziran 1329 (27 June 1913): 1.

103 Kadınlar Dünyası, "İşe Başlamalı," 1.

104 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Terzilik," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 66, 8 Haziran 1329 (21 June 1913): 1. See, also, Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 299.

105 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Terzilik," 1.

106 Ibid.; Kadınlar Dünyası, "Terzi Evi," 1.

107 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Kuvvetlerimizi Birleştirelim," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 74, 16 Haziran 1329 (29 June 1913): 1.

periodical declared that every kind of clothing order would be accepted, and women who wished to teach or learn tailoring could apply.[108]

Ottomanism constituted the basis in the definition of the nation for the association's work around 1913. For example, *Kadınlar Dünyası* stated that Ottoman women could save both their own money and the nation's money by spending to promote the welfare of local women in need. Indeed, choosing the local tailor over foreign ones was perceived to be a service to the nation.[109] The periodical stated that the opening of the tailoring house was "the biggest contribution the association could make" to awaken "a national sentiment (*hiss-i milli*)" and Ottoman unity.[110]

No information is available on its activities after 1913 and when the association was officially closed. We can surmise, however, that it closed around 1921 when the periodical ceased publication. During and after the Great War, Ottomanism no longer had purchase, and it is possible to guess that an ideological shift toward Turkism occurred in the association between 1913 and the approximate closure date, 1921. This kind of shift was observed for another women's association, *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi,* in a similar period of time.

Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi was established in March 1913 to sell and disseminate domestic manufactures and handicrafts — namely, to encourage domestic production of *national clothing*.[111] Notably, it seems that *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar*

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108 For example, see the announcements of *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* in the 72nd issue of *Kadınlar Dünyası*. The same announcement continued to be published in the subsequent issues as well.

109 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Terzilik," 1; Kadınlar Dünyası, "Terzi Evi*," 1.*

110 Kadınlar Dünyası, "Terzilik," 1.

111 The general directorate of the association was in the fifth numbered house in Takvimhane Street, behind the Ministry of Finance in Sultan Beyazıt. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin Beyan-namesi," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 5, 8 Nisan 1329 (21 April 1913): 4. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyetler* states that this association had been opened with the same name in 1909. The association was then re-opened in 1913 in Divanyolu. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler*, 124. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 232.

Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi refrained from any overt connection to the CUP and declared from the beginning that it would not engage in politics in the statute it published in *Kadınlar Dünyası*.[112]

The founder of the association was Melek Hanım.[113] The association declared its program in *Kadınlar Dünyası* — namely, as mentioned, to work for the consumption of domestic goods.[114] For the founders of the association, the Ottoman Empire had fallen behind in industry and trade and was increasingly consuming European goods, specifically fashion goods. It was criticized in the statute that women's fashion consumption transferred domestic capital to Europe while Europeans preferred not to consume imported goods because of their well-developed sentiments of patriotism and national consumption.[115] The association asked women to consume and produce domestic goods as a recipe to get over the unequal economic relationship with Europe.[116]

The association announced that a tailoring house would be opened on 3 July 1913 under the same name as the association and would only provide products made from domestic goods.[117] In the tailoring house, the association aimed to employ girls and women in need and raise "perfect tailors" among them.[118] In the beginning, the tailoring house only had 11 women employees, but in March 1914, the number of

112 "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin Beyan-namesi," 4.

113 The members of the association were Beynaz Bekir Nizami Paşa Hanım, Benihe Şakir Paşa Hanım, Nebile Celal Hanım, Server Hakkı Hanım, Saadet Hanım, Azize Hüseyin Kemal Hanım, Subhiye Ali Hanım, and Saadet Hanım, daughter of Bedirhanpaşazade Ahmet Bey. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler*, 126. According to the information in *Kadınlar Dünyası*, the number of founding members was two and the number of registered members was 94 in 23 April 1913. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin Beyan-namesi," 4.

114 "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin Beyan-namesi," 4.

115 Ibid. See, also, Emine Seher Ali, "Kadınlıkta Seviye-i İrfan," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, 4 Nisan 1329 (17 April 1913): 1-2.

116 "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin Beyan-namesi," 4.

117 Ibid. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nden," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 77, 19 Haziran 1329 (2 July 1913): 4.

118 "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin Beyan-namesi," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 5, 8 Nisan 1329 (21 April 1913): 4.

employees reached 50 according to the information given by Melek Hanım.[119] She also stated that the association would send three women every year to Europe for tailoring education.[120] The number of employees gradually increased to more than 200, some of whom opened their own workshops or found jobs at others' workshops.[121]

Trying to achieve public support, the association demanded that all women strive and sacrifice to consume domestic goods, which was argued to be the only way to increase capital and well-being.[122] The association had already prepared various fabrics in competition with European fabrics and announced that women would find all kinds of clothes compatible with the latest fashions in the tailoring house.[123] The association organized exhibitions to present its products and to book orders for clothing production.[124] Van Os asserts that these exhibitions were so successful that the association could open a permanent shop.[125]

The association opened workshops in various parts of Istanbul to provide education to young girls on tailoring.[126] The activities of the association came to an end after a while. However, the association continued its activities in September 1916 with a new name, *İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti Terzihanesi ve Darüssınaası* (Tailor House and Art House of the Women' Association for National Consumption) in its old place in Divanyolu.[127]

Following the ideology of Ottomanism, the association spoke to Ottoman women and propagated Ottoman patriotism from the very

119 İstihlak-i Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi müessise ve reisesi: M.M. "Meslek ve Muradımız," *Siyanet*, no. 1 (26 March 1914): 1.

120 Ibid., 2.

121 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 234.

122 "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nin Beyan-namesi," no. 5, 4.

123 "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nden," no. 5, 4.

124 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 232. "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi'nden," 4.

125 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 233. See, also, Nazire Rasim, "İstihlak-ı Milli Ticarethanesi'ni Ziyaret," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 108, 7 Eylül 1329 (20 September 1913): 7.

126 See Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 233.

127 Ibid., 235.

outset.[128] For the founders of this association, the emphasis on domestic goods consumption was obviously linked to the Ottoman Empire's economic development, which seemed to be the main reason underpinning its anti-fashion attitude.

The emphasis on domestic consumption would remain, but the fall of the empire inevitably brought about an ideological shift in the association's discourses and activities. Indeed, the emphasis on Ottoman identity was diminishing, especially after the outbreak of the Great War. Van Os underscores this shift which can be observed in the first issue of the association's periodical, *Siyanet* on 26 March 1914.[129] The subtitle of the periodical underscored its association with *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi*. However, the president, Melek Hanım, gave the name of the association as *İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (Women's Charitable Association for National Consumption) in the first article of the periodical in March 1914.[130] According to Van Os, this difference is a sign of the shift occurring in the women's movement toward the ideology of Turkism and national economic policy to create a Muslim Turkish bourgeoisie.[131] Rather than addressing *Ottoman women*, Melek Hanım spoke to *Muslim and Turkish women*, encouraging them to progress and advance throughout her article.[132]

Both *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan* and *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi* demonstrated the centrality of the fashion question in the agenda of the women's movement from 1913. These associations published propaganda in favor of domestic goods, produced national clothes, and directly employed women in that production. An ideological shift from Ottomanism to Turkism can be seen

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128 For example, Emine Seher Ali underlined the necessity of the various ethnic elements of the empire (*ittihad-ı anasır*) working together so that the progress of the nation could be achieved. Emine Seher Ali, "Anasır-ı Osmaniye," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 10, 13 Nisan 1329 (26 April 1913): 1-2.

129 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 235.

130 Ibid.

131 Ibid., 235-236.

132 M.M. "Meslek ve Muradımız," 1-2.

from 1913 onwards. However, it is not possible to trace the influences of this shift in these associations' later activities due to the scarcity of information.

After the Balkan Wars, women established associations that specifically worked to publish propaganda and produce national fashion. As Van Os states, it was also after that the number of articles encouraging women to shop only from Muslim Turkish shop owners appeared more frequently in women's periodicals.[133] Women's organizations continued to employ poor women in the production of clothes, and women's position against fashion consumption continued during the War of Independence. Furthermore, women were involved actively in various ways in that conflict, which the next section of the chapter will discuss at length.

2.1.2 Women in the War of Independence

Women were active in defense of the nation during the War of Independence.[134] For example, women were involved in the provision of

133 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 228.

134 For example, after the congress in Sivas, *Anadolu Kadınları Müdafaa-i Vatan Cemiyeti* (Association of Anatolian Women for the Defence of the Nation) was established and later opened local branches in various places. See Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, *Milli Mücadele'de Anadolu Kadınları Müdafaa-i Vatan Cemiyeti* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1986); İnan, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının*, 126-139. In the War of Independence, the women's branch of the *ARMHC* was established and helped the national struggle in organizing campaigns and providing large-scale financial and material aid to the army, protesting the Allied occupation by telegram to the government and the governors of the Allied Powers, and sending congratulatory messages to those who went to Anatolia to fight. For the documents related to the foundation of the association and correspondences between the association and Mustafa Kemal Pasha, see Baykal, *Milli Mücadele'de Anadolu Kadınları.* See, also, Ercüment Hasıroğlu, "Milli Mücadelede Sivas'ta Toplanan Kadınlar Kongresi," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, no.2 (1967): 16; İnan, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının*, 126-139. Some of the women's association established for the defense of the country sent messages of congratulation for the opening of the new National Assembly in Ankara and also sent messages regarding the situation in the occupied cities during the War of Independence. See *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 08.09.1920, 5. See, also, *Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi*, 22.01.1920, 18.

food and beverages, carrying munitions to the soldiers, and in some cases, even at the battlefront.[135] Some pioneering female figures, such as Halide Edip and Samiye Asker, went to Anatolia to participate directly in the War of Independence.[136]

Some of the women in associational life had connections with the CUP and the resistance movement. For example, Bilge Criss states that in the Armistice period, leading women figures of the period acted as couriers to the party's secret organization. They organized balls and tea parties, where the Allied officers participated and then dispatched the surveillance gathered to the secret organization.[137] Latife Hanım also carried a message to the resistance movement in Anatolia in 1922.[138]

Women's associations took part in protest movements and almost all of the demonstrations or propaganda wars.[139] They protested the Allied

Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi, 27.04.1920, 93- 94. *Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi*, 22.01.1920, 18. *Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi*, 27.04.1920, 94.

135 For information about the officially registered heroines in the war, see *Milli Mücadele'de ve Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Kadınlarımız* (Ankara: Milli Savunma Bakanlığı, 1998), 31-117; 121-127; Taşkıran, *Women in Turkey*, 53; İnan, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının*, 104-107. See, also, Şefika Kurnaz, *Yenileşme Sürecinde Türk Kadını* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2011), 241-251. The courage of women in the War of Independence was brought up often in the parliament in 1920 and 1921. For example, see *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 15.05.1920, 308. See *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 09.08.1920, 162 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 30.01.1921, 439.

136 Some of the women who fought directly included Kara Fatma, Ayşe Hanım, Tayyar Rahmiye, Bitlis Defterdarı'nın Hanımı, Hatice Hatun, Kara Fatma Şimşek, Tarsuslu Kara Fatma, Gaziantepli Yirik Fatma, Nazife Kadın, and Gördesli Makbule. *Milli Mücadele'de ve Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Kadınlarımız,* 121-127.

137 Only Emine Semiye Hanım was known to be a member of the CUP. However, Criss draws attention to the fact that others likely worked actively in the committee. Criss, *İşgal Altında Istanbul*, 45; 47.

138 İpek Çalışlar, *Latife Hanım* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2019), 23-24.

139 In November 1918, one of the first established women's associations was *İstihlas-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti* (Women's Association for National Salvation) which declared that it would send a committee of two women and one man to publish propaganda and protect the rights of the country in Europe. Likewise, *Müdafaa-i Hukuk Kadınlar Şubesi* (Women's Branch of the Defence of Law) was established at the end of 1919 and contributed in various ways to the national struggle by organizing conferences, demonstrations and performances, and sending protest telegrams to the wives of

occupation through telegrams, messages, protests, and marches in cities throughout Anatolia.[140] On 19 May 1919, the first demonstration in the Fatih district of Istanbul was organized by the students of *İnas Darülfünun* (Women's University) and *Asri Kadınlar Cemiyeti* (Modern Women's Association).[141] In this demonstration, Halide Edip made an influential speech.[142] Further demonstrations also took place in Kadıköy, Üsküdar and Sultanahmet along with the participation of the leading women figures. In these demonstrations, Meliha Hanım[143], Sabahat Hanım[144], Naciye Hanım[145], Münevver Saime Hanım[146], Şükufe Nihal[147]

important foreign leaders. Yücel Özkaya, "Izmir'in İşgali" in *Milli Mücadele Tarihi* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2005), 103-104. Şefika Kurnaz states that *Kasaba Kadınları Cemiyeti* (Association of Town Women) was the first known women's association at the beginning of the Armistice. Kurnaz, *Yenileşme Sürecinde Türk Kadını*, 230-232; 237-238.

140 See Özkaya, "Izmir'in İşgali," 62-76. For the speeches made during the protests, see Kemal Arıburnu, *Milli Mücadele'de Istanbul Mitingleri* (Ankara: Yeni Matbaa, 1951). See, also, Kurnaz, *Yenileşme Sürecinde Türk Kadını*, 213-223.

141 İnan, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının*, 107-108.

142 She had made important speeches at numerous demonstrations such as the Fatih demonstration on 19 May 1919, the Kadıköy demonstration on 22 May 1919, and the Sultanahmet demonstration on 23 May 1919. Arıburnu, *Milli Mücadele'de Istanbul Mitingleri*, 12-13; 35-36; 43-44. The speeches of Halide Edip and Meliha Hanım at the Fatih demonstration were published in *İnci*. "Halide Edib ve Meliha Hanımların Nutukları", *İnci*, no. 5 (1 June 1919): 5.

143 She spoke at the Fatih demonstration on 19 May 1919. Ibid., 16-17.

144 On behalf of *Asri Kadın Cemiyeti* (Association of Modern Women), Sabahat Hanım made a speech at the demonstration in Doğancılar, Üsküdar on 20 May 1919. Ibid, 21-22.

145 She spoke at the demonstration in Doğancılar, Üsküdar on 20 May 1919. *Ibid.*, 23-24.

146 She gave a speech at the demonstration in Kadıköy on 22 May 1919. After the demonstration, she was arrested. Later she went to Anatolia and participated in the War of Independence. She was injured during the war and was honored with a medal. She became a sergeant. After the war, she became a literature teacher. Ibid., 34-35; 69. İnan, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının*, 109.

147 She spoke at the second Sultanahmet demonstration on 30 May 1919. Arıburnu, *Milli Mücadele'de Istanbul Mitingleri*, 50-52.

and Nakiye Elgün[148] came to the forefront with their important speeches and association activities during this period.

In the cities, the CUP continued to be influential in institutions such as *Hilal-i Ahmer*, *Milli Talim ve Terbiye Cemiyeti* (Association of National Training and Education), the *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth), and the *Milli Kongre* (National Congress), which assembled on 29 November 1918, 15 days after the Allied occupation began, as well as associations of artisans, craftsmen, and women.[149] In some of these organizations, women participated and contributed to the national struggle. For example, women's associations participated in the *Milli Kongre*. Halide Edip was among the founders, and Nezihe Muhiddin was a delegate.[150] Among the conferences in which sometimes prominent women activists of the period made speeches, the *Türk Ocağı* was an important place for women.[151] Women involved in *Türk Ocağı* (1912-1931) and the *Müdafaa-i Milliye Cemiyeti* (National Defense Society, 1913-1919) working for the war-time propaganda of the CUP.[152]

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148 As the president of the Association of Teachers (*Muallimler Cemiyeti Reisi*), she spoke at the Sultanahmet demonstration on 13 January 1920. Later on, she became an educator and a parliamentarian. The Minister of Education gave her virtue award (*Fazilet Mükafatı*). Ibid., 62-63;71.

149 See Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık*, 119-121. There were associations such as *İttihat ve Terakki Kadınlar Şubesi* (Women's Branch of Union and Progess), *Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Women's Society for Glorifying the Homeland), *Osmanlı Kadınları Terakkiperver Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Women's Progressive Society) that were established by the CUP. The founding date of these associations are not known. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 56.

150 This was an umbrella organization that attempted to gather diverse associations of the period against the Allied occupation. It included contemporary women's associations and important female figures. It closed in 1919. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler Mütareke Dönemi*, 165. Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 93.

151 Halide Edip was a member of *Hars ve İlim Heyeti* (Committee of Culture and Science) in the *Türk Ocağı* in 1918. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi*, 458. Halide Edip and Muallim Nakiye Hanım were among the members of the administrative committee of the *Türk Ocağı*. See Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 58.

152 Elif Mahir Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women During World War I: Everyday Experiences, Politics, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 36.

In these associations, one of the main public activities of women was sewing, determined by the war-time necessities.[153] The next section concentrates on the country's economic situation to shed further light on the urgency of clothing production and the role of women in this production.

§ 2.2 Economic Conditions During the War Years

The economic situation of the Ottoman Empire was severely affected during the war years. From the Turco–Italian War (1911-1912) to the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence in 1919, production levels in three main areas – agriculture, industry, and mining –decreased dramatically.[154] Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk state that the production decline in agriculture probably was "more than 50 percent" compared to the levels in 1914.[155] The industrial domain was primitive and basically consisted of a limited number of small and local plants that could not meet domestic consumption necessities.[156] For economic historians, the decline in industry was in the range of 30 and 50[157]; and the empire's national income fell at least 40% in respect of its pre-war level at the beginning of the Armistice period.[158]

Accompanying the decline in all production areas and the national income, subsistence became a problem. One of the common comments on the Ottoman Empire's situation in World War I was its

153 The other main public activity of women was nursing. See, also, Ibid., 121.

154 Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (London: I.B Tauris, 1998), 11. For further details, see Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2015), 166-168.

155 Owen and Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies*, 12.

156 See Yahya S. Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi* (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2002), 102-108. See, also, Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2007* (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 2008), 20; 33.

157 Vedat Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomisi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), 75-82. Quoted in Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, 166.

158 Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, 167.

unpreparedness and the dearth of resources compared to any other belligerent country.[159] The country was economically isolated, and external trade had almost ceased at the outset of World War I.[160] In terms of the import of manufactured textiles or machinery and the food supply,[161] the disruption in trade created a problem for the country, which had relied on imports for basic goods even in normal years. Wheat for bread was among these imported goods: 50% of flour came from France, 20% from Russia, 15% from Italy, and 15% from Rumania and Bulgaria before the outbreak of the war.[162] The production decline was most dramatic in agriculture, and—along with the absence of transportation infrastructure for the mobilization of the available surplus foodstuffs and their distribution in the deprived areas— the subsistence of cities, people, and the army became a severe issue at the start of the Great War.[163] The scarcity of food became acute, and the provisioning of Istanbul was to become a big problem for the rest of the war.[164]

The "statistical record of retail prices" published by the Public Debt Administration exemplifies some of the severe price rises in Istanbul from 1917 to the end of 1918. The price of sugar rose from 3 kuruş to 250 kuruş; coffee from 12 to 600; rice from 3 to 90; cheese from 12 to 280; butter from 20 to 400; and wood from 45 to 540.[165] War profiteering (*ihtikâr*) started after the Great War and continued during the Armistice, although the government and municipalities determined maximum prices and imposed fines to those who did not comply with the rule.[166] It was a difficult task to control prices throughout the war. Vedat Eldem notes that in the absence of goods and the devaluation of banknotes,

159 Ahmet Emin Yalman, *Turkey in the World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), 107. See, also, Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, 168.

160 See Yalman, *Turkey in the World War,* 135-136.

161 Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, 165.

162 Yalman, *Turkey in the World War*, 120.

163 Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi,* 165-170.

164 Yalman, *Turkey in the World War*, 119.

165 Ibid., 147-148.

166 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında*, 146.

price rises continued until 1920, and afterward, the prices were almost steady or declined following the world-wide trend in prices.[167]

Opening trade routes and importing basic necessities contributed to the new economic situation in this period.[168] Even so, from 1920 onwards, the value of money gradually decreased.[169] The calculation of Public Debt Administration (*Duyun-u Umumiye İdaresi*) demonstrated the economy's upturn: the general rise in the prices of basic consumption goods was 300% in 1916.[170] Taking the year 1914 as the base and assigning a value of 100, the cost of living index, which included these goods, was 280 in 1916;[171]; 839 in 1917; 1,790 in 1918; 1,408 in 1919; 1,406 in 1920;[172]; 1,130 in 1921; and 999 in 1922.[173] The investigation published by the Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul showed that food prices were approximately fifteen times higher than the pre-war period; this was also a reasonable estimation for the change in Izmir.[174]

During the war years, life was costly everywhere. Inflation caused a steady decrease in real wages. Between 1914 and 1920, they fell 33%.[175] No detailed information exits on wages, but it seems that "the purchasing power declined to at least %80 and even more in some cases through the end of the war."[176] Şevket Pamuk states that purchasing power in the private sector was even worse.[177] At the beginning of World War I, the

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167 Ibid.

168 Ibid.

169 Ibid., 145-146.

170 Yalman*, Turkey in the World War*, 150; Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat* (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1982), 330.

171 Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 330.

172 This calculation was made based on the cost of living index table in Ahmet Emin Yalman's book, *Turkey in the World War I.* For the table, see Yalman*, Turkey in the World War,* 151. See, also, Toprak*, Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 330.

173 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında,* 146.

174 Emmet W. Rankin, "Health," in *A Survey of Some Social Conditions in Smyrna*, *Asia Minor- May 1921,* eds. Rıfat N. Bali (İstanbul: Libra Yayıncılık, 2009), 73.

175 For further information, see Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2007*, 35.

176 Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, 172. See, also, Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında*, 143-148; Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*, 334-342.

177 Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, 172.

state cut back civil servants' wages by 50%.[178] After one year, wages returned to the previous level.[179] In subsequent years, civil servants' wages were raised 10-20%, but the purchasing power decreased by approximately 80%.[180] Under these circumstances, civil servants started to do other jobs or "trade although it was officially forbidden."[181] These difficult economic conditions pushed everyone, including Muslim women who had not worked outside the home before, into paid employment.

2.2.1 Scarcity of Clothing and Women's Role in Textile Production

During the war years, the country confronted the problem of scarcity in all areas of life. Domestic production could not meet the basic necessities of the country.[182] According to estimates by Yahya S. Tezel, "the ratio of local factory production to the domestic consumption was 10% in cotton fabrics, 40% in wool fabrics, 5% in silk fabrics, 20% in soap, %60 in wheat if the 1923 frontiers of Turkey are taken into account."[183] All capital goods, as well as many goods, were imported.[184] Among these was clothing, which was particularly important to the war effort but could not be imported or produced locally in sufficient quantities. Thus, from the beginning of World War I to the end of the War of Independence, clothing was scarce and expensive throughout the country.

In Anatolia, in 1921, the Ankara government sought to develop industrial policy and so undertook an industrial inventory in the regions under its rule — excluding Istanbul and Western Anatolia. This inventory indicated that the artisanal industry, mainly small textile production, was the basis across the country — apart from in Adana, there was virtually

178 Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2007*, 36. Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Haneleri Evlilik, Aile ve Doğurganlık 1880-1940* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2014), 58.

179 Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2007*, 36. Duben and Behar, *İstanbul Haneleri Evlilik,* 58.

180 Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2007*, 36.

181 Duben and Behar, *İstanbul Haneleri Evlilik*, 60.

182 Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi*, 103.

183 Ibid.

184 Ibid., 103-104.

no heavy industrial capacity to speak of.[185] According to the survey in 1921, the number of small textile and garment workshops totaled 20,057, which constituted 61% of all production.[186] In all areas of textiles, such as worsted manufacture or weaving, raw silk manufacture, and silk weaving, production depended on small manufacturing plants and a putting-out system that employed mostly women. The putting-out system was especially predominant in garment, underwear, necktie, shirt, hat, and umbrella manufacturing, where businesses paid the costs of raw materials and piece-work production, and then the entrepreneur employed workers, mainly women, at home. [187]

The few large-scale enterprises were located in the most industrialized port cities of the empire. In Istanbul, only a couple of yarn and textile factories existed; the number of small manufacturing plants was approximately 4,000.[188] In the other industrialized city, Izmir, the number of factories was also limited.[189] Despite the circumstances, the textile industry came second only to food production as boasting the country's biggest factories.[190]

As mentioned, after the outbreak of World War I, imports fell away, and the domestic textile industry gained more importance[191] as a source of basic supplies. Expanding production was directed mainly to the army, and other weaving branches remained limited due to the war.[192] The aim was self-sufficient industrial production established through efficient management, according to the industry census published in 1917.[193] This

185 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında*, 172-176; Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi*, 104.

186 See Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi*, 106; Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında*, 173-174.

187 Gündüz Ökçün, *Osmanlı Sanayii 1913, 1915 Yılları Sanayi İstatistiki* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayını, 1971), 135.

188 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında*, 169-170.

189 Ibid., 171.

190 Ökçün, *Osmanlı Sanayii 1913, 1915 Yılları*, 12;15-16.

191 Ibid.

192 Ibid.

193 Ibid.

aim was pursued throughout the war years despite the difficult circumstances. Another aim of the Ankara government was to protect and encourage weaving and handicrafts for trade or familial subsistence.[194] There were also attempts to protect and strengthen local producers, although industrialization remained difficult to accomplish, especially during the Armistice period. After all, the most important ports, such as Istanbul and Izmir, were brought under the Ankara government's control only in 1923.[195]

Due to the economic difficulties and decreased production, the parliament in Ankara tried to increase textile production to meet the army and people's basic necessities. The dearth of clothing for soldiers was one of the main problems the Ankara government faced and was often brought up in parliament.

§ 2.3 Discussions in the Parliament in Ankara on the Scarcity of Clothing (1920-1922)

It was not possible to dramatically increase the production of clothing under war-time circumstances. The parliament in Ankara discussed ways of directing what production there was to the army and diminishing the cost of producing clothing to remedy the economic depression. As one deputy stated, people dyed the fabrics they produced and dressed local soldiers in some places.[196] The incident illustrates the extent of clothing scarcity in the country. As a proposal, this deputy stated that it was necessary "to either revive *Hilal-i Ahmer* or activate the existing *Hilal-i Ahmer* branches; or open an association to employ women" to provide fabric and uniforms for soldiers.[197]

While his proposal was not taken into consideration, it demonstrates the central role of women and women's organizations in clothing production. In this period, women did not only come to the forefront as

194 On Ankara's economic policies, see Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında*, 162-163.

195 See Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi*, 160.

196 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 09.08.1920, 162.

197 Ibid.

producers but also consumers. In this part, the aim is to focus on the discussions on the dearth of clothing as a basic necessity and to show how this topic was associated with women in the parliament in Ankara during the War of Independence.

Since the scarcity of clothing was so salient, it was brought onto the parliament's agenda several times. Deputies tried to minimize clothing costs. One proposal was to induce uniformity in clothing.[198] However, this proposal was not accepted. It seems that this proposal was not found feasible due to the dearth of industrial production.[199]

Another suggestion was to make domestically produced clothes and fabrics obligatory for civil officers. At the end of 1920, a deputy proposed a law on "wearing domestic serge and fabrics."[200] During the discussions on this law, the significance of domestic production for the economy was underlined. For example, one deputy, Hasan Basri, pointed to the importance of textile and domestic production in achieving economic independence.[201] He proposed banning the import of goods from Europe. He also emphasized the necessity to enact laws to revive "the national arts" once such a ban was in place, referring to peasants' handicraft production.[202] Handicraft products were presented as alternatives to European goods, a view shared by some of the deputies in the parliament.

Another topic raised by Hasan Basri was the dominance of non-Muslims in textile production. He complained that in Ankara, the national textile factory had Christian foremen and some of the other, most

198 Yusuf İzzet Pasha, the deputy from Bolu, proposed that a standard national attire (*kıyafet-i milliye*) be established. To that end, he proposed establishing a special commission consisting of delegates from the ministries of National Defence, Interior and Economy, and representatives from the people. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 15.11.1920, 381-382.

199 Ibid.

200 For example, the Konya deputy, Kazım Hüsnü Bey, proposed that only domestically produced clothes be worn and local *şayak* (serge cloth) and local fabrics be used. The proposal was sent to the committee among the noises of the deputies approving the proposal. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 14.12.1920, 356. For the proposal, see *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 1.01.1921, 105-111.

201 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 30.12.1920, 97.

202 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 01.01.1921, 106.

productive, textile plants were also in the hands of Christians.[203] Basri evidently supported the CUP's national economic policy of the time and did not include non-Muslims within his definition of "the nation". Repudiating the presence of non-Muslims in the textiles sector, he proposed establishing national associations and companies and working for the progress of the domestic textile manufacturers.[204] This perspective was indeed commonly held at that time.

Hüseyin Avni, who later became one of the leading opposition figures in the parliament, was another supporter of this proposal. He suggested following the lead of Bulgaria in this policy area. He noted how Bulgaria had first increased fabric production before banning the import of foreign fabric.[205] Avni saw this as "a moral issue."[206] He noted that "we ruined the morality of peasants" who previously used suitable fabrics.[207] Avni also stated that wearing clothes made from foreign fabric was like "an illness" disseminated to the general public across the country.[208]

The main suggestion was to make the consumption of domestic clothes obligatory for deputies, officers, civil servants, and other state officials. For example, Tunalı Hilmi raised this suggestion again while indicating the positive economic effects of wearing domestically produced clothes.[209] The Minister of Public Works, Ömer Lütfi Bey, also agreed with this proposal.[210]

Notably, the minister emphasized the limits in implementing the policy of encouraging domestic goods production. He said that the domestic products were not of good quality, citing the example of the ropes produced by the *Ankara Mensucat Şirketi* (Ankara Textile Company). He asserted they were not durable in woolen clothes due to the lack of milling machines, which was a general problem in textile

203 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 01.01.1921, 106.

204 Ibid.

205 Ibid., 107.

206 Ibid.

207 Ibid.

208 Ibid.

209 Ibid., 109.

210 Ibid., 109-110.

production in these years.[211] The minister stated that the company in Konya could not meet the anticipated need. Furthermore, some of the factories had been bombed and damaged during the war.[212]

The minister noted how all of these factors had adversely affected textile production.[213] Therefore, he warned that a lack of sufficient production capacity meant a domestic production mandate would only encourage the black market.[214] Despite his warnings, the Ankara parliament passed the proposed law. It is not possible to know the extent to which, if at all, the law was ever implemented in practice. However, the discussions in the parliament are an important window into the policy-making mindset in Ankara just before the establishment of the republic.

In March 1921, one day after the start of the Second Battle of İnönü, a crucial turning point in the War of Independence, the parliament accepted a legislative proposal to heavily tax a long list of luxury and fashionable goods as well as cosmetics, such as jewelry, ready-made clothes, corsets, perfumes and powders. In other words, it was a ban on all the import of all non-essential goods produced abroad.[215] This law was welcomed in the parliament. It was accepted as a serious attempt to prevent the flow of national wealth to foreign countries and, at the same time, to protect industry inside the country.[216]

However, the main reason the law was introduced was fiscal, considering the large budget deficit in 1920. Hasan Fehmi Bey, the deputy who had proposed this law five months earlier, stated that apart from basic necessities, the ban would apply to ornamental goods, the import of which permanently drained the national wealth (*servet-i milliye*).[217] He said that many European countries put import restrictions to retain

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211 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 01.01.1921, 109-110. See, also, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 26.03.1921, 250-251.

212 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 01.01.1921, 109-110.

213 Ibid.

214 Ibid.

215 The proposal was offered by Gümüşhane Mebusu Hasan Fehmi Bey. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi,* 24.03.1921, 217-222.

216 These arguments were also stated in the proposal of the law. See Ibid., 217-218.

217 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 24.03.1921, 222-223.

their national wealth during the Great War. However, the Ottoman Empire was unable to do this during the war.[218] Hasan Fehmi Bey asserted that were the parliament to pass the import ban, a significant amount of the fiscal deficit would be recovered.[219]

The deputy Hasan Basri, introduced earlier, also underlined that the import of European goods was the leading cause of the economic depression. He underlined that the country had become dependent on European goods due to the capitulations, which regulated imports and exports.[220] According to Basri, this situation had ruined economic life and caused "the flow of millions and billions worth of national wealth" to foreign countries.[221] He emphasized the significance of founding a self-sufficient economy and stated that in doing so, "our nation would accept a frugal and simple style of adornment."[222] This emphasis on frugality and simplicity linked to economic concerns was a common theme in the discussions among the elite of the period. Women's periodicals also suggested frugality and simplicity to reduce consumption, specifically the consumption of European goods.

Another significant point in Basri's speech was his emphasis on the link between clothing and the nation's characteristics. He stated that "our nation should live according to its national identity," and for him, this law was compatible with the people's will. With this law, he noted hopefully that the "indecent clothes that some women brought from abroad and presented as fashion or adornment would disappear."[223] He referred to the penetration of fashion into Anatolia as "evil" and stated that "Anatolian people had to accept a clothing style that accords with their particular characteristics."[224]

218 Ibid.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid., 226.

221 Ibid.

222 Ibid.

223 Ibid.

224 Ibid.

The law on the import ban was passed in May 1921.[225] In June 1921, the parliament enacted another law that imposed an obligation for civil servants, religious officials, speakers, polices, gendarmeries, members of the parliament and municipality, teachers, and students of boarding schools to wear clothes made only from local fabrics. For violations of the law, there were punitive fines and the threat of being dismissed from the profession.[226]

During the discussions, some deputies brought abolishing the traditional male headgear or fez onto the parliament's agenda. Two deputies first raised this issue in April 1920. They proposed replacing the fez with a *kalpak* (fur hat) and promoting the *kalpak* as a "national headgear" (*serpuşu milli*). In their proposal, the deputies stated that "the annual cost of importing fez just from Australia before the war was some five million liras in gold equivalent. Including the fez imports from other countries, the annual cost reached a capital of seven or eight million liras that went to foreign countries."[227]

Many deputies considered the fez not to be national headgear as such but "an imitation of the headgear used by Greeks" in the era of Mahmut II.[228] It is significant to note that Mustafa Kemal would use these arguments in his proposals to abolish the fez and adopt Western-style hats in 1925. Mustafa Kemal himself might well have been a supporter of this proposal in the parliament in 1920, although we have no evidence on this. On the other hand, this proposal faced opposition in the parliament. The deputies who opposed banning the fez saw it as a part of the "Turkish soul" and a distinguishing characteristic of Islam and tradition.[229] However, in 1920 the proposal was rejected by a majority of deputies.[230]

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225 Law no 122, *Resmi Gazete*, 16.05.1921. *Resmi Gazete*, 23.05.1921. *Resmi Gazete*, 06.06.1921. See Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi*, 160.

226 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 20.06.1921, 428-447.

227 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 29.04.1920, 149.

228 Ibid.

229 See Ibid., 149-150.

230 The proposal was not rejected by acclamation vote in the parliament amid cheers of "hooray for the fez!" by many deputies. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 29.04.1920, 150.

Almost one year later, the issue returned to the parliament's agenda in the framework of the ban on the import of European goods. The Minister of Finance stated that the fez should be included on the ban list because it was imported from abroad and, as a result, a tremendous amount of money left the country.[231] Similarly, Hasan Basri asserted that "the amount of money flowing out of the country because of fez [is] quite high."[232] He also asserted that "no consensus existed within the society that fez was the national headgear."[233] This time, the import of fez was included in the ban list.[234]

However, some deputies were unsatisfied and returned to the issue, seeking to have the ban lifted. Fez discussions continued with supporters and opponents of the ban arguing on the floor of the parliament. At the end of the discussions, the fez was taken off the list.[235] It is significant to see that the abolition of the fez was already in the parliament's agenda in Ankara even before the establishment of the republic. However, due to public opposition, it was not possible to ban the use of the fez at that time. The parliament would enact the permanent abolition of the fez only in 1925.

The discussion on the necessity to ban the import of clothes was related to women's fashion consumption. For example, one deputy repudiated the import of *krebdöşin* (crepe de chine), an expensive fabric, and one of the popular among the well-to-do women in this period. He argued that equivalent products were produced in Bursa and other locations in the country.[236] Another deputy, Müfit Efendi, deplored that products like *krebdöşin* "took money out of the pockets of hard-working husbands."[237] Müfit Efendi directly impugned women's fashion consumption as an economic burden and a threat to the national identity. He stated that "every year, three different kinds of *çarşaf* are released as

231 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 26.03.1921, 249. See, also, *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 28.03.1921, 274.

232 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 28.03.1921, 274.

233 Ibid.

234 Ibid., 275.

235 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 04.04.1921, 347-364.

236 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 26.03.1921, 257.

237 Ibid.

fashion," which saw "us losing our national style (*şekli milli*) and also the Ottoman style (*Osmanlı şekli/şekl-i Osmani*)".[238] He proposed disallowing new *çarşaf* designs and fabrics like *krebdöşin*.[239] Likewise, another deputy, Besim Atalay, criticized the contemporary style of *tesettür* in Istanbul and some parts of Anatolia as well. He proposed to use *çarşafs* produced in Erzurum and Trabzon and to ban others. He said it was "time to raise house mothers" but "not time to raise tango."[240] Here, he was referring critically to *tango çarşaf,* which was then used to describe newer styles of *çarşaf* developed after 1908 under the influence of Western fashion in Istanbul.[241]

This underscores how women's fashion consumption was criticized as a heavy burden for the national economy and family budgets in the parliament. The import of expensive fabrics such as *krebdöşin* was banned, and some of the deputies deplored the way contemporary women's wear was disorienting the Ottoman form in the outer appearance of women.[242] Criticisms of *çarşaf*'s degraded style in Istanbul and the absence of a standard in dress form were met with enthusiasm in the parliament. The need to raise "mothers of the nation" received wide support.[243]

Despite the difficult economic circumstances, the government in Ankara strove to control the luxury consumption in fashion and prohibited the import of beauty products. General opinion in the Ankara parliament was that fashion consumption was an economic burden and a drain on national reserves. In this period, we observe a certain

238 Ibid.

239 Ibid.

240 Ibid.

241 *Çarşaf* gradually transformed over the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. The cloak and skirt became two separate pieces after 1908, when the CUP came to power. Both the cloak and skirt became shorter in time. People referred to the separated skirt piece as *tango çarşaf*. Taşçıoğlu, *Türk Osmanlı Cemiyetinde*, 53. See, also, Nora Şeni, "19. Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbul Basınında Moda ve Kadın Kıyafetleri," in *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), 60-62.

242 *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 26.03.1921, 257.

243 Ibid.

concurrence between the policy of Ankara government and the aim of the women's organizations —namely, an opposition against women's fashion consumption and a wish to create a national fashion. However, after the establishment of the republic, Ankara's approach changed significantly. Unlike the war years, a more liberal economic policy was pursued in Turkey in the 1920s. The Kemalist regime removed the ban on fashion and luxury goods.[244] It also adopted Western clothes as national clothes. In this sense, the Kemalist regime differentiated itself from the projects of sartorial nationalism.

§ 2.4 Women at Work in the War

There is a common consensus among economic historians concerning the labor shortage during the war years —due to the enlistment of many men into the army —and the adverse effects of this shortage on production levels.[245] One way of filling the labor-force gap was to include women in the paid workforce.

Many sectors were opened to women. Yavuz Selim Karakışla has found that women were even accepted as volunteers in the army. The First Female Worker's Battalion (*Kadın Birinci İşçi Taburu*) was the first such force deployed in the army. Cemal Pasha, one of the most influential leaders of CUP, made a similar attempt in the Fourth Army with Women

244 The Ankara government made two concrete decisions regarding the textile production during the Armistice. It continued to implement the customs policy which was an integral part of the creation of a national economy under the CUP government. Another attempt of Ankara was to ban the import of some of unnecessary luxury goods and to put additional tariff quotas on some of commodities. However, the law concerning the ban of imports would be removed and the tariff quotas would be reduced after Ankara won the war in 1922. Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi,* 159-160. Law no: 122. Date of ratification: 07.05.1921. *Resmi Gazete,* 18.05.1921. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 07.05.1921, 246-256. See the discussions in the parliament *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 27.12.1922, 60-80; *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 30.12.1922, 120-130; *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 04.01.1923, 183; *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 08.01.1923, 238-246.

245 See Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*; Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2007*; Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında;* Toprak, *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat*. See, also, Yalman*, Turkey in the World War,* 231-238.

Workers' Battalion (*Kadın Amele Taburları*), which put women to work in agriculture.[246]

Putting aside the labor shortage problem, the literature on the history of women in Turkey agrees that, unlike in previous periods, Turkish Muslim women started to enter paid employment in great numbers.[247] This is somewhat moot point since there is no accurate data on the number of women working in the empire in this period.

The literature also agrees that, as in the West, the working experience had an emancipatory influence on women's status in society and proved that women were capable of doing the jobs previously considered to be male-only. Women's participation in the workforce was a novel issue in terms of the traditional role of women in Ottoman society. Women working changed the traditional perception of womanhood profoundly. In his 1930 book, *Turkey in the World War*, Ahmet Emin Yalman explained the effect of women's working in the following way: Not only did women prove how "efficient and ardent" they were as workers, "but the old idea that any intercourse between men and women meeting for the first time must have immoral consequences was seen to be baseless."[248]

For a couple of years after the outbreak of the Great War, the difficult economic conditions and the labor shortage created a demand for female labor and forced women to become the principal breadwinners in the family. Women were losing brothers, fathers, and husbands who had previously assumed this role. Most of them became widows and had to take care of their children by themselves, although they had no previous experience in paid employment.

Women started to work in almost every sector. For example, in Istanbul, women could be found working as post officers, secretaries, garbage collectors, cashiers, ticket sellers, soldiers, coach drivers,

246 Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti, 139-183*.

247 According to Karakışla, the Ottoman Empire experienced high rates of unemployment and low job opportunities overall. Thus, not only women, but also men, often struggled to find permanent work or make a stable living. Karakışla, *Kadınlar Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti, 232-233*.

248 Yalman, *Turkey in the World War*, 235.

merchants, farmers, police, barbers, blacksmiths, shoe-makers, embroiderers, factory workers, weavers, dressmakers, tailors, nurses, teachers, caretakers, and *muezzin*s.[249] According to a survey in Izmir in 1920, the main sectors of women's work were, in descending order, shops, fig packing and spinning.[250] They also worked in various workplaces such as cinemas, coffeehouses, beer houses, saloons, pharmacies, restaurants, printing offices, banks, and baths.[251] Women could also pick up extra jobs to supplement their income. For example, women working at the Regie in Izmir reported picking up extra washing or cleaning jobs to provide necessary comforts for their family.[252]

Not all women could find a job. Many unemployed women were forced to turn to prostitution because of poverty.[253] Before the war, prostitution was widely seen as a job for non-Muslim or foreign women, and it was considered a serious offense if a Muslim woman took up this role openly.[254] However, the dire economic conditions during the war left many Ottoman Muslim women with little choice.[255] In 1920, there were 2,171 registered prostitutes in Istanbul, and among them, 804 were Muslim women.[256] Presumably, most of the unregistered ones were also Muslim.[257] According to the Director of the Sanitary Bureau, the total number of prostitutes in Istanbul, including the unregistered, was between 4,000 and 4,500 in 1920. The number clearly grew in the

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249 From the randomly chosen 100 families, a sample list of women's working areas in Istanbul was prepared by the Pathfinder survey in 1920: Mabelle C. Phillips, "Widowhood A Study of Dependency Due to War," in *Constantinople To-Day; or, The Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 296. See, also, Criss, *İşgal Altında Istanbul,* 44.

250 For the full list, see G. C. Stearns, "Industrial Conditions," in *A Survey of Some Social Conditions*, 39-40.

251 Ibid.

252 Rıfat Bali eds., *A Survey of Some Social Conditions in Smyrna*, 45.

253 Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Adult Delinquency." in *Constantinople To-Day,* 360.

254 Karakışla*, Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti*, 234-235. See, also, Zafer Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2014), 113-152.

255 Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti*, 234-235.

256 Riggs, "Adult Delinquency," *Constantinople To-Day*, 358.

257 Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti*, 235.

Armistice period, arguably due to the increasing numbers of foreign soldiers billeted in the city.[258] In Izmir, medical authorities stated that venereal diseases were very prevalent, although there were no accurate numbers of prostitutes operating on a commercial basis; this activity was segregated in the city.[259] In any case, it is safe to assume that in Izmir, many women were forced to turn to prostitution, something the city authorities struggled to control.

The number of women working in factories remained limited in this period. However, the existing data proves that factory employment increased in the war years.[260] Women factory workers were "employed on the less important and less skilled labor" tasks, and their wages were between 60 and 80 percent below those of men.[261]

According to the Pathfinder survey for Istanbul in 1920, as Turkish men began to be conscripted *en masse* into the army, Turkish women finally entered the workforce in large numbers, usually as cashiers and bookkeepers in shops.[262] However, they were paid less than the men they replaced. In the department stores of Pera, Galata, and Istanbul, employers paid the female staff less on the grounds that they willing to receive less than men.[263] The surveyor also noted that some of the proprietors stated that women did not have a professional attitude and considered their occupation temporary.[264] Some proprietors thought that "women were more conscientious and honest than men, and almost their equal in ability, although their experience in the business world had

258 Riggs, "Adult Delinquency," *Constantinople To-Day,* 358-365. For the details of the sanitary examination, see Ibid., 360-365. See, also, Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm*, 113-152.

259 Rankin, "Health," in *A Survey of Some Social Conditions in Smyrna*, 67-69; Sara Snell and Margaret Forsythe, "Recreation," in *A Survey of Some Social Conditions in Smyrna*, 123-124.

260 Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women During World War I*, 120-121.

261 Laurence S. Moore, "Some Phases of Industrial Life," in *Constantinople To-Day,* 174-175.

262 Ibid., 188.

263 Ibid., 187-188.

264 Ibid.

been so short."[265] Likewise, the Industrial Census of 1913 and 1915 published in 1917 indicated that the use of women's labor became prevalent as soon as war broke out and that bosses and foremen were generally content with the female workforce in this period.[266]

Women became civil servants in state offices, or banks and hundreds of young women who graduated from school were able to earn their living in this way.[267] Due to the decrease in the number of male civil servants, women started to be accepted to the post office department and then the Ministry of Finance (*Maliye Bakanlığı*), which issued recruitment notifications for women.[268] According to a report in *İnci* in 1919, the Ministry of Finance reported being pleased with the female workforce's punctuality and the speed at which women got up to speed with the requirements of the job in the Armistice period.[269]

At the same time, after Mudros, the report stated that the men returning from the front caused some women to lose their positions. For example, *Kadıköy Sultanisi* (Kadıköy High School) expelled female students on the grounds that women and men could not work together, while *Posta Nezareti* (Ministry of Post) and *Ziraat Bankası* (Agricultural Bank) dismissed their women employees.[270] Some of the women in the Ministry of Finance willingly relinquished their places to male counterparts while others wanted to continue to work.[271] Women's dismissal got reactions from the women's periodical *İnci*.[272]

Some women in Anatolia invested their limited capital into commercial trade.[273] Women opened businesses in pastry, photography,

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265 Ibid., 188.

266 Ökçün, *Osmanlı Sanayii 1913, 1915 Yılları*, 17.

267 "Kadınlık Şuunu: Memurelerimiz," *İnci*, no. 2 (1 March 1919): 2.

268 Kurnaz mentions one of the first women civil servants in the Ministry of Finance. See Kurnaz*, Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi (1908-1918)*, 170-171.

269 "Kadınlık Şuunu: Memurelerimiz," 2.

270 Ibid.

271 Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi (1908-1918)*, 171.

272 "Kadınlık Şuunu: Memurelerimiz," 2.

273 "Hayatta Kadın," *İnci*, no.1 (1 February 1919): 9.

trade, engineering, typesetting, mining, and tailoring.[274] Some women came to Istanbul by ship from Bandırma to sell the valuable wares produced in their small towns.[275] The *İnci* periodical reported the difficulties that these Anatolian women had in this new trading activity. Some women struggled to find suitable premises, while others often found the returns were barely enough to provide for their families. Others still were forced to run their businesses while working heavy loads and carrying their children in their arms.[276] The periodical published photographs of the bazaars in Çarşıbaşı and Sirkeci where some of these women sold their goods.[277]

The largest source of employment for women in this period was in textile-related jobs. More than just a labor force, women often undertook joint or private investments in textile enterprises. For example, in line with the CUP's national economic policies, joint stock corporations were established from the beginning of World War I. One of these was the Joint Stock Company for Ladies' Special Goods (*Hanımlara Mahsus Eşya Pazarı Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi*), which was established by a group of women in 1917.[278] This company sold clothes for women customers and preferred women as employees.[279]

In 1918, a women merchants' bazaar (*Kadın Tüccarlar Pazarı*), which only accommodated women merchants, was opened in Istanbul.[280] In the small cities of Anatolia as well, women were able to establish similar businesses.[281] Just before the declaration of mobilization, 86 women

274 Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi (1908-1918)*, p, 183-186.

275 "Hayatta Kadın," 9.

276 Ibid.

277 Ibid.

278 The founders were Fatma Hasene, Fatma Zehra and Ayşe İzzet. For further information, see Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 268- 276. Ali Akyıldız, "Bir Hanım İktisadî Teşebbüsü: Hanımlara Mahsus Eşya Pazarı Osmanlı Anonim Şirketi," in *Anka'nın Sonbaharı Osmanlı'da İktisadî Modernleşme ve Uluslararası Sermaye* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018), 175-184.

279 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 270.

280 Toprak, *Türkiye'de "Milli İktisat"*, 317.

281 Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi (1908-1918)*, 183.

invested in a retail business in Konya. Vehbi Efendi, a Konya deputy, stated that the women were selling precious ornaments and started with a relatively small individual investment of five or ten liras each. According to the deputy, the total value of the capital invested had reached 50,000 liras before the Armistice, when the company started to make a loss due to declining trade and the War Profits' Tax (*Harp Kazançları Kanunu*).[282] In Kadıköy in 1919, a group of women came together and opened a tailoring shop.[283] With startup capital of 30,000 liras, sewing or tailoring workshops that were affiliated with the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* established a business called *Kadınlar Eşya Pazarı* (Women's Goods Bazaar), made up only of women traders, to help women learn the skills of market trading. This bazaar provided clothes and underwear for the army.[284]

As mentioned above, work related to sewing, tailoring, or general textiles had always been associated with women in the Ottoman Empire.[285] During war-time, women's role in textile production became even more salient. A considerable number of women's organizations provide education and employed women in textile production. As stated above, women-run organizations such as *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*, *Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlaki Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi,* and *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* opened workshops and employed women in handicraft textile production. *Hanımlar Merkezi* also opened an art house for the employment of women in handicraft textile production.

Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi was established on 14 August 1916 Enver Pasha and was placed under the auspices of Naciye Sultan, the grandchild of Abdülmecid and the wife of Enver Pasha.[286] It was an association for the employment of mostly Muslim Turkish women

282 See *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 13.01.1921, 270.

283 Kurnaz, *Osmanlı Kadınının Yükselişi (1908-1918)*, 184.

284 Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 62.

285 Metinsoy, *Ottoman Women During World War I,* p 117-118.

286 See the article 1: *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi Nizamnamesi* (Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Askeriye, 1916), 2.

with husbands, brothers, or children fighting on the front,[287] and as Karakışla notes, was focused mainly on war widows.[288] The association's statute stated its aim of protecting women by finding them jobs that would allow them to earn a chaste living.[289] *Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi* was the most prominent association for the employment of women. Karakışla states that in the first year and a half of operation, the association had placed 8,194 women in jobs in various businesses.[290]

Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi hired women in textiles production focused mostly on loom weaving. For example, a large share of jobs was in haute couture production involving looms, such as jackets, blouses, and skirts (*eteklik*); white underwear and chemise; various handicraft products, such as coverlet sets, garment embroideries, embroidered tabling, and tea cover sets; textile and ready-made items, such as socks; and machine-weaved undervests.[291] One branch of the association employed women during the day on-site using weaving machines or part-time at home spinning yarn in weaving machines[292] under a putting-out system.[293] In another branch of this association, 128

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287 For further information, see Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti,* 75; Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 50-51.

288 Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti,* 75.

289 See the article 2: *Kadınları Çalışdırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi Nizamnamesi*, 2; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri*, 297.

290 Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti*, 123.

291 *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi, 1333 Senesi Raporu* (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan ve Şükerası Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1334), 11.

292 Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti*, 113-130.

293 This branch had 19 sewing machines and 46 knitting machines; 231 women worked permanently in various branches. Of these, 20 worked on sewing machines, 90 with knitting machines, 64 in the fancy section (*fantezi bölümü*), 30 in the white embroideries section and 27 in the handicrafts section. A further 35 women were producing slippers. Another 405 women spun yarn at home. In 1917, total production was as follows: 708 fancy works (*fantezi işleri*) and handicrafts, 1,360 coverlets, 144,193 cotton clothes, 37,000 sandbags, 6,164 belts, 1,125 undervests, 6,910 wool jackets, 25,675 pairs of underpants, 998 shirts and 389 pairs of socks. *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi, 1333 Senesi,* 11-12. See, also, Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti,* 114-115.

women workers were employed as day-workers, and 250 more were part of the putting-out system.[294] The number of permanent workers was 60, but 200 workers were also paid for spinning yarn at home.[295]

The society not only employed but also trained and prepared women for paid employment. After its closure, as Karakışka details in one of the individual stories about Şevkiye Hanım, a worker of the association, Muslim women workers of *Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi* became unemployed, but they continued to earn money by sewing at home thanks to their experience.[296] Under the control of society, some women applicants were employed as workers in various private or public Ottoman textile factories and manufacturing plants.[297]

The putting-out system also became widespread during the last decades of the empire. Spinning yarn and carpet weaving were prominent in this system[298] but were not the only outputs. Weaving and stitching to meet the army's clothing demands were a focus of women's putting-out work in this time, even as the demands of the army exceeded supply.[299] Most of the other home-based handicrafts disappeared during the war due to the recruitment of men into military service. Thus, only small-scale production of tobacco, weaving, and garments, where women workers constituted the majority, survived.[300] Women generally produced at home and were paid on a piece-work basis. [301]

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294 In this branch, the total production figures in 1917 were as follows: 56,107 cotton clothes, 5,340 wool jackets, 2,909 pairs of underpants, 10,776 pairs of socks, 7,800 wool belts, 855 children's costumes and 698 pieces of headwear. *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi, 1333 Senesi,* 12. See, also, Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti,* 116.

295 The production figures in the branch in 1917 were 31,843 cotton clothes, 43,293 sandbags, 2,485 shirts and 2,146 pairs of underpants. *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi, 1333 Senesi,* 13. See, also, Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti,* 116.

296 See Karakışla, *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti,* 137; 130-138.

297 Ibid., 124-126. See, also, Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 51.

298 Some of the deputies detailed information related to women's working conditions in the carpet weaving sector. *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 16.09.1336, 177-179.

299 Eldem, *Harp ve Mütareke Yıllarında*, 79-80.

300 Ibid.

301 Ibid.

§ 2.5 Conclusion

The last decade of the Ottoman Empire was shaped under the influence of almost constant war. This decade ended with territorial losses and occupation, which resulted in the dissolution of the empire. Meanwhile, a resistance movement under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha gradually became the new political center and laid the foundations of a new nation-state in Ankara.

The ongoing war years provided novel opportunities for women. Throughout this period, women established associations, worked to enhance women's conditions, and threw themselves into the national struggle. In this period, one of the topics of concern was fashion consumption. Women established associations to reduce fashion consumption and produce a national fashion as an alternative to Western fashion. With this policy, the women's movement provided employment for poor women under the difficult economic conditions during the war. After the Balkan Wars, the state adopted Turkism as an ideology and a national economic policy, which aimed to create a Muslim Turkish bourgeoisie. With this policy change, the discussions in *Kadınlar Dünyası* in 1913 shed light on how the women elites of the period were prosecuting a struggle against Western fashion, which was considered an economic burden to the country.

The war-time conditions severely impacted the country's economy. In the Armistice period, the dearth of clothing as a basic necessity came to the forefront of the Ankara parliament's agenda. The discussions in the parliament reveal the views of the deputies on women's fashion consumption. It seems that the majority of the deputies agreed on the economic burden that fashion consumption imposed on the country. Most of the deputies emphasized the way fashion consumption saw national capital flow to foreign countries. From this perspective, women's changing clothes and the elimination of *çarşaf* were criticized. Another criticism concerned the vanishing of traditional clothes under the influence of fashion.

The parliament banned imports of fashionable and luxury goods from Europe in a direct attempt to shrink women's fashion consumption. In this period, the Ankara government's policy mapped quite neatly onto the anti-fashion agenda of the women's movement. It is significant to note that the state would abandon the anti-fashion policy after the establishment of the republic. However, the women's movement continued to promote its anti-fashion agenda during the single party period.

Many long years of war forced many women to join the paid workforce to earn a living for themselves and their families. Looking at the limited information on women's work, it seems that textile production was a key sector for women's employment. Women worked mostly in small plants and engaged in handicraft production in this sector. Some women took a more leading role by investing their capital and becoming textile entrepreneurs.

Women's fashion consumption continued to be a topic of discussion after the World War I. There were also attempts to create national norms in clothing. The following chapter will focus on the periodicals, mostly women's periodicals between 1919 and 1925 to show how women's attire changed under the influence of Western fashion and how the elites of the period criticized women's fashion consumption. I will also have a look at the campaigns to produce partial uniformity in clothing before the foundation of the republic.

3

Women's Periodicals and Fashion Between 1919 and 1925

Women's clothing underwent constant change in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire under the influence of Western, specifically Parisian, fashion. From the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, women's attire gradually took on a European style and appearance. In the Armistice period, the change in women's clothing was startling and accelerated due to the Allied occupation and White Russian migration. Taşçıoğlu notes that, while changes had been slow and piecemeal up to the end of the First World War, the Armistice period saw a decisive end to *çarşaf*, which was entirely abandoned in favor of European attire.[1]

This chapter analyzes these changes in detail. To do so, it offers a critical engagement with the content of women's periodicals in the Armistice period. Scrutinizing the pages of these publications sheds much-needed light on an important period of change in the attitudes towards national clothing on the eve of the establishment of the Republic.

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1 Taşçıoğlu, *Türk Osmanlı Cemiyetinde*, 53-54. For a detailed study on the women's periodicals in the Armistice Period, see Elif Mahir Metinsoy, *Mütareke Dönemi İstanbulu'nda Moda ve Kadın, 1918-1923* (İstanbul: Libra Kitap, 2014).

§ 3.1 *İnci/Yeni İnci* (Pearl/New Pearl), *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Woman) and *Süs* (Ornament)

The periodicals *İnci/Yeni İnci*, *Türk Kadını*, and *Süs* were influential in the introduction of European fashion norms in the Armistice period. Looking at the pages of these periodicals reveals an additional aim—namely, the wish to cultivate good taste in women's fashion choices. These publications covered the minutest details in women's fashion, provided detailed designs for the tailoring of garments, educated women on the physical aspects of body and beauty[2], and offered advice on how women could look their best, including how to combine garments to make outfits that would contour appropriately to the body. Specific attention concentrated on the compatibility of each part of a woman's dress.

The magazines encouraged women to create their own styles of dress within a range of options. In their choices, the periodicals even warned women about the possible psychological effects of clothing.[3] A central

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2 All the publications applied the most recent scientific knowledge to assess fashion and women's grooming. The articles were penned either by doctors or beauty specialists and all the commentators invariably used the latest scientific knowledge to define a standard of ideal beauty. The various aspects of the body— eyes, skin, hands, neck and hair—were treated in great detail. Blemishes and ailments that should be cured or dealt with were a central focus here, with authors recommending a range of ointments and bottled treatments to help women safely rid themselves of complaints. Ahmet Edib, "Fenni Sayfalar: Saçların Hayat ve Mematı 1," *Türk Kadını,* no. 3, 20 Haziran 1334 (20 June 1918): 35-37; Ahmet Edib, ''Fenni Sayfalar: Saçların Hayat ve Mematı, 2,'' *Türk Kadını*, no. 4, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918): 53-55; Ahmet Edib, ''Fenni Sayfalar: Saçların Hayat ve Mematı, 3,'' *Türk Kadını*, no. 5, 18 Temmuz 1334 (18 July 1918): 74-76; Mehmet Arif, "Sürmeli Gözler," *Türk Kadını,* no. 9, 12 Eylül 1334 (12 September 1918): 138; Mehmet Arif, "Tuvalet: Boyun ve Gerdanların Tuvaleti," *Türk Kadını,* no. 17, 30 Kanun-i Sani 1335 (30 January 1919): 261; "Tuvalet Esrarı," *Süs*, no. 24, 24 Teşrin-i Sani 1339 (24 November 1923): 12; "Tuvalet Esrarı: Gözlerin Güzelliği," *Süs*, no. 25, 1 Kanun-i Evvel 1339 (1 December 1923): 12; "Tuvalet Esrarı: Burun," *Süs*, no. 26, 8 Kanun-i Evvel 1339 (8 December 1923): 11; "Tuvalet Esrarı: Hanım Elleri," *Süs*, no. 8, 4 Ağustos 1339 (4 August 1923): 10.

3 See Ahmet Edib, "Elbisede Renk İntihâbı," *Türk Kadını*, no.1, 23 Mayıs 1334 (23 May 1918): 4-6; "Kış Kıyafetleri," *Süs,* no. 25, 1 Kanun-i Evvel 1339 (1 December 1923): 14. See, also,

emphasis was on health and wellbeing. For example, *Türk Kadını* published articles that assessed fashion items according to the contemporary scientific norms and interrogated their health benefits.[4]

In the Armistice period, women's periodicals began to widely promote the *tayyör*, a two-piece European outfit consisting of a skirt and a jacket, along with accessories and overcoats. The *tayyör* was combined with a short, circular head-piece that wrapped around the head.

Efzayiş Yusuf, "Kıyafetlerin Psikolojisi," *Kadın Yolu*, no. 2, 23 Temmuz 1341 (23 July 1925): 19-20.

4 For the scientific approach toward fashion, see Edib, "Elbisede Renk İntihâbı," 4-6. Health concerns also occupied a place in discussions of child fashion, which emerged later than adult fashion. The commentator Mehmet Arif wrote articles specifically on children's grooming. All of them laid out ideal clothing for children according to climate and season and suggested diets and exercise for children. Being healthy, strong and fit were regarded as indispensable for a child's good appearance. He wrote about the importance of water, movement and light for the protection of health and facial beauty, and the various ways children benefit from these at early stages of development. Arif also underlined the role of exercise for health and emphasized importance of proportional stature (*tenâsüb-i endam)* and beauty (*hüsn ü ân*). One of his articles was about the design of girl's rooms along sanitary lines. The harm done by of corsets was another topic Arif covered. He explained why young girls should not wear corsets. Corsets were in fact forbidden for young girls on the ground they were harmful to muscular-skeletal development and caused illness. See Mehmet Arif, "Tuvalet Yahut Muhafaza-i Sıhhat ü Melahat 2: Çocukların Tuvaleti," *Türk Kadını*, no. 2, 6 Haziran 1334 (6 June 1918): 28-30; Mehmet Arif, "Tuvalet Yahud Muhafaza-i Sıhhat ü Melakat 3: Su, Hareket, Ziya," no. 3, *Türk Kadını*, 20 Haziran 1334 (20 June 1918): 43-44; Mehmet Arif, ''Tuvalet yahud Sıhhat ü Melahat: Kızların Tuvaleti, 4," *Türk Kadını,* no. 4, 4 Temmuz 1334 (4 July 1918): 60-62. For child fashion designs, see "Yeni Moda," *Süs*, no. 6, 21 Temmuz 1339 (21 July 1923): 9; "Yeni Moda," *Süs*, no. 10, 18 Ağustos 1339 (18 August 1924): 9. A child beauty contest was organized by *Süs* Magazine in September 1923. See "Çocuk Müsabakası," *Süs*, no. 14, 15 Eylül 1339 (15 September 1923): 2; "Güzel Çocuk Musabakası," *Süs*, no. 15, 23 Eylül 1339 (23 September 1918): 11; "Çocuk Musabakası," *Süs*, no. 20, 27 Ekim 1339 (27 October 1923): 2; 12-13; "Çocuk Musabakası," *Süs*, no. 24, 24 Kasım 1339 (24 November 1923): 2.

Additionally, many European style çarşaf designs,[5] outer garments,[6] blouses,[7] nightdresses,[8] coats,[9] underwear,[10] and wedding dresses,[11] increasingly appeared on the pages of magazines from 1923.[12] These clothes were decorated with an increasingly diverse array of accessories[13] and embroideries.[14]

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5 See "1919 Çarşaf Modelleri," *İnci*, no. 1 (1 February 1919): 12; "Sonbahar Çarşaf Modelleri," *İnci*, no. 2, 1 Mart 1919 (1 March 1919): 12; "İlkbahar Modelleri," *İnci*, no. 3, 1 Nisan 1919 (1 April 1919): 16; "Moda: Çarşaf Modelleri," *İnci*, no. 4, 1 Mayıs 1919 (1 May 1919): 16; "Bu Senenin Yaz Modelleri," *Yeni İnci*, no. 3, Ağustos 1338 (August 1922).

6 See "Moda," *Hanım*, no. 1, 1 Eylül 1337 (1 September 1921) 16; "Yeni Moda," *Süs*, no. 4, 5 Temmuz 1339 (5 July 1923): 9; "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 7, 28 Temmuz 1339 (28 July 1923): 8-9; "Moda Defterinden Bir Sahife," *Yeni İnci*, no. 7, Şubat 1339 (February 1923); "Moda," *Yeni İnci*, no. 9, Nisan 1339 (April 1923): 17.

7 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no.7, 8-9; "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 15, 23 Eylül 1339 (23 September 1923): 13; "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 22, 10 Teşrin-i Sani 1339 (10 November 1923): 5.

8 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no, 29, 29 Kanun-i Evvel 1339 (29 December 1923): 9.

9 "Yeni Moda," *Süs*, no. 4, 5 Temmuz 1339 (5 July 1923): 9; "Sonbaharın Son Modası," *Süs*, no. 16, 29 Eylül 1339 (26 September 1923): 9. "Son Moda," *Süs*, no.17, 5 Teşrin-i Evvel 1339 (5 Octber 1923): 9; "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 23, 17 Teşrin-i Sani 1339 (17 November 1923): 9.

10 See "İç Çamaşırı Takımı," *Süs*, no. 10, 18 Ağustos 1339 (18 August 1923): 8. See, also, "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 33, 26 Kanun-i Sani 1340 (26 January 1924): 9; "Son Moda Yeni Korseler," *Süs*, no. 25, 1 Kanun-i Evvel 1339 (1 December 1923): 9.

11 See C.K.S, "Kadın Tuvaletleri: Gelin Hazırlıkları," *İnci*, no. 6, 1 Temmuz 1335 (1 July 1919): 7-8. See, also, "Yeni Moda Paris'te Birkaç Gelin Kıyafeti," *Süs*, no. 6, 21 Temmuz 1339 (21 July 1919): 8.

12 Newspapers had also published latest fashion designs. For example, see "Sıcak Günlere Mahsus Hafif Bir Elbise," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 August 1924, 4.

13 "Kadın Zevki," *Süs*, no. 27, 15 Kanun-i Evvel 1339 (15 December 1923): 8; "Cep Süsleri," *Süs*, no. 11, 25 August 1339 (25 August 1923): 8; "Elbise Fiyongaları," *Süs*, no. 26, 8 Aralık 1339 (8 December 1923): 8; "İnciler Nasıl Muhafaza Edilmeli?" *İnci*, no. 4 (1 May 1919): 12. Fur came into fashion as an accessory and was used in the decoration of garments, blouses, jackets and coats. See "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 17, 5 Teşrin-i Evvel 1339 (5 October 1923): 9; "Kürk, Kürk, Kürk...," *Süs*, no. 21, 3 Teşrin-i Sani 1339 (3 October 1923): 9; "Kadınlarda Kürk Aşkı," *Yeni İnci,* no. 10 Mayıs 1339 (May 1923): 6.

14 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 33, 9. "İç Çamaşırı Takımı," 8.

Fabrics were equally diverse, with silk, velvet, gabardine, cashmere, and *krebdöşin* items on display. Nevertheless, the periodicals hastened to recommend economic fabrics to women. Styles, fabric, decorations, toilet accessories, and the latest fashion clothes, coats (*manto, kap*), and garments were published as illustrations with brief explanations.[15]



Figure 3.1 *Çarşaf* designs in *İnci* in 1919. SOURCE: *İnci* (February 1, 1919).

15 "Sonbahar Son Modası," *Süs*, no. 16, 29 Eylül 1339 (29 September 1923): 9.

The first four issues of *İnci* modeled the latest *çarşaf* designs resembling European styles, often accompanied by belts. These could be one-piece garments, and some had short sleeves. Collars, sleeves, and the edges of garments were adorned with different fabrics, furs, and embroideries. The skirts were wider at the hips and narrow at the ankle. Hemlines were above the ankles, and necks were open.[16] In the subsequent issues of the periodical, the designs started to change noticeably in form and cut, becoming slightly shorter.[17]

Designs shifted noticeably again in the fashion pages of *İnci/Yeni İnci* and *Süs* in 1923. The light cloak as an extension of the headgear was removed, the waistlines were lowered, and the blouses and jackets had boat-neck collars.[18] In this period, as Taşçıoğlu stated, *çarşaf* was "a cloak worn over the *tayyör* with a veil covering the face."[19] Toward the end of the period, women abandoned the cloak, and the veil remained covering the head rather than the face.[20]

The periodicals encouraged women to follow fashion. According to an article in *Süs*, fashion treated women as if they were puppets and was the only tyrant that had managed to keep its throne for centuries. Indicating the power of fashion, *Süs* stated that "we have therefore to follow and present new visions" of fashion.[21] That statement was illustrated with new garment designs using a mixture of silky and wooly fabrics. The clothes varied in color from green to blue-gray and black. Volans or tartans were presented, and pictures were used to illustrate the details of every garment for readers.

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16 "1919 Çarşaf Modelleri," 12; "Sonbahar Çarşaf Modelleri," *İnci,* 12; "İlkbahar Modelleri," 16; "Moda: Çarşaf Modelleri," 16. See an example from *Asar-ı Nisvan* in 1925: "Modalar," *Asar-ı Nivan*, no. 4, 12 Mart 1341 (12 March 1925): 8-9. See, also, "Moda Şuunu," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 1, 26 Kanun-i Sani 1341 (26 January 1925): 16.

17 For example, see the designs in the sixth issue of *İnci*: "Yaz Modelleri," *İnci*, no. 6, 1 Temmuz 1335 (1 July 1919).

18 See "Bu Senenin Yaz Modelleri".

19 Taşçıoğlu, *Türk Osmanlı Cemiyetinde*, 53.

20 Ibid.

21 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 30, 8 Mart 1340 (8 March 1924): 9.



Figure 3.2 Summer garment designs in *Yeni İnci* in 1922. SOURCE: *Yeni İnci* (August 3, 1922).

Fashion also influenced the clothes worn inside the home. For example, *Süs* presented fashionable aprons for women, and the designs were compatible with the fashion patterns of the day.[22] *Süs* also presented the latest dressing gown and housecoat designs in its pages.[23] Unlike the previous designs that were quite large and heavy, *İnci* presented new pieces made from thin muslin and a housecoat, informing readers that all were "quite healthy and useful." With this emphasis, the periodical suggested that wearing the designs without corsets ensured the body's natural beauty was emphasized.[24] *İnci* stated that European

22 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 38, 1 Mart 1340 (1 March 1924): 5.

23 "Son Moda Ev Tuvaletleri," *Süs*, no. 44, 5 Nisan 1340 (5 April 1924).

24 "Moda Sabah Tuvaletleri," *İnci*, no. 6, 15 Temmuz 1335 (15 July 1919).

women preferred dressing gowns similar to the men's styles because these were easier to move in.[25] The periodical drew women's attention to details in the form of adornment of fashionable and elegant fabrics in the dressing gowns it promoted.[26]

Periodicals went beyond the latest European clothing fashions to detail trends in footwear and accessories as well. As hemlines dropped, shoes became important accessories when women wanted to display elegance and proportion in their wardrobes.[27] Periodicals introduced various elegant shoes and fancy slippers for the home,[28] and Paris fashion shoes for outside.[29] The publications also offered novel fashion solutions to dress up the same pair of shoes with buckles of various sizes and colors so they could be worn in different ways.[30] Beyond the practical benefits, buckles were promoted as a way for women to show off their distinctive personal styles.

During this period, White Russian migrant women became a model for the women of the new Muslim Turkish society in the country. [31] The nape and neck were gradually unveiled, which was boosted by the Russians, who wore blouses and short or flared skirts. White Russians did not cover their hair and sported the *çan kesimi* or short haircut. White Russians were also responsible for the "Russian headwear" (*Rus başı*) fashion, where women used a scarf as a head wrap.[32] Toprak notes that the Russian style of wearing garments loosely off the shoulder popularized this style among Istanbul's Muslim women.[33]

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25 Ibid.

26 Ibid. See house coat designs in *Süs*: "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 31, 12 Kanun-i Sani 1340 (12 January 1924): 9.

27 For example, "Hanım İskarpinleri," *Süs*, no. 10, 18 Ağustos 1339 (18 August 1923): 10.

28 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 3, 30 Haziran 1339 (30 June 1923): 9.

29 For example, a 1924 issue of *Süs* detailed the latest Paris fashions in footwear. See "Paris'te Son Moda İskarpinler," *Süs*, no. 30, 5 Kanun-i Sani 1340 (5 January 1924): 8.

30 "Yeni İskarpin Tokaları," *Süs*, no. 12, 1 Eylül 1339 (1 September 1923): 8.

31 Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm*, 273.

32 Jak Deleon, *Beyoğlu'nda Beyaz Ruslar* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2008), 32.

33 Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm*, 273.

The publications also depict the shifts in fashion in hairstyles of the time. As in Europe, short hair was promoted, with head coverings gradually receding to reveal the fashionable short and layered styles. Reşat Ekrem Koçu reported that the style was as much practical as fashionable—the spread of lice was a problem under the harsh conditions of the early 1920s, and short hair made it easier to deal with.[34] The periodicals presented various short hairstyles and gave tips on using combs and other accessories to achieve stylish looks.[35] These were billed as very elegant and recommended, especially for women who did not want to cut their hair short.[36] The publications also offered tips and advice on cost-effective adornments for the head that could be used to pull off a fashion look.[37] Side combs and needles were particularly popular options in this regard.[38]

Entirely new areas of fashion apparel opened up in the Armistice period. For example, periodicals published styles for waterfront apparel,[39] in the process popularizing the seaside as a space of leisure activity.[40] Pajamas for women emerged as another novel fashion item.

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34 Koçu even asserted that the short hair fashion had started in the USA. However, it was Russian women who brought the fashion to Europe. Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Beyaz Ruslar," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* (İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat, 1961), 2625-2626.

35 "Saç Modelleri," *İnci*, no. 8 (1 September 1919). See, also, "Kesik Saç Modasından Sonra Saç Modası," *Resimli Ay*, no. 1, Şubat 1341 (February 1925): 11. "Kesmeli mi Kesmemeli mi?" *Resimli Ay*, no. 4, Mayıs 1340 (May 1924): 27.

36 "Yeni Taraklar," *Süs*, no. 28, 22 Aralık 1339 (22 December 1923): 8. See "Yeni Saç ve Taraklardan," *Süs*, no. 12, 1 Eylül 1339 (1 September 1923): 7; "Saç Süsleri," *Süs*, no. 10, 18 Ağustos 1339 (18 August 1923): 5; "Son Saçlar ve Yeni Taraklar," *Süs*, no. 22, 10 Teşrin-i Sani 1339 (10 November 1923): 4; "Yeni Saçlar Nasıl Yapılıyor?"*Süs*, no. 26, 8 Aralık 1339 (8 December 1923): 4.

37 Necibe Süreyya, "Müsamere Saçları," *Süs*, no. 45, 19 Nisan 1340 (19 April 1924): 8.

38 "Yan Taraklar," *Süs*, no. 53, 14 Haziran 1340 (14 June 1923): 4. "Kesik Saç Modasından Sonra Saç Modası," *Resimli Ay*, no. 1, Şubat 1341 (February 1925): 11. "Kesmeli mi Kesmemeli mi?" *Resimli Ay*, no. 4, Mayıs 1340 (May 1924): 27.

39 "Yeni Moda," *Süs*, no. 5, 14 Temmuz 1339 (14 July 1923): 9; "Yeni Moda Deniz Kıyafetleri," *Süs*, no. 8, 4 Ağustos 1339 (4 August 1923): 9.

40 "Yeni Moda," *Süs*, no. 5, 9. "Yeni Moda Deniz Kıyafetleri," 9.



Figure 3.3 Fashionable styles in *Süs* in 1924. SOURCE: *Süs* (May 24, 1924).

Previously seen as men's night apparel, pajamas began to be promoted as sleepwear for women.[41] *Cumhuriyet* even published a simple pajama design informing women that it was easy to sew.[42] *Süs* encouraged women to wear pajamas and published styles and designs for women to try.[43] Another periodical, *Firuze,* showed scant concern for individual personal tastes, instructing women in almost dictatorial terms to don pajamas: "it is a fashion; you must wear it."[44]

The trends begun in the Armistice period continued after the Republic was established in 1923. Forms, designs, and accessories all changed over the period. Waistlines steadily approached the hips, and

41 "Yeni Moda," *Süs*, no. 12, 1 Eylül 1339 (1 September 1923): 9.

42 "Bir Pijama Modeli," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 May 1924, 4. The newspaper published the latest fashion pajama designs: "Son Moda Pijama," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 July 1924, 4.

43 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 35, 9 Şubat 1340 (9 February 1924): 9.

44 "Gecelik ve Gündüzlük Pijamalar," *Firuze*, no. 1, 15 Eylül 1340 (15 September 1924): 13.

the hemline of *çarşaf* styles in the periodicals dropped even further. Some designs even adopted a boyish look with a shirt and necktie.[45] Hairstyles such as the plain or curled bob and the shingle were promoted in the magazines' pages.[46]



Figure 3.4 Fashionable designs in *Asar-ı Nisvan* in 1925. SOURCE: *Asar-ı Nisvan* (February 9, 1925).

Open sleeves[47] became a thing. According to *Süs,* demand for this seemed to tick upward in 1924 as young women proclaimed, "closing our arms

45 See the designs in *Asar-ı Nisvan*: "Dikiş," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 2, 9 Şubat 1341 (9 February 1925), 15; "Modalar," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 4, 12 Mart 1341 (12 March 1925): 8-9.

46 For example, see "Modalar," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 6, 16 Nisan 1341 (16 April 1925): 8-9.

47 In child's fashion, the length of skirts was on and above the knees. For example: "Dikiş," 15; "Modalar," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 5, 2 Nisan 1341 (2 April 1925): 8-9.

was an old fashion."[48] Cloche hats, fedoras, and other kinds of hats appeared in the fashion pages.[49] For example, *Türk Kadın Yolu* (Turkish Women's Way) presented a red fedora wrapped with a cream tassel as turban fashion for women in 1925.[50] The skirts became shorter. In an article in 1924, *Süs* encouraged women to wear short skirt dresses and instructed women about leg grooming (*bacak tuvaleti*) and tips for maintaining the feet.[51]

A shift also occurred in the purpose and function of the veil (*peçe*), which transitioned from a face covering to an adornment for the head.[52] In 1924, *Süs* promoted veils—especially those made with lace—as a fashionable summer accessory that could go with flared skirts or used to embellish an outfit.[53] Umbrellas became fashionable and were used as a chic accessory in summer for women who no longer covered their hair.[54]

The change in women's attire under the influence of Western fashion that accelerated during the Armistice period was an indication of a shifting public sentiment. At the same time, many criticisms were raised about some of the changes in the women's periodicals in this period. It is to these concerns that the chapter turns next.

48 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 43, 5 Nisan 1340 (5 April 1924): 8.

49 For example, see *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 13, 15 Eylül 1341 (15 September 1925), 12; 14. *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 4, 6 Ağustos 1341 (6 August 1925), 11.

50 *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 3, 30 Temmuz 1341 (30 July 1925), 16.

51 "Tuvalet Esrarı: Güzel, Sağlam, Bahtiyar olalım!" *Süs*, no. 40, 15 Mart 1340 (15 March 1924): 15. See, also, "Son Moda İskarpinler," *Süs*, no. 47, 2 Mayıs 1340 (2 May 1924): 4. "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 50, 24 Mayıs 1340 (24 May 1924): 8.

52 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 37, 23 Şubat 1340 (23 February 1924): 9.

53 Ibid.

54 "Yan Taraklar," 4. For umbrella fashion, see "Son Moda" *Süs*, no. 44, 12 Nisan 1340 (12 April 1924) 9; "Yeni Yaz Şemsiyeleri," *Süs*, no. 48, 10 Mayıs 1340 (10 May 1924): 9.

§ 3.2 Concerns About Fashion in the Women's Periodicals in the Armistice Period

The women's periodicals of the Armistice period were not merely a channel for promoting Western fashion but also a forum in which elites could comment on —and, indeed, criticize — the changing trends.

The discarding of *çarşaf* was a topical issue in this regard, given the garment had long been deemed a part of the country's religious fabric. The influence of Western fashion was thus cast as degrading the national culture and its religious heritage.[55] In 1919, a report in *İnci* noted that *Akşam*, a daily newspaper founded in Istanbul in 1918, had called on the city police to become involved in the issue of *tesettür* (being covered). The report triggered a series of discussions in the publications *Tasvir-i Efkar* and *Sebilürreşad* that criticized *Akşam* for its stance on *tesettür*.[56]

The focus of most discussions in the period concerned questions of health and the wellbeing of women.

3.2.1 Health Concerns and Fashion

Health concerns raised about the new fashions focused on two specific items—high-heeled shoes and corsets. As everywhere, high-heeled shoes were spreading in popularity in Istanbul at the time. The main line of criticism against them was that — while they indeed offered benefits to shorter women — they diminished the natural elegance and gate of taller women.[57] Mehmet Arif, who frequently wrote on beauty in the periodicals, was one of the commentators who advocated a scientific approach to these fashion items and wrote an article series in *Türk*

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55 For example, see Halide Nusret, "Ahlaki: Tesettür Meselesi," *Genç Kadın*, no. 8, 10 Nisan 1335 (10 April 1919): 117-118. See, also, Yegane Faik, "Bir Cevap," *Genç Kadın*, no. 9, 24 Nisan 1335 (24 April 1919): 132-133.

56 "Tesettür Meselesi," *İnci*, no. 2, 1 Mart 1919 (1 March 1919). Another discussion on *tesettür* started between *Sebilürreşad* and *Büyük Mecmua* related to the attempt to introduce mixed-sex schools in 1919. See Toprak, *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü,* 219.

57 Dr. Ömer Abdurrahman Bey, "Esrar-ı Hüsn 2: Süs ve Moda," *İnci*, no. 6, 1 Temmuz 1335 (1 July 1919): 12.

Kadını on the effects of high-heeled shoes on women's bodies. He criticized women for being overly concerned with fashion and for not paying adequate attention to the potential detrimental effects on the body of wearing high heels.[58] Arif asserted that heels shifted the center of weight in the body and upset its natural proportions. He even claimed heels could trigger serious illnesses or gynecological diseases.[59]

The *Türk Kadını* articles even triggered calls for a boycott. Readers sent letters to the paper's editors, extolling the need for a boycott of high-heeled shoes on economic and health grounds.[60] One intrepid reader even visited the paper's editorial office in person to inform that she joined the boycott.[61] The editors backed these efforts, arguing that women should take the lead in putting an end to the trend of unhealthy high-heeled footwear.[62]

Corsets also came in for criticism on health grounds. For example, *Süs* asserted that old and ill-fitting corsets squeezed and tortured women[63] as if they were in a rigid iron cage and cut off circulation so that women had difficulty breathing, and their skin turned purple.[64] However, the periodical did not suggest women abandon corsets altogether, advocating the latest fashionable "healthy corsets"[65] instead. *Süs* introduced new corset designs tailored to the tastes of different women.[66] All styles were flat and smooth, and the magazine even suggested doctors had approved their designs.[67] In subsequent issues, *Süs* promoted the new styles aggressively, arguing they provided

58 Mehmet Arif, ''Tuvalet Yahud Muhafaza-i Sıhhat ü Melahat: Kızların Ayakkabıları,'' *Türk Kadını,* no. 5, 18 Temmuz 1334 (18 July 1918): 79-80.

59 Ibid.

60 ''Yüksek Topuklar Üzerine," *Türk Kadını,* no. 6, 1 Ağustos 1334 (1 August 1918): 95.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 "Yeni Korseler," *Süs*, no. 3, 30 Haziran 1339 (30 June 1923): 8.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

excellent support, although women would barely notice they were wearing them.[68]

The focus on corsets at the end of the Armistice period again underscores the value attached to a slender and fit appearance for women. In addition to the simplicity, durability, and economic concerns, from this time on, having a youthful and healthy appearance became crucial for women.

Overall, in the realm of fashion, scientific language was increasingly apparent, and scientific criteria were applied to women's apparel according to its impact on their health and wellbeing.

3.2.2 Economic Concerns With Fashion Consumption

Fashion was also subject to economic constraints under war-time conditions.[69] The elites of the period emphasized that women could economize by sewing the family's clothes. Apparel was noted as a significant item in the household budget.[70] The editor of *Genç Kadın,* Fatma Fuat, stated that—in addition to the cooking and cleaning expected of every woman—she should also sew.[71] Fuat wrote a series of articles about women and womanhood for the magazine in this period and always stressed that women should also teach their daughters how to sew and take responsibility for the domestic household duties in preparation for marriage.[72]

Fuat's articles provided readers with detailed calculations of what they could save by sewing items at home instead of buying them in

68 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 25, 1 Aralık 1339 (1 December 1923): 9.

69 Çilem Tercüman's recent monograph on fashion and social change in Turkish novels of the early republican period details how these works of fiction narrated criticisms about the economic burden of fashion. See Çilem Tercüman, *Türk Romanında Moda ve Toplumsal Değişim (1923-1940)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2018).

70 Fatma Fuat, "Kadın ve Kadınlık," *Genç Kadın*, no. 6, 13 Mart 1335 (13 March 1919): 80-82.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

shops.[73] The high costs of tailoring underscored the duty a middle-class woman had to know how to sew and repair clothes in this period.[74]

Elites advocated solutions for women to dress fashionably on a budget. *Süs* published an article titled "How to be chic without expense?" (*Masrafsız Şıklık Nasıl Olur?*) affirming that "money and chicness do not go hand in hand all the time."[75] One recommendation was to dress an older garment up with a small new fashion item or accessory as a way of breathing new life into a women's wardrobe without spending money. The magazine offered several detailed suggestions of items women could use.[76]

Macit Şevket stated in *Bilgi Yurdu Işığı* that "fashion means the style and attire that the general public appreciates in a modern society." However, he was quick to warn readers that this did not mean buying new clothes every month and discarding items quickly.[77] Rather, he counseled prudence as a formative guide for women in the choice of adornment and attire. Since extravagance undermined the national economy, women who engaged in lavish consumption of clothes were cast as unpatriotic.[78]

Şevket bolstered these economic arguments with the contention that fashion altered women's physical appearance in objectionable ways.[79] He argued that "the desire to accentuate her beauty was a natural instinct for a woman," and this was fine so long as the embellishment was not overdone.[80]In adornment and attire, what was required in behavior and manner was a mild and reasonable dressing style, a plain, elegant and genteel appearance.[81] Cleaning and regularity, elegance, and being covered adequately were the rules for attire; impudently-dressed women

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73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 "Masrafsız Şıklık Nasıl Olur?" *Süs*, no. 15, 23 Eylül 1339 (23 September 1923): 4-5.

76 Ibid. See, also, Sadiye Nail, "Hanımlarımızla Hasbihal," *İnci*, no. 5, 1 Haziran 1919 (1 June 1919): 13.

77 Macit Şevket, "Kıyafet," *Bilgi Işığı Yurdu*, no. 11, 1 Mart 1334 (1 March 1918): 164-168.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

who displayed themselves and painted their faces excessively were perceived to be unpleasant.[82]

Mehmet Arif raised similar concerns in another article. Because the way they appeared in public was considered to be the "criterion for their chastity and honor," the author warned women not to embellish excessively or overdo their make-up.[83] Similarly, he stated that simplicity and elegance were appreciated in body care while the opposite—going to extremes in adornment—was regarded as shameful and made women look ridiculous.[84] Likewise, the periodicals' columnists mocked women who put on excessive make-up, dressed low-cut or were over-embellished. In the beauty instructions of the periodicals, courteous ladies who knew nothing other than adornment and standing in front of the mirror were contrasted to a caring young mother or housewife acting carefully; or a neat young girl who were all considered more attractive and magical than the former ones.[85]

As mentioned, simplicity and thrift were highly valued. For example, *Süs* presented simple jacket designs arguing these were elegant as well as economical.[86] Durability, practicality, and value for money were also highlighted. *Süs* provided readers with step-by-step illustrated instructions on making elegant clothes with these characteristics in their fashion pages,[87,] the message being that every woman could create or follow fashion without spending too much.[88] *Süs* gave women tips on using cheap accessories like ribbons to embellish their garments and design various looks inexpensively.[89] The magazine also promoted "the

82 Ibid.

83 Mehmet Arif, ''Tuvalet Yahut Kadınların Tuvaleti Hakkında Umumi Mütalaat,'' *Türk Kadını*, no. 7, 15 Ağustos 1334 (15 August 1918): 109-111.

84 Ibid.

85 "Güzellik Sanatı: Tuvalet Esrarı," *Süs*, no. 3, 30 Haziran 1339 (30 June 1923): 7 .

86 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 26, 8 Aralık 1340 (8 December 1924): 9.

87 "Ev Dahilinde Giyilmek İçin Örme Ceket," *Süs*, no. 10, 18 Ağustos 1339 (18 August 1923): 9.

88 *Süs* gave instructions on how to sew coats, garments and cardigans. See "Hanım Makine Başında," *Süs*, no. 3, 30 Haziran 1339 (30 June 1923): 13; "Yeni Moda," *Süs*, no. 11, 25 Ağustos 1339 (25 August 1923): 9.

89 "Kurdela Oyunları," *Süs*, no. 38, 1 Mart 1340 (1 March 1924): 4.

art of making a couple of garments with one design,"[90] giving women various tips to take one template design and modify it inexpensively to produce multiple garments or vary one dress over time once a woman got bored.

In another issue, *Süs* reported the new trend of using silk flowers as accessories and offered an illustrated guide on how to copy this trend inexpensively themselves in their own sewing. The periodical stressed how easy it would be to mock up such an accessory from existing fabric at home and thus save the cost of buying ready-made silk flowers in the shops.[91] Providing detailed instructions for women to use handicrafts to modify their garments was also common.[92] *Süs* also recommended cheap options for women in fur fashion, which came into vogue for a couple of years. The periodical recommended fur trimmings as accessible for women who could not afford expensive furs, highlighting that they part of the fashionable winter designs of the biggest tailors in Paris.[93]

With a note that everyone under difficult economic circumstances had to be thrifty, *Süs* gave instructions on refurbishing old garments.[94] *Süs* stated that "being both elegant and thrifty was a duty to be pursued by a family woman in these difficult years. A Turkish woman must never forget her duty in this regard.[95]

3.2.2.1 Periodicals Sought to Make Home Sewing Popular

Women's periodicals went out of their way to assuage women's concerns that sewing clothes at home was impractical or difficult. For example, *Süs* announced that the new *tayyör* designs were more practical and easy to sew than the old ones, which had been expensive and difficult to produce.[96] The periodical also informed women that contemporary fancy jackets could be sewn easily and that even a woman who only knew how

90 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 48, 10 Mayıs 1340 (10 May 1924): 8.

91 "İpek Çiçekler," *Süs*, no. 40, 15 Mart 1340 (15 March 1924): 4.

92 "Batik," *Süs*, no. 46, 26 Nisan 1340 (26 April 1924): 9-10.

93 "Kürk, Kürk, Kürk...," 9: . See, also, "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 17, 9; "Kadınlarda Kürk Aşkı".

94 "Son Moda," *Süs*, no. 49, 17 Mayıs 1340 (17 May 1924): 12.

95 Ibid; "Paris Modası," *Süs*, no. 42, 29 Mart 1340 (29 March 1924): 5.

96 "Bahar Tayyörleri," *Süs*, no. 46, 26 Nisan 1340 (26 April 1924): 7.

to stitch a little could make one.[97] Another page reported that the new *tayyör* designs were mostly produced from fancy fabrics that could also be used to refurbish older garments.[98]

Rather than going to a tailor, considered an extravagance for most families, the periodicals emphasized the benefits of women's sewing their clothes at home. One fashion spread in *Süs* appealed to the latest craze for summer outfits[99] and pointed out that if women sewed their own outfits at home, they could have more options in the wardrobe without going to the expense of consulting a tailor.[100] The periodical presented easy designs that women with limited tailoring skills could feel comfortable attempting.[101] Newspapers also published these kinds of tailoring columns touting the benefits and ease of sewing garments at home.[102]

Resimli Ay took a notably populist line in its appeals to women to sew at home rather than buying from shops: "If you want to avoid having Greek tailors call at your home, sew your own garments." Attached to this warning was a design featuring an easy to make velvet under-garment. The magazine offered to send the pattern for free to any reader who wrote in asking for a copy.[103]

This populist policy of the women's periodicals continued into the republican period. For example, *Asar-ı Nisvan* (Women's Stories), a women's periodical published in the mid-1920s, allocated at least one page in every issue to instructions for sewing various clothes.[104] It detailed the necessary stitching instructions, as well as precisely how

97 Ibid.

98 "Son Moda Yeni Tayyörler," *Süs*, no. 36, 16 Şubat 1340 (16 February 1924): 9.

99 "Son Moda Tecelliyatı," *Süs*, no. 53, 14 Haziran 1340 (14 June 1924): 9.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid. See, also, "Tünik Etekler," *Süs*, no. 41, 22 Mart 1340 (22 March 1924): 4.

102 "Ev Elbisesi," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 July 1924, 5.

103 "Çarşaf ve Elbise Modelleri," *Resimli Ay*, no. 2, Mart 1340 (March 1924): 33.

104 For example, see "Kadın Sütunu," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 July 1924, 5. "Kadın Sütunu," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 July 1924, 4. See, also, "Dikiş," 15.

much cloth women would need for each panel.[105] It gave some tips in sewing[106] and protecting the clothes from wear and tear.[107]

Balancing the needs of women and the nation became central to the publication strategies of most periodicals. *Asar-ı Nisvan* was one such magazine, which in 1925 published an article asserting that being elegant and fashionable was a modern woman's right, even as it undermined family budgets and the national economy.[108] The magazine emphasized the many high-order priorities the country had in the face of war, occupation, and national reconstruction. Women, *Asar-ı Nisvan* stated, should guide the whole nation in the frugal organization of social life.[109] It noted that a thrifty woman was in a prime position to educate her children on frugality and check any wasteful tendencies in the family.[110] *Asar-ı Nisvan* announced that it would help women directly in undertaking this national duty by hiring an expert to provide clothing designs to readers.[111] On request, the periodical would mail these out to readers for 20 kuruş.[112]

In the Armistice period, women's periodicals informed women about the latest trends in the world and specifically introduced Paris fashion. They encouraged women to sew their own clothes and be thrifty. They also demonstrated elite reactions toward the penetration of Western fashion into society.

The chapter now turns to analyze attempts by the periodicals to establish a national standard in women's clothing between 1919 and 1925.

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105 See "Modalar," 8-9.

106 See "Hatırınızda Olsun," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 7, 15 Mayıs 1341 (15 May 1925): 15-16.

107 See "Elbise ve Çamaşırları Muhafaza," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 5, 2 Nisan 1341 (2 April 1925): 12-13.

108 Heyet-i İdare, "Elbiselerimiz," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 4, 12 Mart 1341 (12 March 1925): 6-7.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.

§ 3.3 Promoting National Fashion Between 1919 and 1925

As fashion increasingly penetrated women's lives and changed their public appearance in the Armistice period, it became a topic of discussion among the elite. The educated people of the period agreed that contemporary forms of *çarşaf* no longer reflected the national identity and that a national standard in *çarşaf* should be laid down.[113]

Against the increasingly European look in women's attire, the periodicals suggested a "minimal national uniform" in headwear and *yaşmak*.[114] From 1919, *Inci* started a national fashion movement—joined later by *Yeni Inci*—which was taken over by *Resimli Ay* after the establishment of the Republic.[115] In 1921, *Hanım* initiated an early campaign to establish and propagate a national style in women's clothing.

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113 In 1919, Zehra Hakkı wrote an article titled "*Milli Moda*" (National Fashion) in the first issue of *İnci* and brought up the topic of national uniformity in women's clothing. She did not suggest boycotting Western fashion but modifying it in accordance with national characteristics. The national fashion should be modern but also accord with the national culture and taste. Her article essentially announced *İnci*'s policy on the question. In the following issues, the periodical published examples of national fashion designs. The topic of national uniforms once again came on to the agenda in women's periodicals in 1923. See the discussions on this topic in 1923 and 1924 in Nimet Kemal, "Şarkta Kafes Hayatı ve Tesettür," *Süs*, no. 19, 20 Teşrin-i Evvel 1339 (20 October 1923): 3; 6. Süleyman Bahri, "Beyaz Konferans: Kadın ve Kıyafet," *Süs*, no. 30, 5 Kanun-i Sani 1340 (5 January 1924): 10-12. Hüseyin Fehmi, "Dedikodu: Moda Tesbit Olunur mu?" *Süs*, no. 37, 23 Şubat 1340 (23 February 1924): 3. Hüseyin Avni, "Kadınlığa Dair," *Yeni İnci,* no. 7, Şubat 1339 (February 1923): 13. See, also, Yahya Kemal, "Yeni Kadınlığa Dair Muhasebe," *Yeni İnci*, no. 2, Temmuz 1922 (1 July 1922): 3-4.

114 I use Alexander Maxwell's concept of "minimal national uniforms" to describe the periodicals' attempt to partially standardize national clothing between 1919 and 1925. See Maxwell, *Patriots Against Fashion*, 121-152.

115 "Başlık Modaları," *Resimli Ay*, no. 1, Şubat 1340 (February 1924): 32; "Başlık Modelleri," *Resimli Ay,* no. 2, Mart 1340 (March 1924): 32; "Paris'ten Getirdiğimiz Elbise Modelleri," *Resimli A*y, no. 5, Haziran 1340 (June 1924): 32; "Şal Modası," *Resimli Ay*, no. 8, Eylül 1340 (September 1924): 24; "Çarşaf Modelleri," *Resimli Ay*, no. 16-4, Mayıs 1341 (May 1925): 27.

Hanım was a short-lived periodical, publishing just two issues, both in 1921. While its publication record was not long, it had a formative impact on national fashion for women in Turkey. In its first issue, *Hanım* promised to publish winter *çarşaf* designs that reflected Turkish body sizes, although the periodical never released the designs.[116] What is crucial is that the proposals emphasized that a Turkish designer, Mustafa Kenan, who had graduated from Berlin Academy, would be responsible for the portfolio. For the elite of the period, one of the most significant components of any national fashion was that a Turkish designer create it.

İnci was a pioneer in the campaign for a national style of *çarşaf* in the Armistice period. In its fourth issue in 1919, *İnci* launched a national fashion competition to "modify *yaşmak* (yashmak) again." *İnci* asserted the purpose was to "find a preponderant, privileged and pleasant design" in contemporary *çarşaf* forms.[117] The periodical asked readers to send their ideas or *yaşmak* design drawings to the editorial office. These would be published with their names in a subsequent issue.[118] The proposals of the readers were to be evaluated by a select committee.[119] One aim was to encourage and even educate women to be tailors.

Essential to the project was that designers would be Turkish, and, ideally, women. Domestic designers produced samples for the campaign. To promote a standard for women's clothing, *İnci* published samples of two elegant and chic winter coats designed by Müfide Hanım and Münevver Hanım, the daughters of Osman Zeki Bey, a *terzizade* (son of a tailor).[120] According to the periodical, women of all walks of life would find the samples practical and suitable for local conditions.[121]

Fashion was inured into the lives of women from every social origin. According to Inci's successor — *Yeni İnci* — "Istanbul ladies knew how to

116 "Moda," *Hanım,* no. 1, 1 Eylül 1337 (1 September 1921): 16.

117 "Yaşmak Modası," *İnci*, no. 4 (1 May 1919): 13.

118 Ibid.

119 Ibid.

120 "Kışlık Mantolar," *İnci*, no. 11, 1 Kanun-i Evvel 1335 (1 December 1919): 19.

121 Ibid.

wear more plain and beautiful than the Christian madams."[122] This assertion was provided with the latest *yaşmak* designs in its first issue in 1922.[123] Two *çarşaf* designs with lace veils and scaled or dark color houndstooth edges were presented as two beautiful designs created by Turkish women.[124] Under the title of "Around the Course of New Fashion" (*Yeni Moda Cereyanları Etrafında*), *İnci* allocated a new page for publishing national designs and again announced the readers to send



their designs to the periodical.[125]

Figure 3.5 National *yaşmak* designs in *İnci* in 1919. SOURCE: *İnci* (May 1, 1919).

122 "Yeni Moda Cereyanları Etrafında: Nazarı Celb Eden Birkaç Model," *Yeni İnci*, no. 1, Haziran 1338 (June 1922): 28.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.

The subsequent issue published the readers' selected designs as a sign of Turkish women's success and proof of what they could do to create their own fashion.[126] The periodical encouraged its subscribers in foreign countries to promote Turkish women's talents by disseminating the



designs locally.[127]

Figure 3.6 National fashion designs in *Yeni İnci* in 1922. SOURCE: *Yeni İnci* (June, 1922).

Resimli Ay also proposed a "minimal national uniform" in head-dress. The periodical complained about the absence of beautiful *çarşaf* designs on the streets of Istanbul and stated that *çarşaf*, which used to show

126 "Yeni Moda Cereyanları Etrafında: Çarşaf Başlığı, Saç Modelleri," *Yeni İnci,* no. 2, Temmuz 1338 (July 1922).

127 Ibid.

Turkish women's beauty, had begun to disappear in Beyoğlu and Kadıköy.[128] According to the author, in the past, even European women had emulated Turkish women's attire. The desire of contemporary Turkish women to emulate everything European had resulted in *çarşaf* looking more and more European and the steady fading away of classical attire.[129] The periodical noted that the only aspect of *çarşaf* fashion in Istanbul that remained was women's headgear.[130]

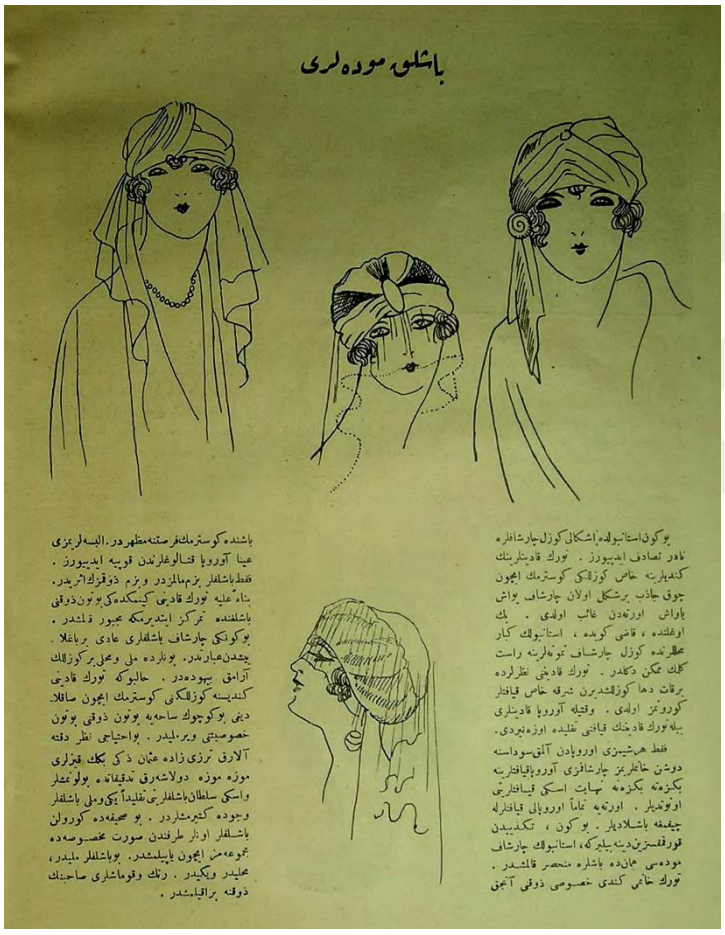


Figure 3.7 National head-dress designs in the first issue of *Resimli Ay* in 1924. SOURCE: *Resimli Ay* (February, 1924).

128 "Başlık Modaları," 32.

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid.

The periodical deplored that the contemporary way of covering the head was not national and local, and encouraged women to pay attention to their heads as a sign of good taste.[131] *Resimli Ay* announced that the periodical had approached Müfide Hanım and Münevver Hanım to conduct research by visiting museums and asked them to draw inspiration from the headwear of the old Ottoman Sultans in their new national head-dress designs. The resulting designs were presented as "national, regional and new."[132]

In the next issue, the periodical presented new head-dress designs with a note that "the national taste and the European style" were combined in these designs.[133] The style of these national head-dresses were imitated from models in museums.[134] *Resimli Ay* continued to present new head-dress designs in the following issue.[135] *Cumhuriyet* also published examples of national head-dress designs in May and July 1924.[136] In one of the newspaper's issues, the designs were presented as "national head-dresses."[137]

Seeking to pique women's interest, the periodical offered some of the latest European fashion designs that could be used with the national head-dresses. *Resimli Ay* published three examples of this fashion[138] from the Paris fashion shops for the periodical. The periodical informed that these dress designs could be used as *çarşaf* with the new head-dresses instead of hats.[139] Another example for the periodical's encouragement to use the national head-dresses was to blur the

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid.

133 "Başlık Modelleri," 32.

134 Ibid.

135 "Çarşaf ve Başlık Modelleri," *Resimli Ay*, no. 3, Nisan 1340 (April 1924): 17.

136 Sabiha and Zekeriye Sertel published *Resimli Ay*. They also worked in *Cumhuriyet* for a couple of months after the first release of the newspaper. They brought forward the topic of creating a national head-dress to the newspaper as well. "Başlık Modelleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 May 1924, 4; "Başlık Modelleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 July 1924, 4.

137 "Başlık Modelleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 July 1924, 4.

138 "Paris'ten Getirdiğimiz Elbise Modelleri," 32.

139 Ibid.

difference between these designs and latest European fashion.[140] The periodical continued to publish *çarşaf* designs with national head-dresses.[141] The last examples of the national head-dress fashion was published in May 1925.[142]

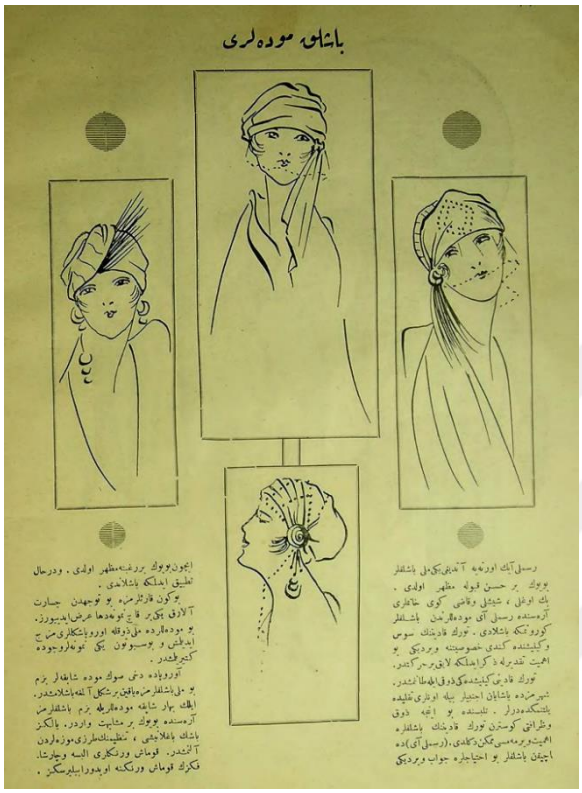


Figure 3.8 National head-dress designs in the second issue of *Resimli Ay* in 1924. SOURCE: *Resimli Ay* (March, 1924).

Another attempt to create a uniform clothing before the establishment of the Republic came from the *Türk Bedayiini Koruma Cemiyeti*

140 "Şal Modası," 24.

141 For example, see "Sonbahar Modaları," *Resimli Ay*, no 11, Kanun-i Evvel 1340 (December 1924): 31; "Çarşaf Modelleri," *Resimli Ay*, no. 4, Mayıs 1341 (May 1925): 27. For headdress models, see "Yeni Çarşaf Modaları," *Resimli Ay*, no. 1, Şubat 1340 (February 1924): 33; "Çarşaf ve Başlık Modelleri," 17; "Yazlık Çarşaf Modelleri," *Resimli Ay*, no. 4, Mayıs 1340 (May 1924): 31.

142 "Çarşaf Modelleri," 27.

(Association for the Protection of Turkish Beauty).[143] This association attempted to create a national *çarşaf* design for women in 1922.[144] The Sultan and Istanbul government supported it.[145] The national *çarşaf* design would be implemented first in girls' schools.[146] Significant women figures, such as Nezihe Muhiddin and Behire Hakkı, were among the members of this association, supporting the aim of creating a uniform clothing for women.[147] To determine the clothing, the association also established a commission, in which the members of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* also participated.[148] This attempt was short-lived and ultimately failed, probably due to hostile reactions and war-time conditions.[149]

All of the attempts to create national norms or determine a uniformity in clothing took place before the proclamation of the *Şapka Kanunu* (Hat Law) in 1925. This law made Western hats obligatory for men, and after it was enacted, Ankara declared that Western clothes would be adopted for everyone. In doing this, the regime distanced itself from the attempts to produce a genuinely national fashion and announced that it would not pursue a specific national costume. This law also ended all public campaigns to create national norms in clothing in the following years.

§ 3.4 Conclusion

The women's periodicals in the Armistice period introduced and encouraged women to consume Western fashion. At the same time, they adopted a critical attitude toward fashion. For one, the religious implications of discarding *çarşaf* were at issue. Furthermore, fashion

143 The first name of the association was *Türk Güzelliklerini Sıyanet Cemiyeti* (Association for the Protection of Turkish Beauty). Safiye Kıranlar, "Değişen Kadın Kimliği Üzerine Bir İnceleme: İşgal İstanbul'unda Tesettür," *Akademik İncelemeler,* no. 1 (2007): 318.

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid.

146 Ibid., 321-322.

147 Ibid., 319.

148 Ibid., 321.

149 See Ibid., 321-323.

came in for criticism on economic and health grounds. While encouraging women to adopt the latest fashions, these periodicals also emphasized thriftiness and healthy choices. They also encouraged women to sew their own clothes to save money and support the national cause.

From 1919 onwards, the magazines' elite writers also brought the prospect of national fashion back onto the agenda. The periodicals launched campaigns to create national fashion designs. These campaigns aimed to create partial uniformity in headwear, such as a *yaşmak* design and a national head-dress. However, all these attempts at creating a national norm in clothing ceased after 1925. The new Republic abandoned efforts to create a national norm in clothing, nor did it see fashion as a problem. On the contrary, especially from 1925, with the implementation of the Hat Law, the new Republic encouraged women to adopt Western fashion. The next chapter will discuss the main aspects of the modernist-nationalist project of the Kemalist regime to better understand the reason behind the acceptance of Western fashion as opposed to the revival of traditional clothing.

4

Cultural Politics in the Early Republican Period

This chapter looks into the cultural politics of the Republican regime with a specific focus on clothing. In doing so, it attempts to provide a comprehensive analysis of this aspect of the modernization policies of the single party regime in Turkey in the context of early 20th century developments in Europe and beyond.

The chapter begins with an analysis of the Kemalist understanding of modernity and its differences from the views of Ziya Gökalp, a leading modernist idealogue and cultural theorist in the late Ottoman period. It then compares interwar Turkey's modernist-nationalist ideology with the fascist regimes of Europe. Finally, to further elaborate on the evolution of the Kemalist modernism, the chapter focuses on the 1925 Hat Law, the specific regulations on women's clothing and the policy shift from the mid-1930s to revive more traditional handicrafts with the influence of peasantism.

§ 4.1 Secularism, Modernization, and the Historical Antecedents of the Kemalist Reform Program

Scholars frequently use the word "secularism" to define the central characteristics of modernization from the first attempts in the Ottoman

Empire until the end of the single party regime.[1] Van Os argues that a key reason for this was the ruling elite's perception of weakness in modern science vis-à-vis Europe.[2] To keep up with Europe, the ruling elite initiated secularization reforms in education as a remedy for the country's backwardness.[3] This process reached its final destination with Kemalist reforms,[4] which were launched from 1925 with the establishment of authoritarian single party rule.

The period up to early 1925 was a relatively liberal one for the opposition.[5] In March 1925, a couple of weeks after the outbreak of the Sheikh Said rebellion, a turning point was reached with the enactment of the Law on the Maintenance of Order (*Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu*), which gave extraordinary power to the government for two years.[6] This law was also used to suppress the press[7] and the opposition Progressive Republican Party (PRP-*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*).[8]

Thus, the law marked an authoritarian turn for the regime, after which the RPP launched a top-down, modernizing and secularizing reform process until the mid-1930s. The main aim of these reforms was

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1 Van Os underscores how "modernization" and "secularization" were "used interchangeably" until the 1980s in analyses of the Ottoman–Turkish modernization process. From the 1980s, scholars started to criticize this perspective for being Eurocentric. See Van Os, "Polygamy Before and After the Introduction of the Swiss Civil Code in Turkey," in *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and in Iran* eds. Touraj Atabaki (London and New York: Tauris, 2007), 179-180. See, also, Zürcher, Turkey: A Modern History, 188.

2 Van Os, "Polygamy Before and After," 179-180.

3 Ibid., 180.

4 Ibid., 181.

5 Just a few months before, Fethi Okyar had replaced İsmet İnönü as prime minister, as a sign of a period of moderation after the establishment of PRP. After the rebellion, the cabinet of Fethi Okyar resigned and İsmet İnönü —a relative "hardliner" — became prime minister again. This was a sign of the authoritarian turn. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 170; 172.

6 This law authorized the government to close any organization or publication that were considered to be acting against the law. For further information, see Ibid., 172.

7 After the promulgation of the law, many newspapers and periodicals were closed down. Leading journalists in Istanbul were taken to the Independence Tribunal. Ibid., 173.

8 Ibid.

to secularize the society and the state. Zürcher defines three areas of transformation in the secularization policy of the Kemalist regime. These were "the secularization of state, education and law" to eliminate the influence of Islam, attempts to replace religious symbols in public with European ones, and "the secularization of social life."[9]

Zürcher further lists all the reforms undertaken within these three areas. In the secularization of the state, education, and law, the Sultanate and caliphate—as well as the Shaykh al-Islam — were abolished. Additionally, the Swiss Civil Code and the Italian Penal Code were adopted. Finally, the education system was unified.[10]

To eliminate religious symbols from the public sphere, the traditional headgear, the fez, was abolished and replaced with Western-style hats. Meanwhile, the European calendar, clock numbers, and length and weight measurements were adopted, as was the European alphabet was accepted. In the secularization of social life, the shrines (*türbe*) and dervish lodges (*tekke*) were closed, and the Arabic *ezan* was Turkified.[11]

It was apparent that the Kemalist regime aimed to make a radical transformation in the state structure and society. Its project was to create a modern and secular nation. To meet this objective, the Kemalist regime spurned the most visible cultural aspects of the Ottoman past and sought to replace them with modern forms. Reforms in the cultural realm were thus at the forefront of the Kemalist modernizing project.

Much was made of the need to catch up with the Western world as quickly as possible. As laid out in previous chapters, Turkey was in dire economic straits after decades of war. For this reason, showcasing modernization primarily through rapid industrial development was implausible, and the new republic gave much more attention to symbolic transformation and cultural change to appear "modern" before the Europeans.[12] Hale Yılmaz states that this was akin to the political

9 Ibid., 188.

10 For further information, see Ibid., 188-196

11 For further information, see Ibid.

12 Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish,* 78. Yılmaz Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey: Drawing the Boundaries of Turkish Culture in the 1930s," *Studies in Ethnicity and*

preferences of many other late modernizers, which emphasized the "visible aspects of modernity and national identity."[13]

Clothing was one such aspect the regime hit on as central to rapid change. The republican government identified attire as an aspect of daily life inseparable from the construction of national identity and thus made it part of the national project. Alev Çınar explains clothing came to be seen as part and parcel of "instituting secularism, nationalism, and Westernism in the public sphere."[14]

Not only the body but specifically women's body was regarded as a significant marker in the nation's image. Turkey shared this characteristic with several other late modernizing states of the period.[15]

Nationalism, no. 1 (2003): 5. Houchang Chehabi, "Dress Codes for Men in Turkey and Iran," in *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization Under Atatürk and Reza Shah* eds. Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 228-229.

13 Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish,* 78.

14 Alev Çınar, *Modernity, Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places and Time* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 59.

15 Hale Yılmaz states that at the turn of the century "the new woman" stood at the center of modernization policies, symbolizing the nation. Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish*, 78. Marianne Kamp significantly demonstrates similarities between the experiences of women in Uzbekistan, Turkey and Iran. See Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling Under Communism* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2006). Sanjay Seth emphasizes the centrality of the woman question in Indian and Chinese modernizations. Sanjay Seth, "Nationalism, Modernity, and the "Woman Question" in India and China," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 2 (May 2013): 273-297. In her study, Lila Abu-Lughod states that women and family became much-debated topic at the turn of the century in Middle Eastern countries. Women were the symbols of identity, society and the nation. Lila Abu-Lughod, "Introduction: Feminist Longings and Postcolonial Conditions," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* eds., Lila Abu-Lughod, (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3. For a comparative analysis, see, also, Ellen L. Fleischmann, "The Other 'Awakening': The Emergence of Women's Movements in the Modern Middle East, 1900-1940," in *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* eds. Margaret Meriwether and Judith E. Tucker (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1999), 98-99. According to Göle, women as symbols of national identity has been a common characteristic of non-Western countries. She states that the public sphere emerged as a bourgeois space in the West and women were excluded from it. In contrast, women became the symbols of the public sphere in the modernization

For the regime, the most potent symbol of the new Turkish nation's modern and secular identity was the public appearance of its women.[16] Göle underscores how "the construction of women as public citizens and women's rights ... made up the backbone of Turkish modernism."[17] She notes as well how the Kemalist ruling elite equated "national progress and women's emancipation."[18] She further indicates that

> The taking off of the veil, the establishment of compulsory co-education for girls and boys, civil rights for women (such as electoral eligibility and voting), and lastly the abolishment of 'Sharia', the Islamic law, and the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code (1926) guaranteed the public visibility and citizenship of women.[19]

Women had a central place in the reform process. After the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, women's social position changed significantly. Women's public visibility increased as did the number of mixed-gender spaces, such as schools, community meetings, and republican balls. Related to the changes in women's lives, Göle states that the new mixed public spaces brought "a radical change in the definitions of public/private spheres and in the practice of Islamic morality based on the control of female sexuality and the segregation of the sexes."[20] The new public imagery—mixed schools and community gatherings showing women's visibility—communicated a direct symbolic message to Europe that the new republic had broken with its past by ending the segregation of the sexes in public.

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processes in Muslim countries. See Nilüfer Göle, "Global Expectations, Local Experiences Non-Western Modernities," in *Through a Glass, Darkly: Blurred Images of Cultural Tradition and Modernity over Distance and Time*, eds. Wil Arts (Boston: Brill, 2000): 51. Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem Medeniyet ve Örtünme* (İstanbul: Metis, 2004).

16 Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish*, 78. See, also, Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*. Çınar, *Modernity, Islam and Secularism*.

17 Göle, "Global Expectations, Local Experiences," 51. Göle, *Modern Mahrem*, 30-31.

18 Göle, "Global Expectations, Local Experiences," 51. Göle, *Modern Mahrem*, 30-31.

19 Göle, "Global Expectations, Local Experiences," 51. Göle, *Modern Mahrem*, 30-31.

20 Göle, "Global Expectations, Local Experiences," 51.

The new republic also paid attention to education, expanding the learning opportunities for women by increasing the number of schools and courses available. Newspapers of the period published encouraging news related to the successes of educated young women. Women took up paid work outside the home in greater numbers and entered many professions, including as doctors, lawyers, and teachers. They increasingly became private entrepreneurs as well.

Women also received legal rights in marriage and were granted the franchise. For example, the influence of religious authorities was eliminated in marriage. Polygamy was abolished with the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code in 1926.[21] The right to vote was also gradually extended to women— first in municipal elections in 1930, then in 1933 in village mukhtar and council elections, and, finally, in all elections from 1934.

The early republican elite's motto was "to reach the level of contemporary civilization," a phrase Atatürk frequently used in his speeches.[22] The quest for "contemporary civilization" also equated modernization with Westernization. In this formulation, Kemalist modernization differed from Ziya Gökalp's ideas on culture.

The remainder of the chapter discusses the Kemalist regime's cultural policy, especially the clothing reforms. The aim here is to shed light on the regime's approach to the role of women in the new republic.

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21 The 1926 Civil Code also extended rights in the guardianship of children to women. For further information, see Berkes, *The Development of Secularism,* 471-473. However, the new law did not totally change women's place in marriage. According to Van Os, polygamy continued in most parts of Turkey even after the law was enacted. See Van Os, "Polygamy Before and After," 179-198.

22 Göle emphasizes that some version of this idea was common among the elites of non-Western countries in the period. She states that non-Western countries did not see themselves as contemporaries of the West. In this motto, as Göle asserts, contemporary refers to an ideal to reach in the future. Göle, "Global Expectations, Local Experiences," 47-48. For a similar emphasis related to Turkish modernization, see Meltem Ahıska, "Occidentalism: The Historical Fantasy of the Modern," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, no. 2/3 (Spring/Summer 2003): 351-379.

§ 4.2 Moving Away from Ziya Gökalp's Ideas

Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) was a leading Turkish social theorist and ideologue in the Second Constitutional period who worked closely with the CUP.[23] Most studies cite him as the ideological godfather of the Kemalists, but it was not so clear-cut. Referring to the ambiguity, Taha Parla states that "Gökalp was the official ideologue of the Unionists and the unofficial ideologue of Kemalists; but in another sense… he was not."[24] Parla also indicates that "the first generation of Kemalists, whom Gökalp joined and fully endorsed," also benefitted from his ideas.[25] However, Kemalists did not associate themselves with Gökalp quite as strongly as the Unionists had, nor did they follow Gökalp's approach in the modernization process.[26]

Gökalp pursued a synthesis of three ideologies—Turkism, Islamism, and Modernism—all of which were on the elite agenda during the Second Constitutional Period. His attempt was contentious since these ideologies were considered by many to be in conflict, or at least very difficult to reconcile.[27] He expressed his social ideal (*içtimaî mefkûre*) as follows: "We are of the Turkish nation (*millet*), of the Islamic religious community (*ümmet*), and of Western civilization.[28]

Reflecting on Gökalp's influence on Kemalism, Parla states that the Kemalists' nationalism and republicanism were closest to Gökalp's perspective, while their approach to the national economy, populism, and solidarist corporatism differed from his.[29] However, the main difference

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23 Taha Parla, *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp 1876-1924* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 7.

24 Ibid., 15.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., 10-17; 120-121. Touraj Atabaki and Erik Jan Zürcher, "Introduction," in *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization Under Atatürk and Reza Shah* eds. Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 9.

27 Parla, *The Social and Political Thought*, 25.

28 The translation belongs to Taha Parla. Ibid.

29 Taha Parla's analysis related to the influence of Gökalp on Kemalism is detailed in the Turkish version of the book. Taha Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005), 212-213.

was secularism and reformism, in which Kemalists went further from Gökalp's "moderate and gradual reformism."[30] Parla states that Kemalists distanced themselves from Gökalp, who did not desire a cultural rupture with their anti-Islamic laicism and language reform.[31]

Gökalp's attempted synthesis of Turkish nationalism, Islam and civilization depended on the distinction between *hars* (culture) and *medeniyet* (civilization). Influenced by German romantic nationalist thinkers,[32] in Gökalp's terminology, "aesthetic, moral, philosophical and other norms… emotions, enthusiasms, tastes" were associated with national culture while "concepts, methods, techniques" were borrowed from Europe.[33] Unlike the Kemalists, Gökalp distinguished between culture—which he regarded as the particular characteristics of each nation—and civilization related to science and technology shared by many nations. His ideal modernization process was thus a synthesis of Turkish culture and Western civilization.

Although the Kemalists' formulation of modernization was different, Gökalp's ideas seemed to be influential in the culture at the beginning of

30 Ibid. See, also, Atabaki and Zürcher, "Introduction," 9.

31 Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm*, 212-213.

32 Atabaki and Zürcher, "Introduction," 9. Alp Eren Topal argues that German thought was not the only source of inspiration for Gökalp, who, in developing his ideas, benefitted from other sources such as Sufi thought and Ottoman tradition as well. For a revisionist take on Gökalp's ideas, see Alp Eren Topal, "Against Influence: Ziya Gökalp in Context and Tradition," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, no. 3 (2017): 1-29.

33 For further information, see Parla, The Social and Political Thought, 30. In one of his later works: In *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, (Principles of Turkism, 1923) Gökalp stated that "culture is national" and "civilization is international." According to Gökalp, culture is "a harmonious collection of a nation's religious, moral, legal, fictional, artistic, linguistic, economic and scientific lives." On the other hand, "civilization is a common collection of social lives of the several nations which are in the same level of development." He further noted the existence of English culture, French culture and German culture, which were different and independent from each other, even as these countries and others shared a common Western civilization. Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (İstanbul: Bordo Siyah, 2006[1923]), 59-60. See, also, Niyazi Berkes, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959). For further information, see chapter 4 in *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp 1876-1924*.

the 1920s. Significantly, Yılmaz Çolak asserts that Mustafa Kemal was also under the influence of Gökalp until 1923, seeing culture as an "authentic" entity that should be preserved from the "corruptive and immoral influences" of both the West and the East.[34] However, after 1923, Mustafa Kemal did not make such emphasize on "authentic, unique notion of culture" in his speeches.[35]

Mustafa Kemal's speech on the legislative proposal on the council of ministers' duties and authorities in the first national assembly in 1921 is interesting in this regard. Kemal criticized the reforms implemented during the reign of Mahmud II. In his speech, Mustafa Kemal noted how the adoption of European laws, systems, and clothing in the period of Mahmud II had not been substantive, merely "imitating Europe." In the same speech, he criticized Hüseyin Avni Ulaş—one of the leading oppositional figures in the first assembly—for his suggestion that the country adopt wholesale a governmental system from one of the world's leading countries. Kemal objected to Ulaş's suggestion because he considered it an approach to modernization that had echoes of Mahmud II. Mustafa Kemal further said:

> Yes, Western clothing was adopted. For example, we wear pants below and a vest on the top… These were never accepted and nor are they accepted now. Even Peter the Great [of Russia] wanted to reform his nation with imitation… As he took measures to reform Russia, he assumed that the country would progress as a genuinely Russian nation; [but] he used an instrument that turned them English or German. However, since a Russian can't become a German, not only did Russians lose their identity, but they also failed to become what they wanted, and all that emerged, in the end, was a chaotic creature.[36]

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34 See footnote 4 in Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 16.

35 Ibid.

36 For the part related to Mustafa Kemal's speech in the first parliament, I draw on Aydın Sayılı's book. See Aydın Sayılı, *Atatürk'ün Kültür ve Medeniyet Konusundaki Sözleri* (Ankara: AKDTYK, 1990), 12-13.

These claims in the parliament in 1921 contrast with the radical Westernization reforms that Kemal would pioneer in the interwar period in Turkey. He changed political and social institutions and tried to transform what Gökalp saw as culture with top-down reforms. His opponents ironically echoed his earlier criticisms of Mahmud II when they accused him of imitating the West.

It is not possible to know with certainty if Mustafa Kemal's ideas until 1923 were tactical to gain the support of the majority of the people. However, looking at his speeches in this period, one can see the influence of Ziya Gökalp. This influence diminished after the establishment of the republic.

One of the earliest examples showing the differentiation between the new republic and Ziya Gökalp can be seen in the preparation of the Civil Code. In September 1923, the new republic established a commission to draft a civil code; Gökalp was a member.[37] This commission prepared a draft code compatible with the traditional *Şeriat* and resembled the old *Hukuk-u Aile Kararnamesi* (Law of Family Rights) enacted in 1917.[38] For example, the draft did not abolish polygamy.[39] Mustafa Kemal rejected it, stating that "the direction to be followed in civil law and family law should be nothing but that of Western civilization."[40] One of Atatürk's close colleagues, the Minister of Law, Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt), was then appointed to prepare a new civil code, and in February 1926, Turkey accepted the secular Swiss Civil Code.[41]

Mustafa Kemal's later writings also offer evidence of distancing from the ideas of Gökalp. In Yalova in 1930, Mustafa Kemal dictated his views on culture to Afet İnan, stating:

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37 Berkes, *The Development of Secularism,* 455.

38 Gülnihal Bozkurt, *Batı Hukukunun Türkiye'de Benimsenmesi: Osmanlı Devleti'nden Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne Resepsiyon Süreci (1839-1939)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996), 184-187. Quoted in Van Os, "Polygamy Before and After," 185.

39 Berkes, *The Development of Secularism,* 469.

40 The translation is from Niyazi Berkes's book. Ibid., 469-470.

41 Ibid., 470-472.

> People define civilization in different ways. In my opinion it is hard and unnecessary to separate civilization from culture. Let me clarify my point of view by describing what culture is: it is the sum of all achievements of a human society in a) state affairs, b) intellectual life, that is to say, science, social science, and fine arts, and c) economic life, that is to say, agriculture, crafts, trade, transportation and communication. To speak of a nation's civilization is in turn none other than to speak of the combined product of all these three domains. Of course, nations differ in the degrees of their cultures, or civilizations. These differences manifest themselves in each of these three domains, as well as in their combinations. What matters is this last difference between the combined products. A high culture does not remain with its owner, but influences other nations, spreading over continents. It is in this sense that a high and extensive culture is called a civilization, such as European civilization, *asr-i hazır* (modern) civilization.[42]

Overall, it seems Gökalp's influence on the approach to culture of the ruling cadre, including Mustafa Kemal, was limited to a short period at the beginning of the 1920s. After the establishment of the republic, this influence evaporated. Against this backdrop, the Kemalist regime eschewed a Gökalpian differentiation between culture and civilization and instead equated modernization with cultural Westernization.

§ 4.3 Turkish Modernization and Nationalism in Comparative Perspective

Regarding the politics of culture, the Kemalists also distinguished themselves from the other prominent approaches of the last decades of

[42] A. Afet İnan, *M. Kemal Atatürk'ten Yazdıklarım* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1969), 48. See, also, Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 16.

the Ottoman Empire—namely, Turkist/Turanist nationalism[43] and the *Anadoluculuk* (Anatolianism) Movement.[44] Unlike these elements, the Kemalist regime sought no place for Islam and Ottoman heritage in its modernizing project. Günay Göksu Özdoğan observes that the regime distanced itself from the Turkist organizations that continued after the collapse of the empire, most of which were closed in 1931.[45] However, Turkist groups staged something of a comeback during World War II.

Many scholars have opined that the fact that Turkey was never colonized allowed the Kemalist regime to advance a less traditional approach to culture in the modernization process. Here, the argument goes, anti-colonial movements strongly emphasized traditional and local values in the construction of national identities as a way to throw off colonial legacies. In other words, colonized countries seemed to pursue cultural nationalism as a reaction to foreign occupation. On the other hand, those modernizing countries that had escaped colonial control felt less pressure to be conservative in culture and confident enough to adopt Western norms and culture in their reform programs.[46]

However, some countries that did escape colonial occupation did pursue radical cultural nationalism. For example, Japan became an authoritarian and even, for some scholars, fascist state that allied with the Axis powers from the 1930s. Unlike the Meiji reforms in the late 19th

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43 Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 4. Günay Göksu Özdoğan, *"Turan"dan "Bozkurt"a Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931-1946)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006).

44 The *Anadolucular* first emerged in World War I and distanced themselves from the Republican ideology and pan-Turkist groups. Özlem Bülbül, "Remzi Oğuz Arık and Cultural Nationalism in Turkey," (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2006), 36. See, also, Metin Çınar, *Anadoluculuk ve Tek Parti CHP'de Sağ Kanat* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013).

45 Özdoğan, *"Turan"dan "Bozkurt"a Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük,* 13. See, also, Arzu Öztürkmen, *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009).

46 For this kind of analysis on the single party period in Turkey, see Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 16. Ayhan Akman, "Modernist Nationalism: Statism and National Identity in Turkey," *Nationalities Papers*, no. 1 (March 2004): 23-51. Bernard Lewis makes a similar analysis. See Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 495. See, also, Chehabi, "Dress Codes for Men," 225.

century, which aimed to take Japan "out from Asia" and toward the West, Japan's interwar cultural policy was to "return to Asia and leave the West."[47] With this policy shift, Japan seems more like the other fascist states of the period, like Italy and Germany, which sought to create a unique culture of their own. This part aims to focus on the objectives of the fascist regimes to understand the central characteristics of these regimes.

Fascist regimes in this period were modernist in their radical programs of social transformation.[48] As revolutionary as the fascist regimes were, they were anti-modernist in their search for a pre-industrial nostalgic past, which they assumed could be unproblematically restored despite the passage of time. These regimes' revolutionary character reflected their desire to eradicate the supposed bourgeois degradations produced by modernity[49] and to craft an ideal society based on a mythic and glorious past.

Between the wars, fascist regimes waged their own wars against the universal—in their perception, *foreign*—elements of European culture. For example, Mussolini aimed to create a "unique culture" that was not "contaminated" by liberal bourgeois values.[50] To pursue this aim, the fascist regime rejected the country's immediate past, which it considered adversely shaped by the influence of bourgeoisie liberalism.[51] From the late 1920s, it initiated a policy to eliminate all foreign influences from Italian culture. Foreign newspapers and cultural products such as music,

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47 Oliviero Frattolillo and Antony Best state that Japan had connections with Turkish nationalists who supported this pan-Asianist policy in this period. Oliviero Frattolillo and Antony Best, "Introduction: Japan and the Great War," *Japan and the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 6-7.

48 See Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning Under Mussolini and Hitler* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

49 Alan Tansman, "Introduction: The Culture of Japanese Fascism," in *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*, eds. Alan Tansman (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 6.

50 Philip V. Cannistraro, "Mussolini's Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?" *Journal of Contemporary History*, no. ¾ (Jul.-Oct. 1972): 116; 121.

51 Cannistraro, "Mussolini's Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?," 126.

films, literature, and even beauty contests were banned.[52] Elevating ancient Rome as a pillar of the glorious past of the "Italian race"[53] was a key aim.

In Germany, the Nazi Party adopted a similar policy. Indeed, the Nazis' modernization project depended on a distinction between *kultur* and *zivilisation*. Jeffrey Herf calls German nationalism an example of "reactionary modernism" like the Italian fascist movement in this period.[54] Underlying the specificity of Germany, Herf states that "no other country combined such deep-seated romantic traditions with such rapid and intense industrial advances."[55] The Nazis sought to develop technologically while pursuing conservative cultural policies.[56] They aimed to create an industrially and technologically advanced German nation with roots based in the ancient world.[57]

Similarly, Mark Neocleous adopts Herf's ideas in his definition of fascism as a form of reactionary modernism. Neocleous states that fascist regimes had modernist aspects in emphasizing technological developments, and he notes the influence of modernist thinkers on regime policy.[58] Together with these characteristics, Neocleous adds that "fascism glorifies a mythic past, is backward-looking and thus anti-modern."[59] Therefore, all fascist regimes used folklore as a significant "political tool" to create a homogenous national unity and build strong ancestral ties drawn from premodern history.[60] They were also

52 Ibid., 125.

53 Ibid., 124-126. See, also, Mark Neocleous, *Fascism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997), 66-67.

54 Jeffrey Herf, "The Engineer as Ideologue: Reactionary Modernists in Weimar and Nazi Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History*, no. 4 (October 1984): 646.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid., 631-648.

57 Neocleous, *Fascism*, 67.

58 Ibid., 60.

59 Ibid., 66; 68.

60 Christa Kamenetsky, "Folklore as a Political Tool in Nazi Germany," *The Journal of American Folklore*, no. 337 (Jul.-Sep., 1972): 221-235. William E. Simeone, "Fascists and Folklorists in Italy," *The Journal of American Folklore*, no. 359 (Jan.- Mar., 1978): 543-557. Kim Brandt, "The Beauty of Labor: Imagining Factory Girls in Japan's New Order," in *The*

interested in folk arts and crafts.[61] It is significant here to note that despite the fascists' attempts to create a unique culture, the society did not passively accept fascist cultural policy. The difference between the aims of the fascist regimes and people's everyday lives is best observed in these countries' clothing policies.

Fascist regimes were particularly reactive to the dominance of French fashion. They enacted regulations on women's attire, in particular, imposed bans on certain fashion items, and sought to create a unique national style in fashion. Eugenia Paulicelli shows how fascist Italy attempted to eliminate the influence of French fashion and cultivate a distinctly national fashion. In this aim, domestic traditions—especially regional costumes—were emphasized. Paulicelli highlights the regime's promotion of handicraft textiles, such as embroidery and lace.[62] Likewise, Irene Guenther states that the Nazis forbade Jews from the fashion industry and banned French fashion imports. The Nazi party aimed in this way to create a German fashion.[63] However, Guenther states that there was no consensus on the definition of a German fashion, and the regime was unable to convince its citizens to take up the proposed clothing. Women in the Third Reich preferred to wear fashionable clothes as did women in other European countries.[64] Despite the concerted attempts, the fascist national fashion projects largely failed since women preferred to consume the latest fashions clothes and not what was imposed upon them by the regime.[65]

Culture of Japanese Fascism eds. Alan Tansman (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 116-137.

61 See Brandt, "The Beauty of Labor," 116-137.

62 For further information, see Eugenia Paulicelli, *Fashion Under Fascism: Beyond the Black Shirt* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2004), 21. See, also, Irene Guenther, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2004), 171.

63 Guenther, *Nazi Chic?,* 265.

64 Ibid., 265-266.

65 See Paulicelli, *Fashion Under Fascism*; Guenther, *Nazi Chic?;* Maxwell, *Patriots Against Fashion,* 217-228.

The aim of creating a national fashion is one indication of how fascists were reactionary modernists. However, fascist cultural policies did not directly determine people's everyday lives.

Culture mattered to the fascists. Nazi Germany and fascist Italy not only desired to create a unique and homogenous culture for their nations but also worked together to create "a cultural new order in Europe."[66] From 1934, both countries established international conferences, institutions, and publications to define a "European culture"[67] different from the post-World War I international culture and system.[68] As the bearers of "the Latin and Germanic traditions" in history, the Axis powers presented themselves as representatives of "the true Europe" and declared their mission to protect European culture "against the brutish materialism from East and West."[69] Undoubtedly, this was an attempt to enlarge the Axis' scope of influence in Europe.[70] Turkey also sent participants to the international gatherings organized by Germany and Italy in this period, such as the International Film Congress / Chamber in 1935 and 1941.[71]

Despite some resemblances, Turkey's cultural policies differed from the fascist examples in the interwar period. Kemalist modernization was also reactionary but not anti-modernist. The main difference lies in the aim of creating a unique national culture. Fascist examples in the 1930s all aimed to protect their cultural identities with romantic nationalism. On the other hand, rejecting Gökalp's differentiation of culture and civilization, the regime adopted European norms to reach the level of civilized nations. It adopted Western laws (the Swiss Civil Code and Italian Penal Code), Western culture (Latin alphabet and numbers, Western calendar and clock, Western clothes), and a Western lifestyle.

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66 Benjamin G. Martin, *The Nazi-Fascist New Order For European Culture* (Cambridge and Massachussets: Harvard University Press, 2016), 1.

67 Ibid., 2.

68 Ibid., 4.

69 Ibid., 79-80.

70 Ibid.,2.

71 Ibid., 64; 190.

4.3.1 The Kemalist Regime in the 1930s

A turning point in the reform process was the so-called Menemen Incident in 1930. In the months before, an experimental opposition party, the Free Republican Party (FRP), was established on the suggestion of Mustafa Kemal in 1930. The aim was to offer a "safety valve" to express discontent after the onset of the Great Depression. Unexpectedly, the party served as a kind of lightning rod for all kinds of opposition and frustration within the society built up since 1923. After local elections in which the FRP gained many councils, the RPP decided to adopt rigid policies, and Fethi Okyar had to abolish the party.[72]

A month later, an uprising led by a group of dervishes broke out in Manisa, a town close to Izmir. The event came to be known as the Menemen Incident, mostly referred to as a reactionary uprising in demand of Sharia and Caliphate.[73] In fact, the economic problems caused by the Great Depression and the absence of means to express opposition to the single-party rule played a key role in the increasing discontent in the region.[74] Umut Azak shows that the Kemalist regime used this incident to mobilize people to support the regime while reconstructing its authority.[75] The incident was also a significant turning point in the sense that it manifested the "tacit support" for the uprising of the people in Manisa,[76] a prosperous and relatively developed part of the country, which alarmed the regime. Coming in the wake of the apparent support the FRP had attracted in such a short period of time, the Menemen Incident convinced the party that its reforms had not yet penetrated

72 For further information, see Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey*, 179-181.

73 See Azak, "A Reaction to Authoritarian Modernization," 143-146; 148. See, also, Eyüp Öz, "Yasak Bir Hafızayla Yüzleşmek: Menemen Olayı İrtica mı, Komplo mu?," *FSM İlmî Araştırmalar İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi*, no.5 (2015): 409-440.

74 Azak, "A Reaction to Authoritarian Modernization," 143-158. See, also, Öz, "Yasak Bir Hafızayla Yüzleşmek," 409-440.

75 Azak, "A Reaction to Authoritarian Modernization," 154-156.

76 Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey*, 180.

deeply enough into the society and that the regime would need to redouble its efforts.[77]

The year 1931 was thus a turning point in the history of the early republican period.[78] The regime sought a much more constricted public sphere, wanting to control closely "cultural and intellectual life."[79] The 1931 Press Law limited press freedom,[80] and a considerable number of associations were closed. For example, the Turkish Freemasons' lodges (*Türk Mason Locaları*), the Turkish Press Association (*Türk Matbuat Cemiyeti*), the Turkish Reserve Officers' Association (*Türk İhtiyat Zabitleri*) and the National Turkish Students' Union (*Milli Türk Talebe Birliği*) as well as *Yarın* (Tomorrow), an oppositional newspaper, were closed down.[81] The Turkish Public Knowledge Association (*Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği*)—established in 1927 to study Anatolian folklore — was merged with the *Halkevi* (People's House), established in 1932, of which more will be mentioned below.[82] The Women's Union's abolished itself in 1935 due to political pressures. A political purge also took place at the *Darülfünun*, which was renamed Istanbul University.[83]

Significantly, the government moved to close the *Türk Ocağı* which was established in 1912 and had been close to the unionists, especially from the coup in 1913 to the end of World War I.[84] With the establishment of the republic in 1923, the *Türk Ocağı* had reorganized itself and

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77 Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 6. See, also, Azak, "A Reaction to Authoritarian Modernization," 152-153.

78 Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti,* 317-318.

79 Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey*, 181-182.

80 For further information, see Ibid.

81 For further information, see Ibid. Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti,* 307.

82 Öztürkmen, *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik*, 53-64.

83 For further information, see Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey*, 182.

84 Füsun Üstel states that the CUP took control of the *Türk Ocağı* after the coup in 1913. However, the influence of the CUP started to diminish in 1918. In the elections of that year, the CUP candidate, Ziya Gökalp, lost to Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, who supported an autonomous administration for the Hearths. See Füsun Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları (1912-1931)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 70-80.

attempted to gain the support of the new regime,[85] committing to support the modernizing reforms and the project of national sovereignty.[86] Even though the Kemalists had endorsed the Hearths, the new regime sought to closely control the organization and its cultural program,[87] starting at the end of the 1920s.

In the party congress in 1927, the fifth article of the party statute declared that "the strongest link between all citizens is the unity of language, emotion, and ideas."[88] This article committed the party to developing and disseminating a distinctive "Turkish language and Turkish culture."[89] An interesting debate emerged in the Congress on the terminology to be adopted in the article. Some endorsed the universally accepted word *kültür* (culture) instead of the traditional term *hars*, a word of Arabic-origin. A resolution was brought to the floor to this effect.[90] It seems that this was not a simple question of nomenclature but a sign of policy shift in this period.[91] From then until their closure in 1931,

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85 Latife Hanım was elected as honorary president and Celal Bayar became the accountant of the *Türk Ocağı* in 1925. Hamdullah Suphi, the president of the association, was the Minister of Education in this period. Ibid., 139-140; 159; 175.

86 Ibid., 139-140. During World War I, the Turkish Hearts adopted pan-Turanism in line with the policy of the CUP and also because of the traumatic effects of the Balkan Wars. From the end of World War I, although supporters of Turanism remained inside the *Türk Ocağı*, this policy was abandoned. In this way, the *Türk Ocağı* came closer to the ideology of the Kemalist regime. From the establishment of the republic, Mustafa Kemal was noticeably clear in his position of not adopting Turanism. Ibid., p 30; 72; 139.

87 According to Asım Karaömerlioğlu, the *Türk Ocağı* were considered to be a "political threat" for the ruling elite of the new republic. Asım Karaömerlioğlu, "The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies*, no. 4 (1998): 68.

88 *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Büyük Kongresi 1927* (Ankara: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Matbaası, 1927), 10. *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Nizamnamesi 1927* (Ankara: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Matbaas, 1927), 4.

89 *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Büyük Kongresi 1927*, 10. *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Nizamnamesi 1927*, 4.

90 *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Büyük Kongresi 1927*, 10. *Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası Nizamnamesi 1927*, 4. See, also, Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete,* 250-252.

91 This was also a sign of separation from *Türk Ocağı*. See Sefa Şimşek, *Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi Halkevleri (1932-1951)* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002), 36; 38.

the party increased its control within the *Türk Ocağı*.[92] In 1932, the RPP opened the *Halkevi* to replace the Hearths. These "houses of education and national culture"[93] were to cultivate a new nation in line with the republic's ideology and to disseminate Kemalist reforms.[94]

The Party Congress in 1931 was one of the most significant party congresses in the single-party period.[95] The six arrows (*Altı Ok*) or main principles of the party were laid down.[96] The RPP also offered a clear definition of the Turkish nation and included this definition in the party program. This definition was reaffirmed in the party program in 1935.[97] It defined the Turkish nation as a "political and social community consisting of citizens connected with the unity of language, culture, and ideals."[98] In this definition, the Turkish nation was accepted as a homogenous unity among all the people speaking Turkish and sharing the same culture and ideals.[99] Yılmaz Çolak draws attention to the centrality of culture in this definition and significantly underlines that in this definition, that culture "was something achieved" through the civilizing mission of the RPP with public education and training program through schools and the *Halkevi*.[100]

The common culture that the new republic desired to create was presented in the brochure titled "From Ottoman Empire… to Turkish

92 Üstel, *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete,* 226-227.

93 *CHP 25. Yılı* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1948), 25.

94 Karaömerlioğlu, "The People's Houses," 67-68. See, also, Şimşek, *Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi Halkevleri,* 62-64.

95 Mete Tunçay states that this congress was a turning point concerning the influence of the party in Turkish public life. Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti,* 317.

96 Zürcher, *A Modern Turkey*, 183. Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti,* 317-318; 321.

97 This definition was an extended version of the definition of Turkish nation presented at the 1927 congress. See *CHF Nizamnamesi ve Programı* (Ankara: TBMM Matbaası, 1931), 29-30. *CHP Programı* (Ankara: Ulus Basımevi, 1935), 1-6. Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 10.

98 *CHF Nizamnamesi ve Programı*, 30. *CHP Programı*, 3. See, also, Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 10.

99 See, also, Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 2-19.

100 Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 10.

Republic. How was it? How did it happen?" (*Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan… Türkiye Cumhuriyetine. Nasıldı? Nasıl Oldu?*). The RPP published this brochure on the 10th anniversary of the republic in 1933.[101] Throughout the brochure, the empire and the new republic were



Figure 4.1 The brochure depicting women as active participants in society in the new republic. SOURCE: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan… Türkiye Cumhuriyetine. Nasıldı? Nasıl Oldu?* (1933).

compared in dichotomies of new and old. The old society was presented as "backward," "undeveloped," "dependent," and "stagnant" under the Sultanate, where authority only passed from father to son, and the legitimacy of sultans did not depend on the will of the people.[102] In

101 Donald Everett Webster reported that the brochure—which he referred to as a "propaganda text" —was written by Vedat Nedim (Tör) and Burhan Asaf (Belge) for the Ministry of Education. He noted how the brochure set an example for other anniversary publications. Therefore, it seems that the republic published this kind of document at every anniversary. Webster reports that thousands of copies were published and circulated all around Turkey. Donald Everett Webster, *Turkey of Atatürk: Social Process in the Turkish Reformation* (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1939). Quoted in Çolak, "Nationalism and the State in Turkey," 10-11.

102 *Osmanlı İmparatorluğundan… Türkiye Cumhuriyetine. Nasıldı? Nasıl Oldu?* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933), 2-48.

contrast, the new regime was presented as "progressive," "developed," "independent," and "dynamic."

According to the brochure, the new regime depended on the people, and Atatürk was presented as "a child of the community, which he had come from and which he worked for."[103] Another difference was that in the old order, the right to rule was restricted to a small few in the court with privileges at birth, whereas in the republic, "every Turkish child can aspire to become president."[104]

Another topic of comparison was women's position in society. The brochure stated that women's place was restricted to the home in the empire and that they were accorded "a physiological role" in society and thus left to be ignorant.[105] The brochure cast the "woman [as] our friend in life and work"[106] and argued that women's rights and social position were better supported in Turkey than was the case even in Europe.[107] This underscored the regime's goal to portray Turkey as a secular and modern country where women were equal to men, as was the case in the contemporary European countries.

In sum, the new regime was neither anti-modernist nor reactionary toward Western norms. On the contrary, it distanced itself from its Ottoman past and Islam and turned its face toward the West. It did not aim to preserve traditional norms in culture but to replace them with

103 Ibid., 5.

104 Ibid., 9.

105 Ibid., 38.

106 Ibid., 39.

107 Interestingly, the reform process in the Ottoman Empire was criticized as a process of "imitation" and "admiration of the West." According to the brochure, the aim of the new republic was to realize the advanced methods of the period and create its own civilization. Commenting on this aspect, the brochure noted "there is no example to imitate or some institutions to export. There were methods that would be accepted after having comprehended and then would be applied according to our needs and obligations." This brochure was prepared by members of the Kadro Movement and reflected their views on the modernization process. Ibid., 23; 30-31; 39. For an analysis on the approach of Kadro movement towards Westernization and modernization, see İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, "Türkiye'de Bir Aydın Hareketi: Kadro," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 24 (1984): 479- 482.

Western ones. Adopting Western clothes was one of the significant aspects of this radical program and served the new republic's desire to look modern and secular. Below, I will analyze the Hat Law and the subsequent clothing regulations to better comprehend the characteristics of the modernization project in the single-party period.

§ 4.4 The Hat Law and Clothing Regulations in the Early Republican Period

Known to be a strict follower of fashion, Mustafa Kemal was already aware of the congruence between clothing and the nation's identity in this period. Given the public visibility of styles of clothing and attire, it is arguably natural that Mustafa Kemal and the RPP focused closely on regulating fashion in the early republican period.

In 1925, Atatürk went to Kastamonu to introduce the Western hat to the people and stayed there for a couple of days visiting various districts and places. One of his speeches was to the people gathered in front of the municipality offices, where he stated that international attire was cheaper and simple while the domestic one was expensive. He also stated that the consumption of fez was an economic burden for the country because the money paid for a fez went to foreign countries. He ended his speech with this statement: "We will be civilized. We will be proud of it… We have to go forward."[108] A few days later, in one of his famous speeches at the *Türk Ocağı* in İnebolu, Mustafa Kemal stated that the contemporary attire in Turkey was "neither national nor international." His desire was not to revive traditional costumes. He indicated that there was no need to look for a Turan style of dressing in history nor to revive it.[109]

On the contrary, he said that "a civilized and international dress is essential for us [and] a worthy dress for our nation. We will wear it — shoes (*iskarpin*) or boots (*fotin*) on the feet, trousers to cover the legs, plus vests, shirts, ties, and collars (*yakalık*), and a jacket. Complementing this attire is headgear with a brim protecting the wearer from the sun

108 *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I-III* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1997), 216.

109 Ibid, 220

(*siper-i şemsli serpuş*). I want to say this openly. This headgear is called a hat (*şapka*). Like redingote, cutaway (*bonjur*), tuxedo, white tie (frak)…"[110] He also asked why wearing "the Greek headgear fez" or "robe (*cübbe*), a special costume of Byzantium priests and Jewish rabbis" was seen as convenient but not a hat.[111]

During his visit to Kastamonu, he also made another famous speech in which he announced the government's intention to introduce a series of reforms to secularize the state. He said that the "Turkish Republic cannot be a country of sheiks, dervishes, disciples, and followers. The best, the truest order is the order of civilization."[112] In this speech, he also raised the issue of the *peçe* and encouraged its abandonment as a necessity of modern life.[113]

After the Anatolian tour finished, the council of ministers gathered under Mustafa Kemal and accepted three legal decisions (*kararname*) on 2 September 1925.[114] The first legal decision abolished dervish lodges, zawiyas, and shrines.[115] Further, the Law on the Obstruction of Dervish Lodges and Shrines and the Abolition of the Position of Caretakers of Shrines and Certain Titles (*Tekke ve Zaviyelerle Türbelerin Seddine ve*

110 Ibid, 220-221.

111 Ibid, 221.

112 Ibid, 225.

113 In a speech in Kastamonu on 30 August 1925, Atatürk stated: "In some places I have seen women who put a piece of cloth or a towel or something like it over their heads to hide their faces, and who turn their backs or huddle on the ground when a man passes by. What is the meaning and sense in such behavior? Gentlemen, can the mothers and daughters of a civilized nation adopt this strange manner, this barbarous posture? It is a spectacle that makes the nation an object of ridicule. It must be remedied at once." The translation is based on that of Bernard Lewis. See Ibid, 227. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 283.

114 The legal decisions were the Legal Decision on Dervish Lodges and Zawiyas (smaller dervish lodge) (*Tekkeler ve Zaviyeler Hakkında Kararname)*, Legal Decision on Religious Class and Religious Dress (*İlmiye Sınıfı ve İlmiye Kisvesi Hakkında Kararname*), Legal Decision on the Clothes of all State Officials (*Bilumum Devlet Memurlarının Kıyafetleri Hakkında Kararname*). See BCA 051.4.28.4, 8 September 1925.

115 This was the first legal regulation related to the abolition of dervish lodges, zawiyas and shrines.

Türbedarlıklar ile Bir Takım Unvanların Men ve İlgasına Dair Kanun) was enacted on 30 November 1925.[116] This law furthermore included penal sanctions for anyone who departed from the law.

The other two regulations concerned official attire. The Legal Decision on the Religious Class and Religious Attire (*İlmiye Sınıfı ve İlmiye Kisvesi Hakkında Kararname*) and the Legal Decision on the Attire of all State Officials (*Bilumum Devlet Memurlarının Kıyafetleri Hakkında Kararname*) regulated the dress code of public officials and religious agents. The first restricted the wearing of religious garments only to those legally classified as religious officers or agents (*ilmiye*). The latter legal decision stated that apart from certain state officers (including military employees and judges, who were granted specific professional uniforms by the state), all other state officials were required to dress in "the same as the common and general attire of all other civilized nations in the world."[117] The legal decision also required all state employees to go bareheaded in their workplaces and in public ceremonies.[118] This legal decision formed the basis for the headscarf ban in public places, especially from the 1980s.[119]

As foreshadowed, one crucial regulation on public attire was the Law on the Wearing of the Hat (*Şapka İktisası Hakkında Kanun*) or "Hat Law," which was enacted just after the secularization laws, on 25 November 1925. With this law, the ruling elite made hat-wearing obligatory to everyone in all workplaces while forbidding the traditional headgear, such as fez and kalpak, which had been public symbols of Islamic adherence in the Ottoman Empire.[120] The law declared that "members of

116 *Resmi Gazete*, law no: 677, 13 December 1925.

117 BCA 051.4.28.4, 8 September 1925.

118 *Resmi Gazete*, 9 August 1925. See, also, *Resmi Gazete*, 15 September 1925.

119 The law remained in force for a very long time. The headscarf ban was lifted in 2013, allowing women officials to wear the headscarf in state offices. See *Resmi Gazete*, 8 October 2013. For police officers, soldiers, prosecutors and judges, the headscarf ban was lifted in 2016. See *Resmi Gazete*, 27 August 2016.

120 Both the fez and the kalpak were brimless and thus Muslims could (and did) keep them on during prayers. For this reason, both items were always associated with Islam. On the other hand, Western hats had brims. As brims inhibit ritual supplication during

Turkish Grand National Assembly, and civil officers and workers employed in public, special and local administrations, and all institutions are obliged to wear the hat that the Turkish nation has been wearing."[121] The statute explicitly forbade "continuation of any act contrary" to the law.[122]

Additionally, in stating explicitly that "the hat is the common headwear of the people of Turkey,"[123] the statute brought a piece of Western clothing into Turkish culture and established a national standard in headwear for the whole country. The Hat Law demonstrates the non-conservative nature of the regime's approach to clothing reform and how it equalized culture and civilization to abandon any element belonging to Islam and the Ottoman past in Turkish identity.[124]

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prayers, hat wearers were considered *gâvur* (*infidel*). For further information, see John Norton, "Faith and Fashion in Turkey," in *Languages of Dress in the Middle East*, eds. Nancy Lindisfarne-Tapper and Bruce Ingham (Richmond and Surrey: Curzon, 1997), 158. See, also, Murat Metinsoy, "Everyday Resistance and Selective Adaptation to the Hat Reform in Early Republican Turkey," *International Journal of Turcologia*, no. 16 (Autumn 2013): 13.

121 *Resmi Gazete*, 28 November 1925.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid.

124 Another law issued to eliminate Islamic appearance in the public sphere was the Law on the Prohibition of Wearing Certain Garments (*Bazı Kisvelerin Giyilemeyeceğine Dair Kanun*), which was adopted on 3 December 1934. This law authorized the government to control clothes, symbols and apparatuses of any institution and foreign visitors in the country. It banned the wearing of religious garments outside of religious ceremonies. Interestingly remaining in force, the law has been at the center of criticisms specifically from the 2000s regarding the freedom of religion in Turkey. This law together with the Legal Decision on the Clothes of all State Officials formed the basis of head-scarf ban in public places in Turkey. Another significance of this law is that this law explicitly banned wearing of any clothes and accessories related to a foreign country's political, military or militia organization. The law also stated that clothes, symbols and apparatuses specific to any association, community and club such as for scouting and sport had to be appropriate with the regulations. It seems that the new republic desired to prevent the emergence of any shirts movements such as the brownshirts and blackshirts, the two far-right militias in Germany and Italy. The law further authorized the council of ministers in giving permissions related to the clothes, symbols and apparatuses of the

The law was well suited to creating a modern and secular nation in front of the European public eye, disclaiming any symbolic images belonging to the Ottoman and Islamic past. Concerning this aim, Murat Metinsoy states that one of the new regime's further aims was to differentiate itself from the post-Ottoman states in the Balkan, North African, and Arabian regions where fez continued to be worn.[125] It was evident that the desire to create a modern-looking society was the leitmotiv of the law.

Furthermore, the republic aimed to establish a common national identity by determining a uniformity in clothing, which was one significant visual aspect of the national identity coming to the forefront. In this sense, the application of the Hat Law was considered to be necessary, specifically in the eastern parts of the country. Recent studies unearth that many reports coming from the local officials emphasized the role of clothing in forming the nation in the single party period.[126]

Attempts to establish Western-style headgear was already in the agenda of the RPP from 1924 onwards. For example, a gradual transformation of the headgear of judges, police,[127] army,[128] and even the members of the *Darülfünun* was underway before the Hat Law was introduced.[129]

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members of foreign institutions who came to Turkey. See *Resmi Gazete*, 13 December 1934.

125 Metinsoy, "Everyday Resistance and Selective Adaptation," 11.

126 Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish,* 29-32. See, also, BCA 030.10.78.518.7, 13 March 1926.

127 "Polislerimizin Serpuşları," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 September 1925, 4. "Polis Şapkaları," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 September 1925, 1.

128 According to the newspaper, the clothing needs of the army were met in a "healthy and aesthetic" way. The new headgear of the army was an altered version of the English headgear. "Yeni Askeri Serpuşlarımız Hem Bedii, Hem Sıhhidir," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 July 1925, 1.

129 For example, wearing cap (*bere*), on which the identification mark of faculties would be located, became obligatory for girl students in *Darülfünun*. Furthermore, some of the students in high schools started to wear hats that they made. "Şapka Hanımlar Arasında da Süratle Tamim Ediyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 October 1925, 1. "Darülfünunluların Yeni Serpuşu Tesbit Edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 September 1925, 1.

The first hat wearers were, not surprisingly, local governors, party members, and leaders of the RPP.[130] By September, Atatürk, İsmet İnönü, deputies in the parliament and civil officers had already started to wear Western-style hats.[131] The print media published encouraging news, stating that the number of people wearing the hat was increasing in Istanbul and many other cities such as Bursa, Konya, Edirne, Adana, and Diyarbakır before the Hat Law was enacted.[132] According to the print media, hat-wearing was accepted and disseminated everywhere in a short period of time. For example, *Cumhuriyet* published a report of an inspector who claimed that hat-wearing had disseminated in local provinces in a very short period of time.[133]

Once the Hat Law was implemented —and despite encouraging news in daily newspapers—not everyone complied with the rule. The newspapers also reported some cases of defiance of the law, especially during the 1930s, when the rule was strictly enforced. Many reports noted that offenders had been punished with fines or even imprisonment during this period.[134] The government used Independence Tribunals to suppress any resistance.[135] Atatürk himself stated, "it is certainly true

130 For example, news was published on the situation in Ardahan and claimed that the governor being in the first place, all officers wore hat while abandoning turban before the law. See, for example, Behcet, "Ardahan'da Şapka," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 October 1925, 2.

131 "Şapka Süratle Tamim Ediyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 September 1925, 1.

132 See, for example, "Serpuş Meselesi Kendiliğinden Hal ediliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 June 1924, 1. See, also, "Memleketin Her Tarafında Şapka Tamim Ediyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 September 1925, 1. "Edirne'de Bütün Erkan-ı Vilayet Şapka Giydi," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 September 1925, 1. "Şapkanın Tamimi," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 October 1925, 1. "Diyarbakır'da Şapkanın Tamimi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 October 1925, 2.

133 See, for example, "Trakya'da Halk Fırkası Teşkilatı ve Şapka," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 September 1925, 1-2.

134 According to one of the news, the municipal police grabbed 15 people who opposed to the Hat Law and sent them to the court of peace in December 1936. The newspaper also informed that the ones who opposed to the law would be sentenced to three months in jail in addition to a penalty fine. See some of the news: "Şapka kanununa muhalif serpuş giyen beş Aliler," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 January 1936, 2. "Şapka kanununa muhalif hareket edenler," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 December 1936, 8.

135 Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti*, 155-164.

that the existence of the law made it easier" to implement the new standard.[136] It is not possible to know to what extent people complied with the law and wore Western-style hats. However, it was evident that people's reaction toward the Hat Law was not limited to adoption and rejection. Not surprisingly, some people immediately adopted while some people openly revolted against the law. One of the significant contributions of the new studies on this law is to show various everyday forms of resistance against the law.[137]

With the acceptance of the Hat Law in 1925, the new republic declared that it would not adopt national clothes. On the contrary, it adopted Western fashion instead, turning its back to its past and traditional culture. For the new republic, adopting the Western-style hat had a significant symbolic role in showing Europe that Turkey was a modern and secular country different from the Ottoman Empire. Specifically, women's clothing was much more significant in the image of Turkey in the interwar period. The ruling elite desired to modernize women's outer clothes and foster abandonment of *çarşaf* and *peçe*.

§ 4.5 Regulations on Women's Clothing

Regarding the application of the Hat Law, news on women's hat-wearing appeared almost every day in the newspapers, although the law did not regulate women's clothing directly. For example, in September 1925, *Cumhuriyet* reported four women had abandoned *çarşaf* and started to wear hats in Adana.[138] Another news report claimed that all women teachers and girl students from art schools wore hats during the Republic Day in Bolu in 1925,[139] and that women teachers of the girls' school in

136 The translation belongs to Bernard Lewis. See Lewis, Emergence of Modern Turkey, 270.

137 See Metinsoy, "Everyday Resistance and Selective Adaptation," 7-48. See, also, Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish,* 22- 77.

138 "Adana Hanımları Şapka Giydiler," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 September 1925, 1.

139 "Bolu'da Şapkalı Hanımlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 November 1925, 1.

Çorum had worn hats.[140] *Cumhuriyet* even asserted that the hat-wearing of the ruling elite had increased the demand for "modern headgear" among women, announcing that special headgear would be adopted in girls' teacher schools.[141]

Women were encouraged to wear European clothes after the law's proclamation, but the regime did not specifically issue a national law or regulation to determine and control women's clothing.[142] The absence of such legislation has resulted in the mistaken conclusion that the regime did not regulate women's clothing at all.[143]

Only a few studies have touched upon the bans on *çarşaf* and *peçe* in the interwar period and then only in a limited way.[144] Recently, studies further reveal how the new republic intervened in women's clothing, the role of local administrations, and the elites in the anti-veiling campaigns that took place intensely in the mid-1930s. These studies draw attention to the complexity of reforming the veil, which involved people, the elites, local administrations, and Ankara.[145]

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140 "Aferin, Çorum'un Münevver Hanımlarına!," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 December 1925, 1.

141 "Şapka Süratle Tamim Ediyor," 1.

142 Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 12.

143 See Ibid., 13-14.

144 See Mesut Çapa, "Giyim Kuşamda Medeni Kıyafetlerin Benimsenmesi ve Trabzon Örneği," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 30 (June 1996): 22-28; Hakkı Uyar, "Çarşaf, Peçe ve Kafes Üzerine Bazı Notlar," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 33 (September 1996): 6-11; Kemal Yakut, "Tek Parti Döneminde Peçe ve Çarşaf," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 220 (April 2002): 23-32. Sadık Sarısaman, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Kadın Kıyafeti Meselesi," *Atatürk Yolu*, no. 21 (May 1998): 97-106 Bernard Lewis was among the first to mention the ban on the veil accepted in local municipalities. See Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 271. Feminist literature discussed women's symbolic role for the modernization process in the early republican period but did not pay attention to one of the most significant symbolic materials, clothing. A limited number of studies have mentioned bans on *çarşaf* and *peçe*. For example, see Tekeli, "The Rise and Change of the New Women's Movement," 184. See, also, Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 13-15.

145 See Sevgi Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns and Local Elites in Turkey of the 1930s," in *Anti-Veiling Campaigns in the Muslim World: Gender, Modernism and the Politics of Dress,* eds. Stephanie Cronin (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 59-85. Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish*. Murat Metinsoy, "Everyday Resistance to Unveiling and Flexible Secularism in Early Republican Turkey," in *Anti-Veiling Campaigns in the Muslim World: Gender,*

The first regulations the government did introduce concerned the garments worn by women teachers in the schools. The circular sent to the school from the Ministry of Education in January 1925 stated that women teachers must not cover their faces with *peçe*.[146]

The republican regime even took a step to control women teachers and girls' make-up and attire in schools. The Ministry of Education issued another circular at the beginning of August 1925. The circular, signed by Hamdullah Suphi, the Minister of Education, stated that most women teachers dressed with "noble frugality and solemnity," thus respecting their profession. Simultaneously, a small minority of them had used excessive make-up and embellished their clothing. The circular forbade women teachers from putting on make-up, wearing silk, and excessive embellishment of clothes and accessories. The principles of "frugality and solemnity" were also valid for female students in schools—the circular explained the goal was to forbid anything that might allow the students' socioeconomic differences to be expressed. Inspectors, education managers, and school managers were instructed to police any conduct incompatible with the principles. The teachers who acted in contravention of the circular would be dismissed.[147] This circular received approval from the elites who favored the abandonment of any kind of cosmetics and adornment in girls' schools.[148]

Modernism and the Politics of Dress, eds. Stephanie Cronin (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 86-117.

146 The circular also stated that student's notebook covers could not include photographs of the dynasty. "Muallim hanımların peçeleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 January 1925, 3.

147 See "Muallim Hanımların Kıyafetleri," *Akşam*, 5 August 1925, 3; "Muallimlerimizin Şiarı," *Vakit*, 3 August 1925, 1; "Maarif Vekâlet'inin bir Tamimi," *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, 2 August 1925, 2.

148 For example, Fevziye Abdürreşit, the owner and responsible manager of *Asar-ı Nisvan*, one of the prominent women's periodicals in the mid-1920s, saw this circular as a serious warning to those women who were keen on showing off in public. Abdürreşit noted that none of the girls' schools in Europe or other places of the world were like fashion houses or saloons as was the case in Turkey, lauding the ministry's attempts as a national service. Connecting the issue of women's apparent fashion addiction to the process of modernization, the author stated that this circular now meant the long period in which the country had been seen as a Western imitation was over and that a serious

One significant regulation was made with the circular sent to all kinds of schools related to girl and boy students' wearing of hat and attire in schools on 10 October 1925.[149] In the circular, pieces and qualities of the accepted form of clothing for boy students in primary and secondary schools were presented. Women teachers were free in choosing headgear on the condition that their headgears would be following the principles of "frugality, solemnity, elegance" incompatible with the circular issued in August 1925. Girl and boy students in all degrees, along with male teachers, could be bareheaded in the classroom, and women teachers were free to decide whether to cover their heads or not.[150]

However, this was seen as insufficient. After enacting the Hat Law, the government sought to make wearing Western hats obligatory for women teachers in schools. In 1925, the Ministry of Education sent a general instruction declaring that Turkish teachers in all public and private schools had to wear a hat; and that women teachers in formal schools started to wear hats.[151]

Unsatisfied with the application of the Hat Law, the Minister of Education, Mustafa Necati, complained that leaving the choice of headgear to women teachers resulted in a multitude of different colored shapes and kinds of attire in various parts of the country in 1928. Mustafa Necati appreciated the ministry's attempt to standardize women teachers' choice of headgear in 1925 and noted the failure in estimating the variety being worn at that time. Seeing no reason to differentiate women from men in the application of "general norms and stabilized habits," Necati brought the issue forward and stated the desire of the ministry to standardize the headgear of women teachers in terms of the norms of civilization and purity, "much as has happened in other fields in

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period of reforms in the country had begun. Her recommendations were to remove adornment and fashion from the schools, encourage young women pursue beauty in line with science and morality, and be thrifty and self-sacrificing. Fevziye Abdürreşit, "Büyük Adım," *Asar-ı Nisvan*, no. 13, 15 Eylül 1341 (15 September 1925): 1-2.

149 See BCA 180.9.1.6.9, 12 November 1928.

150 Ibid.

151 "Muallimler ve Şapka," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 October 1925, 2.

the country." The decision was that women teachers had to transform their headwear to hats by the end of November 1928.[152]

Related to the regulations on women's clothing in everyday life, a consensus in the literature is that rather than issue a law, the government discouraged women from wearing *peçe* and *çarşaf* via propaganda in the press and public speeches. Women in cities were much more open to the change (i.e., unveiling), which then gradually disseminated through the country.[153]

Sevgi Adak underscores the fact that the Kemalist regime did not openly target women's veiling. The regime did not ban the use of *peçe* and *çarşaf* directly. Instead, anti-veiling campaigns took place through to the mid-1930s at the local level, and the regime authorized local governors to ban *çarşaf* and *peçe*.[154] The first anti-veiling campaigns took place in the mid-1920s.[155] However, most local municipalities decided to ban *peçe* and *çarşaf* starting from the mid-1930s in the city councils, which received widespread news coverage. The first ban during the 1930s was in Safranbolu in 1933,[156] long before the issue was brought onto the agenda of the fourth party congress in 1935. The anti-veiling campaigns

152 BCA 180.9.1.6.9, 12 November 1928.

153 See some of the new studies, including Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 85-86. Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish,* 78-138. Metinsoy, "Everyday Resistance to Unveiling," 86-117.

154 Some of the bans were issued by provincial councils but others by city councils. Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 84. See Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns," 62.

155 For example, the members of Trabzon *Türk Ocağı* decided to ban *peçes* and *çarşafs* in October 1925. The city council of Eskişehir banned *peçe* and *peştamal* in 1926. The provincial councils (*Vilayet Genel Meclisi*) banned *peçe* in Trabzon, Muğla and Rize in 1927. The provincial council banned *peçe*, *çarşaf* and *peştemal* in Aydın in 1927. Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 47-59. See Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns," 60. See, also, Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish,* 88-90. See the document sent from Aydın governor to Prime Minister İsmet İnönü in 1927, BCA 030.10.53.346.6, 47, 3 February 1927.

156 "Safranboluda çarşaf menedildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 August 1933, 5. Sevgi Adak states that this was the first attempt that she could trace as a *çarşaf* ban in the 1930s. Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns," 62.

took place intensely between 1934 and 1936. Most of them took place in 1935.[157]

Adak states that the regime did not undertake a systematic intervention concerning women's attire,[158] but the anti-veiling campaigns enabled a negotiation process between the local people, local

157 See the news in *Cumhuriyet* related to *çarşaf* and *peçe* bans, "Bursada artık çarşaf giymeyecekler," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 October 1933, 5. "Bodrumda çarşaf giymek yasak," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 December 1934, 3. "Çankırıda çarşaf kalkıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 December 1934, 3. "Çankırı kadınları da peçe ve çarşaftan kurtuldular," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 January 1935, 6. "Muğla Belediyesinin güzel kararları," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 April 1935, 7. "İnegölde çarşaf giymek yasak edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 April 1935, 10. "Songurluda peçe ve çarşaflar kalktı," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 July 1935, 3. "Konyada çarşaf kalkıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 August 1935, 9. "Göynükte çarşaf, peçe yasak!," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 August 1935, 7. "Afyon kadınları çarşafı attılar," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 August 1935, 3. "Ispartada çarşaf yasak edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 August 1935, 3. "Sivasta çarşaf ve peçe yasağı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 August 1935, 4. "Gönende çarşaflar ve peçeler kalkıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 August 1935, 2. "Elâzizde çarşaf ve peçe yasak edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 September 1935, 4. "Karasuda çarşaf yasak edildi," Cumhuriyet, 13 September 1935, 6. "Adıyamanda peçe, çarşaf kalktı," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 November 1935, 3. "Maraşta peçe kalkıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 November 1935, 3. "Bayburtta da peçe ve çarşaflar kalktı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 November 1935, 2. "Kiliste peçe ve çarşaf kaldırıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 January 1936, 2. "Amasyada çarşaflar kalkıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 February 1936, 3. For the list of cities where *peçe* and *çarşaf* were banned, see Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 269-277. See, also, Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns," 79. The Police Directorate (*Emniyet Müdürlüğü*) prepared a special issue for the 75th anniversary of the republic in 1997. This issue consists of selected archival sources and includes examples of *peçe* and *çarşaf* bans in the single party period. This special issue was prepared in the political atmosphere after the February 1997 military intervention. It provides some interesting cases from the archive but is currently closed. See *Cumhuriyetin 75. Yıldönümünde Polis Arşiv Belgeleriyle Gerçekler 150'lilikler, Kubilay Olayı, Çarşaf-Peçe-Peştemalla Örtünme Sorunu* (Ankara: İçişleri Bakanlığı Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü Araştırma Planlama ve Koordinasyon Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1998), 89-96.

158 Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 155-158. Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns," 59.

governors, and Ankara.[159] According to Adak, this process allowed women to be involved as agents in the anti-veiling campaigns.[160]

The RPP brought the issue of unveiling to the fore in the fourth congress of the party in 1935. In this congress, the Wish Commission (*Dilek Komisyonu*)[161] evaluated a petition coming from Muğla and Sivas asking for advice on how to eliminate the remaining *çarşaf* and *peçe* in Turkey.[162] The commission stated that "two-thirds of Turkey is made up of peasants in villages. No chador and face veiling exists there. The majority of the remaining third eluded this tradition."[163] The commission stated that remaining *çarşaf* and *peçe* were disappearing without any legal regulation, asking if there was a necessity to take a precaution in this issue.[164]

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159 Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery". Sevgi Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns," 59-77. Metinsoy takes attention to the complexity of the unveiling reform in the interwar period in Turkey by pointing out everyday responses towards the anti-veiling campaigns. According to Metinsoy, despite to unveiling reform, people continued to wear their usual clothes in most of the country, except the big cities. Interestingly, most women changed their veiling to an eclectic form, combining veiling with modern clothes. Metinsoy, "Everyday Resistance to Unveiling," 86-117.

160 Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 177. Adak states that many women who abandoned *çarşaf* and *peçe*, faced verbal and physical harassment. Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns," 66-67. See, also, Sevgi Adak, "Women in the Post-Ottoman Public Sphere Anti-Veiling Campaigns and the Gendered Reshaping of Urban in Early Republican Turkey," in *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective to Ottoman Urban History,* eds. Nazan Maksudyan (London and New York: Berghahn, 2014), 36-67.

161 Local party branches of RPP received several petitions which were taken into consideration in the General Congresses where a Wish Commission (*Dilek Komisyonu*) was employed to evaluate the wishes. These wishes were prepared to be as "wish lists" and presented to the General Secretariat of the party. The General Secretariat assigned the wishes to the "Wish Commission" which was selected in General Congresses and the commission evaluated the wishes with the participation of the deputies and the general directorates. See *CHP Dördüncü Büyük Kurultayı Dilek Komisyonu Raporu* (Ankara: 15.05.1935), 3-7.

162 Ibid, 25.

163 Ibid.

164 Ibid.

Two approaches were stressed here. One was that decisions on the *çarşaf* and *peçe* could be left to "the taste of women" or the "socializing mentality of husbands and fathers."[165] *Çarşaf* and *peçe* would likely disappear in time on their own. The other was to issue a regulation to establish acceptable attire standards and ban *çarşaf* and *peçe*.[166] Some of the committee members supported the second approach.[167] However, the majority of the commission rejected the option of pursuing a legal regulation.[168] This decision of the commission was accepted in the congress despite a few objections.[169] Related to the regime's wish to avoid policing social policy with force, Metinsoy states that Turkish secularizing policies differed from the contemporary Iranian regime's policies—namely, between "flexible and moderate authoritarianism" in Turkey and the "extremely interventionist and repressive" regime in Iran.[170]

The gradual disappearance of *çarşaf* and *peçe* under Western fashion's influence through the last decades of the Ottoman Empire aroused many conservative reactions. Until the Hat Law in 1925, elites of the period —and specifically those in the women's movement — undertook campaigns to stop the abandonment of *çarşaf*. The women's movement further promoted domestic fashion and aimed to preserve national norms in attire. The aim was to use domestic materials in the production of dress and cultivate Muslim Turkish women as tailors. Some of the women's associations also aimed to modernize traditional handicrafts and revive Turkic norms in clothing. However, the new republic kept a distance from all attempts to revive traditional clothing elements and radically adopted Western fashion. Therefore, attempts to establish "minimal national uniforms" or revive the old embroidery

165 Ibid.

166 Ibid.

167 Ibid.

168 Ibid.

169 *CHP Dördüncü Büyük Kurultayı Görüşmeleri Tutulgası*, 09.05.1935, Ankara, 144-155; 159.

170 Metinsoy, "Everyday Resistance to Unveiling," 110. See, also, Adak, "Kemalism in the Periphery," 112-124. See Adak, "Anti-veiling Campaigns". Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish,* 78-138.

remained, for the most part, unsupported in the interwar period in Turkey. Significantly, republican policy started to change from the mid-1930s. This change did not mean the abandonment of Western attire but rather an increasing emphasis in the cultural realm by the republican government on the country's Turkic roots.

§ 4.6 A Change in Policy: Revival of Traditional Handicrafts

One of the first signs of a policy change was in 1935 when the name of the Ministry of Education was changed into the Culture Directorate-Ministry of Culture (*Kültür Direktörlüğü-Kültür Bakanlığı*).[171] The change in the name of the ministry was significant, reflecting a change in the cultural policy of the early republican period. The change was also a sign that the Kemalist regime was going to pay more attention to creating a national culture from the second half of the 1930s, in which education would be a primary area. The Ministry of Culture was occupied with education, including vocational education and also art, architecture, and museums.[172] In this shift, the Kemalist regime underscored the value of women's vocational education by opening more girls' institutes and

171 The Ministry of Education (*Maarif Vekâleti*) was established in 1920 during the War of Independence and moved to Ankara in 1923. The name of the ministry changed many times. Between 1923 and 1935, it was *Maarif Vekâleti* (Ministry of Education). In 1935, it changed to *Kültür Bakanlığı* (Ministry of Culture) with some amendments and additions to the law on the organization and duties of the ministry. *Maarif* is an Arabic-origin word. On the other hand, *kültür* is a French-origin word and this word was preferred in line with the simplification policy in language in the mid-1930s. The Arabic-origin word, *maarif* was later reused for some period in the name of the ministry. The most common word used in the name of the ministry was *eğitim*, a Turkic-origin word. The name of the ministry was *Maarif Vekilliği* between 1941 and 1946; *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı* (Ministry of National Education) between 1946 and 1950; *Maarif Vekâleti* between 1950 and 1960; *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı* between 1960 and 1983; *Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı* (Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sport) between 1983 and 1989; and finally *Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı* from 1989 to today. See *Resmi Gazete*, 22 June 1933, law no 2287. *Resmi Gazete*, 15 June 1935, law no 2773. *Resmi Gazete*, 25 September 1941, law no 4113. The webpage of the ministry: T.C Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, "Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının Kısa Tarihçesi" https://www.meb.gov.tr/milli-egitim-bakanliginin-kisa-tarihcesi/duyuru/8852

172 See *Resmi Gazete*, 22 June 1933, law no 2287. *Resmi Gazete*, 15 June 1935, law no 2773. *Resmi Gazete*, 25 September 1941, law no 4113.

evening art schools to educate women as tailors, which was considered the proper public job for women. In this increasing emphasis on culture, women came to the forefront as producers of the national culture.

From the mid-1930s, the new republic also started to emphasize traditional norms in culture. The traces of a policy shift are visible in the gradual increase in interest in traditional handicrafts and national clothes from the mid-1930s. The new republic desired to revive the obsolescent handicrafts of Turkish women and opened an exhibition in 1936 in Ankara.[173] Another example of the changing policy was that the girls' institutes started to create clothes with traditional designs or modernized traditional embroideries from the mid-1930s.[174] The government also took steps to preserve traditional clothes. For example, the government decided to open a museum for clothes for the first time in 1938 in Ankara. The general directorate of art and technical education under the Ministry of Culture wrote to the second general inspectorship in Edirne. The ministry, thinking to open a museum in Ankara, asked for the help of the art school in the city in collecting historical Turkish women's clothes along with embroidery and handicraft from cities, towns, and villages" and to find new decoration principals compatible to the tastes of that time.[175]

At the same time, this policy shift occurred with the government's increasing attention to the villages from the mid-1930s.[176] Asım Karaömerlioğlu states that peasantism strongly came to the forefront in this period with the attempts of land reform and village institutes.[177] Significantly, the government also started to pay attention to the clothes of peasants from this period onwards. The first attempt was to produce "national style printed cloth (*basma*)" in Sümerbank's factory in Nazilli in 1935.[178] No further information exists on the amount of production.

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173 For further information, see chapter 8 in this dissertation.

174 For further information, see chapter 5 in this dissertation.

175 BCA 180.9.31.168.19, 20 April 1938.

176 Karaömerlioğlu, "The People's Houses," 81; 83. See, also, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem* (İstanbul:İletişim Yayınları, 2006).

177 Karaömerlioğlu, *Orada Bir Köy Var Uzakta,* 81.

178 Fuad Duyar, "Nazilli fabrikası millî tip basma yapacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 August 1935, 7.

However, it seems that the government accelerated production, especially in 1939, just before the outbreak of World War II. It is also understood that İsmet İnönü was closely interested in this policy. The emphasis on peasants' clothes increased, especially after İnönü's visit to Kastamonu and his speech on the significance of the people's clothing in 1939.[179] This recalls Atatürk's visit to Kastamonu in 1925 before a radical change took place in clothing regulations with the Hat Law. It is possible that İnönü wanted a policy to determine a standard in peasant attire, but the war conditions made it possible.

In May 1939, *Akşam* reported that "several national costumes would be determined" and that Sümerbank would produce new peasant garments according to them.[180] An author in *Akşam* analyzed the initial samples and criticized them for looking like the clothes worn by urban dwellers. Instead, the author suggested reviving local attire.[181] No further information exists on the clothes' form, and it is not possible to know how the regime preserved national norms in clothes. Here, the main aim of the regime seems to have been to provide cheap apparel for peasants.[182] Before the war, the government also decided to distribute hand looms to the peasants who earned their livings by weaving clothes. This policy probably changed with the outbreak of the war. *Cumhuriyet* announced that the government would provide hand looms for all peasants to sew their clothes and open courses to teach people how to use the looms during World War II.[183] This policy aimed to provide villagers' basic necessities during the war. However, no further information exists about whether this policy was implemented during the war.

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179 Y.Ç. "Sekiz liraya tepeden tırnağa giyinmek kabil olarak," *Akşam*, 27 May 1939, 8.

180 "Ucuz elbise," *Akşam*, 25 May 1939, 3.

181 Y.Ç. "Sekiz liraya tepeden tırnağa," 8.

182 "Köylü elbisesinin yeni çeşidleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 May 1939, 2. "İktisad Vekili dün mühim tetkikler yaptı," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 June 1939, 1-3. "Köylü elbiseleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 June 1939, 2. "Köylü için tip elbise," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 March 1939, 7. "Köylü elbisesi," *Akşam*, 7 June 1939, 3.

183 "Köylüye el tezgâhları dağıtılıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 January 1941, 3. See, also, "Köy dokuma tezgâhlarına fazla iplik verilecek," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 September 1941, 3. "Köylüye parasız el dokuma tezgâhları veriliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 April 1939, 2.

This increasing interest in villages and peasant clothes represented a shift in the cultural policies of the early republican period. This policy shift gradually started from the mid-1930s and reached its peak at the end of the 1930s. However, this policy shift did not mean that the Kemalist regime was shifting to embrace national costume or abandon Western attire like the fascist regimes of the period. The regime promoted Western clothing and started to create national norms in attire from the mid-1930s. Further investigation is necessary to understand if the state developed propaganda on national clothing norms in the 1940s.

§ 4.7 Conclusion

In 1939, a striking comment on the language simplification policy came from Peyami Safa, a writer, and journalist in the early republican period. In his article in *Cumhuriyet*, he criticized those he labeled as the "supporters of shalwar-tuxedo", who objected to adopting European concepts in language instead of what he called "pure Turkish" concepts. His suggestion was to abandon pure Turkism and the "pure Turkist" concepts, just as wearing "frocks or tuxedos in balls" had been accepted "as a necessity of the common etiquette system among Western countries."[184]

This contrast between the politics of the language reform and that of clothing thus found its place inside a single nationalist agenda. Distancing itself from the Ottoman–Islamic past, the new regime adopted a pure Turkification policy in language, while for a long time, it embraced Western fashion rather than creating an indigenous national costume. At the heart of both the language and clothing reforms was one common desire —rupture with the Ottoman past and Islam.

Kemalist modernization was a cultural revolution realized via a radical, top-down reform process. The aim was to transform Turkey into a modern and secular Western society while distancing the country from Islam and its Ottoman past. To that end, the new regime abandoned

184 Peyami Safa, "Şalvar-Smokin taraftarları," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 December 1939, 3.

Islamic and Ottoman images at the symbolic level. At the heart of this transformation were women — especially the way women appeared in public. As such, women took part in Kemalist cultural policies, representing the modern and civilized aspects of the regime. To the extent that national ideology operated to define a common cultural identity, clothing became a suitable ground for the manifestation of that identity. In the early republican period, women's clothing thus emerged to represent and propagate the "modern" and civilized character of Turkish national identity.

The Kemalist regime did not follow Ziya Gökalp's distinction between culture and civilization. On the contrary, Turkey adopted Western institutions and culture intending to reach the level of Western countries. In this sense, Turkey's cultural policies also differed from the contemporary fascist regimes' policies, which aimed to create a unique national culture in this period. Significantly, the cultural policy of the new republic changed from the mid-1930s onwards. The following chapters will detail the traces of this policy shift in the early republican period.

5

The Girls' Institutes and Women's Tailoring Work

To further elaborate on the cultural policies and see the role of women in the modernization process in the early republican regime, this chapter revisits the history of the girls' institutes with new findings from detailed research on newspapers and archival sources. It evaluates the intentions of the early republican education program. It also places the role of these institutes in the broader context of the interwar modernization process. An analysis of the girls' institutes also reveals how the ruling elite envisioned women's future place in society.

This chapter shows that the main aim of the girls' institutes was not only to raise ideal mothers and homemakers, but also to prepare women for professional working life. The graduates of these institutes became involved in businesses or started to work in private and public schools. They entered into professional working life with tailoring-related jobs, although these were occupations traditionally associated with the private sphere. The education program in the girls' institutes did not limit women to domestic life. On the contrary, it encouraged women to be active in the public sphere.

§ 5.1 The Role of Education in the Kemalist Modernization

The ruling elite—especially Mustafa Kemal—believed passionately in the power of education to transform society. In a speech emphasizing the transformative role of teachers to the *Muallimler Birliği Kongresi* (Teachers' Union Congress) in 1924, Mustafa Kemal stated that "self-sacrificing teachers and trainers of the republic, you will raise the new generation; it will be your creation … The Republic seeks guardians [among the youth] who are intellectually and physically strong and have noble characters. It is in your hands to raise the new generation with these attributes and qualifications."[1] He further stated that "our national morality must be enhanced and strengthened with modern principles and the cultivation of independent thought… Your success [in this] will be the republic's success."[2]

This speech reflected Mustafa Kemal's belief in the malleability of the society. This belief informed his project of transforming society in a modern, secular direction through the power of state action. Moreover, he saw his personal leadership and example as constitutive of ruling cadres' power to advance that project. The Council of Ministers awarded him the title head teacher (*baş öğretmen*) of the National Schools (*Millet Mektepleri*),[3] in the wake of the alphabet reform of 1 November 1928. Specifically, the award reflected Kemal's enthusiasm for the new alphabet and his vanguard role in introducing it to the nation. A photograph of him dressed in modern attire in front of a blackboard writing the letters of the new alphabet before a crowd of onlookers quickly became one of the "iconic" images of the new republic.[4] In 1934, he took the name Atatürk, which means "Father of the Turks," after the Surname Law was enacted.

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1 *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, 178.

2 Ibid, 179.

3 See article four of the National Schools Ordinance (*Millet Mektepleri Talimatnamesi*) enacted in 1928. *Resmi Gazete*, 24 November 1928.

4 Edhem Eldem, "Mustafa Kemal'in Karatahtası," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 274 (October 2016): 4. See, also, chapter 1 in Rüstem Ertuğ Atınay, "Dressing for Utopia: Fashion, Performance, and the Politics of Everyday Life in Turkey (1923-2013)," (PhD diss., New York University, September 2016), 127-203.

The ruling elite introduced reforms in education intending to consolidate the secularization of state and society. The long-standing religious influence on education was eliminated in the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu* (Unification of Education Act), enacted on 3 March 1924. The law saw all Islamic *medreses* closed and all educational institutions unified under the secular Ministry of Education.[5] In the same year, the republic made primary education compulsory while expanding educational opportunities for everyone for free.[6] The content of education was also secularized, and religious lessons were gradually removed from the curriculum from the 1920s.[7] These changes were introduced in parallel with mixed education, which sought to contribute to the "secularization of social life"[8] by eliminating gender segregation in the schools.

§ 5.2 The Significance of Women's Education for the New Republic

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the role of women was a central part of the new regime's modernizing project. Besides its symbolic

5 On the same day, two significant laws were passed with the aim of the secularization of the state. The Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations and the Caliphate were abolished. After the abolition of Caliphate, the remaining members of the Ottoman dynasty were expelled from the country. See Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 188-189.

6 Article 87 of the first constitution of the republic stated that primary education was compulsory for all Turks and that state schools were free of charge. See Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003), 180.

7 After the Unification of Education Act, the republic eliminated religious schooling and Arabic- and Persian-language education. Religious symbols in colleges and other foreign schools were also eliminated. In 1927, religious courses were abolished entirely. For the overall secular transformation in the curriculum, see Ibid., 172. See, also, Mehmet Ö. Alkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Modernleşme ve Eğitim," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, no. 12 (2008): 75-76.

8 See Gürsen Topses, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitimin Gelişimi," in *75 Yılda Eğitim,* eds. Fatma Gök (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), 10. See Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 188.

significance, Mustafa Kemal saw women's education as necessary for the nation's progress, and his speeches bear this out.[9] In a well-known speech given in January 1923, he stated that

> if a social group made of men and women contents itself with the progress and education of only one sex, that group is weakened by half. A nation aiming at progress and civilization must not neglect to consider this point. Women's primary duty is motherhood, and higher culture will only be attained by the education of future mothers. Our nation has decided to be strong, and our absolute need today is the higher education of our women. They shall be instructed in every field of science and received the same degrees as men. Men and women will walk together in all paths of life and help each other.[10]

His marriage to Latife Hanım, who was well-educated and unveiled, also drew public attention in Turkey and Europe as a sign of significant transformation in women's lives in the new Turkey.[11]

Fatma Gök detects three distinct approaches to women's education in the policies of the new regime. The first was a focus on educating urban women. Indeed, increasing numbers of upper-class women were able to graduate from high schools in this period.[12] The second was to make five years of primary school education compulsory for all children,[13] although, according to Gök, rural women benefitted little from this and

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9 In March 1922, Atatürk stated that the republic would "give weight to the upbringing of women through the same education" with men. *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri,* 245.

10 Atatürk gave this speech in Izmir in 1923. On route to Izmir, he stopped to give similar speeches to people on the subject of women's situation in the society. This information is derived from a book published in 1937 by the press department of the Ministry of Interior. See *The Turkish Woman in History* (Ankara: Press Department of the Ministry of Interior, 1937), 21-22. *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri,* 89-90.

11 Çalışlar, *Latife Hanım,* 107; 132-139.

12 Fatma Gök, "The Girls' Institutes in the Early Period of Turkish Republic*,"* in *Multicultural Societies – Turkish and Swedish Perspectives, eds*. F. Gök., M. Carlson, and A. Rabo (London and New-York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 96.

13 Ibid.

continued to remain beholden to traditional patriarchal norms.[14] The third approach was the establishment of vocational schools, specifically aimed at educating women. The aim was to raise a cohort of highly skilled and capable women who would represent "the state's Westernized, secular self-image."[15]

Vocational training and education for girls were hardly new. It had already been underway on a small scale in the mid-19th century in the Ottoman Empire. For example, the governor of Tuna, Mithat Pasha promoted the idea of a girls' vocational school (*Kız Sanayi Mektebi*) in Rumelia in 1865. The proposal aimed to employ orphan girls to produce handicrafts (*küçük sanat*), focusing on the military's textile needs.[16] However, Yasemin Tümer Erdem reports that Mithat Pasha could not realize this project because of a lack of funds.[17]

Erdem notes that Mithat Pasha's proposal was, in fact, pre-dated by earlier vocational schools for girls. She points to the *Cevri Kalfa İnas Rüştiyesi* (Cevri Kalfa Girls' Secondary School), which opened in 1859. The school was focused on skills training for girls, including sewing, embroidery, and cooking lessons.[18] The first large-scale girls' vocational and technical school opened ten years later, in 1869, in the old gunpowder building in Yedikule.[19] This was a tailoring workshop where young girls sewed military bandages and underwear. This school also provided jobs for girls in the factories in Yedikule.[20]

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14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 See Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: Osmanbey Matbaası, 1940), 572-573.

17 Yasemin Tümer Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Kızların Eğitimi* (Ankara: Tarih Vakfı Kurumu, 2013), 195-196. See, also, Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi* (İstanbul: Kültür Koleji Yayınları, 1994), 151.

18 Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e*,, 195-196.

19 Ibid., 196.

20 Ibid.

Overall the scale of operations of women's vocational education in the Ottoman period was limited[21] and only two schools—the *Selçuk Hatun Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Selçuk Hatun Vocational School for Girls) and the *Mithat Paşa Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Mithat Pasha Vocational School for Girls)—continued into the republican period.[22] Both schools were transformed in line with republican policy and were re-badged as "Girls' Institutes" —as *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* (Selçuk Girls' Institute) and *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* (Üsküdar Girls' Institute). Additional girls' institutes were opened across Turkey from 1928, and the number of such schools gradually increased through to the mid-1940s.

Although girls' institutes played a significant role in the republican policy toward women, they remain under-surveyed and largely overlooked in the literature. Elif Ekin Akşit's groundbreaking *Kızların Sessizliği Kız Enstitülerinin Uzun Tarihi* (The Girls' Silence: The Long History of the Girls' Institutes) was a turning point in drawing attention to these schools. Following this study, the number of academic works increased[23] but it remains the case that many aspects of the girls' institutes remain obscure and in need of further analysis.

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21 There were just three such schools in operation for most of the late Ottoman period. These were the *İstanbul Leylî ve Neharî Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (İstanbul Vocational Boarding and Day School for Girls), the *Dersaadet Neharî Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Dersaadet Vocational Day School for Girls) and the *Üsküdar Neharî Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Üsküdar Vocational Day School for Girls). For further information about the schools, see Ibid., 195-201.

22 Ibid., 201.

23 Recent studies include Altınay, "Dressing for Utopia"; Ayşe Durakbaşa and Funda Karapehlivan, "Progress and Pitfalls in Women's Education in Turkey (1839-2017)," *Encounters in Theory and History of Education*, no. 19 (2018): 70-89; Şule Toktaş and Dilek Cindoğlu, "Modernization and Gender: A History of Girls' Technical Education in Turkey Since 1927," *Women's History Review*, no. 5 (2006): 737-749; Ayten Sezer Arığ, "Ankara'da Modanın Öncüsü Bir Okul: İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü," *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 14 (Fall 2011): 3-15; Gülşah Eser and Abdullah Orak, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kadın Eğitiminde Bir Atılım: Urfa Kız Enstitüsü," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, no. 41 (December 2015): 421-440. See, also, Akşit, "Girls' Institutes". See, also, Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic." Master's theses on the topic include Pelin Gürol, "Building for Women's Education During the Early Republican Period In Turkey: İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute in Ankara in the 1930s," (master's

The existing literature focuses on vocational schools' chief goal—to raise ideal mothers and housewives. Focusing on this aim, the literature has concluded that state policy merely reproduced women's traditional roles as mothers and housewives and redefined the private sphere as a female domain.[24] However, in providing extensive vocational education for women, the girls' institutes allowed many women to earn an independent living throughout their lives.

§ 5.3 The Establishment of the Girls' Institutes

After 1923, the new republican government invited foreign experts to Turkey to advise on developing a modern and secular educational system.[25] All the experts advised an educational policy based on free enterprise, and in compliance with the national economic (*milli iktisatçı*) development plan, certain tenets of which were determined at the Izmir Economic Congress (*İzmir İktisat Kongresi*) in 1923.[26] The establishment of girls' institutes was seen as boosting economic development, alongside the more visible aspects of the republic's modernization and nation-building project.

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thesis, METU, June 2003). Zeynep Türkyılmaz, "Nationalizing Through Education: The case of "Mountain Flowers" At Elazığ Girls' Institute," (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, October 2001). Sevim Yeşil, "Unfolding Republican Patriarchy: The Case of Young Kurdish Women at the Girls' Vocational Boarding School in Elazığ," (master's thesis, METU, September 2003).

24 Likewise, Rüstem Ertuğ Altınay emphasizes that considerable number of women started to work after their graduation from the girls' institutes. He states that the graduates of the girls' institutes worked in fashion business and also in other sectors. Altınay, "Dressing for Utopia," 210-211.

25 Some of the experts who visited were John Dewey, the American philosopher and educator (in 1924), Alfred Kühne (1925), Omar Buyse, a Belgian educator (1927), Adolphe Ferriere (1928), and Alfred Malche (1932). See Ömer Akdağ, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Eğitim Alanında Yabanı Uzman İstihdamı (1923-1940)," *Uşak Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 1/1 (2008): 45-77. See *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, no. 21-22 (February 1939): 10-11.

26 Topses, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitimin Gelişimi," 13-14.

Girls' vocational training and education was a central concern of the experts' reports. Omar Buyse, a Belgian expert who visited in 1927, prepared a report on the necessity of reforming the existing vocational schools, opening new vocational and evening art schools, and teacher training schools.[27] Under Buyse's influence, the Belgian model was applied in the art schools.[28] Similarly, his report guided the establishment of the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* (İsmet Paşa Girls' Institute), the first of the girls' institutes to be founded, in 1928.[29]

Legal reforms were introduced to consolidate the sector. Law No. 1052 of 1927 brought all technical and vocational schools under the Ministry of Education's purview.[30] At the time, teachers were in short supply. Therefore, the Ministry of Education decided to send student teachers to Europe with the expectation they would return fully trained to staff the girls' institutes. In the meantime, European experts were hired as faculty.[31] Law No. 1052 also compelled governorates to allocate one-third of their budgets to cover new school construction and the cost of sending student teachers abroad.[32]

Between 1927 and 1939, a total of 133 students from vocational schools were sent to various countries in Western Europe; 34 came from the girls'

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27 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 11.

28 "Mesleki ve Teknik Öğretimin Gelişimi," *Öğretim Dergisi*, May 1981, 339. Quoted in Fatma Gök, "Kız Enstitüleri: 'Ev Kadını Yetiştiren Asri Bir Müessese,'" in *75 Yılda Eğitim* eds. Fatma Gök (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999), 243. The educational program of the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* was adapted from those of similar schools in Belgium. See "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsünde…," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 June 1932, 2. See, also, Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e,* 202-204.

29 Buyse's report also recommended the establishment of the *Mustafa Kemal Paşa İş Darülfününu* (Mustafa Kemal Pasha Training University). The report noted the school would "raise craftsmen and teachers for vocational schools" as well as "skilled workers, technicians and specialists." For further information on Buyse's report, see Akdağ, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında," 61.

30 *Resmi Gazete,* law no 1052, 9 June 1927. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 12; 20.

31 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 44.

32 *Resmi Gazete*, law no 1052, 9 June 1927. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 12; 20.

institutes.[33] The majority went to Belgium,[34] proving the influence of the Belgian model. By 1939, 21 of the 34 girls' institute students sent abroad had returned [35] and presumably joined the institutes' faculties.

Existing faculty were also dispatched to Europe for further training.[36] For example, the fashion teacher at *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü*, Kâmile Feyzi Hanım , was sent to Naples in Italy to make a detailed observation related to her own job.[37] The Ministry of Education sent one of the graduates of the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü*, Mücedded Pektürk, to attend the home management schools for girls in Vienna and the Pedagogy Institute in Berlin in 1934.[38] After Pektürk finished her education in Europe in 1938, she returned to Turkey to teach home management at İsmet Paşa.[39]

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33 The remaining students sent to Europe were drawn from the branches of childcare (2), embroidery (4), underwear (4), fashion and flowers (6), home management and cooking (6), sewing-cutting (9) and painting (3) (*kadın işleri resmi*). *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları* (Ankara: Devlet Basımevi, 1938), 97. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 15.

34 Of the 34 students, 27 were sent to Belgium, 6 to France and 1 to Germany. See *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 15.

35 The data in the booklet, *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları* and the journal of the Ministry of Education, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi* do not match. According to the booklet, 21 students returned from Europe in 1938. However, the number of students cited in *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi* was 19. It did not include the underwear branch in the list of students who returned from Europe. It seems that *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi* made a mistake because in another list showing the number of students who were still in Europe for their education in 1939, the underwear department was included. According to this list, two students from the underwear department was still in Europe in 1939. In total four students were sent from the underwear department. Combining all the data in these two sources, two of them returned and two of them were still in Europe in 1939. See *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 99. *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 16-17.

36 The Minister of Education stated that the government would send students to Europe until the need was satisfied. "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsünde…," 2.

37 BCA 030.18.1.2.47.52.4, 238.163, 18 July 1934.

38 "Ev idaresi ve çocuk bakımı tahsili," *Akşam*, 6 January 1934, 5.

39 "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü ev idaresi muallimliği," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 September 1938, 6.

European teachers were imported to staff the girls' institutes from the 1930s.[40] Between 1927 and 1939, a total of 66 experts were brought from Europe for the vocational schools — 16 of them went to girls' art schools.[41] The girls' institutes curriculum and teaching methods were shaped under the influence of the European teachers who joined the faculty.

5.3.1 The Number of Girls' Institutes

The existing Ottoman vocational schools officially became the founding girls' institutes, *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* and *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü*, when they were re-badged in 1927. Joined by the aforementioned *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* in Ankara in 1928, four more girls' institutes were opened by 1937, including one in Bursa (1929) and another in Izmir (1933).[42] From 1937 to 1939, six more were opened, one in Kadıköy in Istanbul and the others in Adana, Trabzon, Elazığ, Manisa, and Edirne, respectively, taking the total to 11.[43] By the academic year 1941-42, a further four had been established (in Afyonkarahisar, Kayseri, Kütahya, and Sivas), taking the

40 For example, Léa Lalieu —a Belgian cutting and sewing teacher— taught at *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* in 1932 for a certain period of time. The Ministry of Education extended her employment contract for two years in 1932. BCA. 030.18.1.2.28.39.9, 242.124, 17 May 1932. Kâzım Nami reported that a German woman was employed as a teacher in *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* in 1933 and other teachers at the school were "young and hardworking Turkish girls raised in Europe." Kâzım Nami, "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsü," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 July 1933, 3.

41 The teachers hailed from the following departments: decoration arts (*tezyini sanatı*) (three teachers), home management and cooking (three), sewing-cutting (four), and fashion and flowers (six). I have not included two vocational painting teachers on this list. Besides, the number of European experts does not match the numbers given in *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*. The journal states that the number of European experts was 65. See *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 101. *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 19.

42 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 52. The information related to the number and places of schools is not given accurately in *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*. See *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1933), 71.

43 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 47. See Appendix.

total to 15.[44] By 1949, a total of 44 were in operation[45] across 40 Turkish cities.[46]

Istanbul was the only city in the interwar period served by three institutes, with schools in Kadıköy, Çapa, and Üsküdar. In the academic year 1941-1942, one further girls' institute was opened in Nişantaşı, taking the count in Istanbul to four.[47] Izmir had two girls' institutes—one was opened in the interwar period and the other in the academic year 1947-

44 *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitimi 1943-1944, 1948-1949* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1949), 62. See Appendix.

45 The total number of institutes was 15 in 1941, 20 in 1942, 28 in 1943, 33 in 1944, 35 in 1945, 37 in 1946, 40 in 1947, 43 in 1948, 44 in 1949. The total number of students enrolled in the schools was 4,133 in 1943-44. This number reached 9,383 in 1949. See *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitimi 1943-1944, 1948-1949*, 58; 62. The Ministry of Education paid attention to the girls' institutes and the evening art schools and decided to increase the number of schools in 1940. "Kız enstitüleri ve san'at mektebleri çoğaltılacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 April 1940, 2. The 13 cities hosting girls' institutes in the interwar period were Adana, Afyonkarahisar, Ankara, Bursa, Edirne, Elazığ, Izmir, Istanbul, Kayseri, Kütahya, Manisa, Sivas and Trabzon. During the 1940s, a further 27 cities got campuses, including Gaziantep, Bolu, Antakya, İzmit, Denizli, Maraş, Isparta, Urfa, Tokat, Zonguldak, Balıkesir, Samsun, Çorum, Diyarbakır, Tekirdağ, Mersin, Antalya, Aydın, Konya, Erzurum, Kastamonu, Malatya, Eskişehir, Çankırı, Kırşehir, Yozgat and Kilis. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitimi 1943-1944, 1948-1949*, 62. See Appendix.

46 The cities where girls' evening art schools existed were Adana, Afyonkarahisar, Ankara, Antakya, Antalya, Balıkesir, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Edirne, Elazığ, Erzurum, Eskişehir, Isparta, Istanbul, Izmir, İzmit, Kars, Kastamonu, Kayseri, Konya, Kütahya, Manisa, Samsun, Sivas, Trabzon and Uşak. Girls' evening art schools were opened in 26 cities/districts in the interwar period and had been established in a total of 75 cities/districts by the end of the 1940s. See *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitimi 1943-1944, 1948-1949*, 62-63. See Appendix.

47 The number of girls' evening schools in Istanbul was four, also the highest number in the interwar period. The total number reached six with the opening of two schools between 1945 and 1946. The girls' evening schools were in Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Beyoğlu and Sarıyer. There were two evening girls' schools in Beyoğlu. The place of one of the evening schools was not mentioned in the booklet of the Ministry of Education. See *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitimi 1943-1944, 1948-1949*, 62-63. See Appendix.

1948.[48] Except for Istanbul and Izmir, only one girls' institute existed in all of the other cities.[49]

5.3.2 Education in the Girls' Institutes

A girls' institute was equal to a daytime secondary school. Only Ankara *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* and *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* took boarders.[50] There were five years of schooling, with a curriculum equivalent to that of ordinary secondary school.[51] The first precondition for enrollment was "being a Turk." The second precondition was that the student had graduated from at least a five-class primary school. Students below the age of 12 or above 17 could not enroll. The applicants had to show their primary school diploma and a health report, proving that they had no communicable disease and had vaccinated for smallpox.[52]

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48 Ibid., 62. See Appendix.

49 Izmir, Antalya and Çankırı each had two girls' evening art schools. Ibid., 62-63. See Appendix.

50 The girls' evening art schools did not take boarders. For the number of boarding students in the girls' institutes, see *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 52; 178. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi,1936), 34;38. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937* (İstanbul: Marifet Basımevi,1937), 45. *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1938), 40.

51 Secondary education generally consisted of three years of schooling. In the girls' institutes, the three-year education period was expanded to five years. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 42.

52 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 178. The girls' evening art schools did not take boarders. The preconditions for the girls' evening schools were similar. First precondition was "being a Turk." Applicants could not be below 12 or above 45 years of age. For those aged between 12 and 16 years old, it was obligatory to have finished five years of primary school. For those between 16 and 45, it was obligatory to have completed at least the third grade of primary school or have education in the degree of A and B courses in the national school. The applicants had to provide a health report proving that they did not have a contagious disease and had to be vaccinated for smallpox. *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 180. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 33-35. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 44-46. *İstanbul*

Students who had already graduated from secondary or high school could enroll in the fourth class if they passed the vocational exams. These students could finish the school in two years. Those enrolling in girls' evening art schools could also join the final class if they passed the relevant exams.[53]

The institutes were free of charge for day students. Borders paid an annual fee for board and lodging, and in the case of the Üsküdar Girls' Institute, this was 200 liras.[54] The fees at the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* were higher — 300 liras in 1932 and 275 liras in 1934.[55]

The girls' institutes aimed to raise housewives (*evkadını*) and, at the same time, producers (*müstahsil*) who "could earn a living with their own handwork."[56] The Minister of Education, Esat Bey, gave the opening speech at the annual exhibition of the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* in 1932. He stated that "above all, girls' art schools equip our girls to provide a happy family home" and noted that they trained women to be productive members of society, either running a household or working in a factory.

Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı, 40-44. See, also, "Mektebler," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 August 1937, 4.

53 *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 34. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 44. See, also, *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı*, 40.

54 The children of civil officials were given a 10% discount of the cost of the boarding fees. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 34. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 44. See, also, *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı*, 40.

55 The Ministry of Education opened *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* to boarders in 1932. News reports noted that 40 boarding students would be accepted in 1932. The advertisement also stated that the children of the state officials whose salary was below 55 liras would benefit from a general 10% discount and 15% sibling discount for additional children attending the school. See "İsmet Pş. Enstitüsüne Talebe alınıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 July 1932, 6. See, also, "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsünde…," 2. "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsünden," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 September 1934, 6.

56 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 32. A similar emphasis is also available in the education exhibition guide published in 1933. *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*, 71. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 47-48. . For the comments of Yunus Nadi on the aim of girls' institutes, see Yunus Nadi, "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 June 1932, 1. Yunus Nadi, "Ev kadını, Hayat kadını," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 June 1932, 1.

He also stated that the aim was to increase the number of this kind of institutions.[57]

A booklet on the exhibition of girls' institutes and art schools in 1938 published by the Ministry of Culture gave further information on the institutes' aim. It stated that the girls' institutes aimed to raise students to be mothers who could "play a dominant role directly in all of aspects of the running of the home," earn a skilled living in the paid workforce (where needed) and be productive members of society and independent thinkers in the national interest.[58]

Clearly, then, the ruling elite saw the institutes as achieving the dual aims of raising women who could run modern households and contribute to society by earning a skilled way when needed. Here, the role of scientific management in line with the principles of Taylorism was central.[59] Taylorism—a method of industrial management developed by the American management thinker Frederick W. Taylor (1856-1915)—had wide purchase in Europe and the USA in the interwar period. Taylor advocated the application of scientific methods to the discipline of work and labor organization to increase efficiency.[60] Taylor's principles were applied to rationalize housework "to create modern, scientific homes and efficient homemakers."[61]

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57 "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsünde…," 2.

58 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 32. *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*, 71. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 47-48. See Nadi, "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü," 1; Nadi, "Ev kadını, Hayat kadını," 1. For similar views, see Nami, "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsü," 3.

59 Gök, "Kız Enstitüleri: 'Ev Kadını Yetiştiren Asri Bir Müessese,'" 242. Yael Navero-Yaşın has analyzed the influence of Taylorism on education in the institutes. Taylorism was applied to rationalize housework—showing women the most efficient and modern way to run a household and thus increase their productivity. See Navero-Yaşın, "'Evde Taylorizm'," 51-73. See, also, Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği,* 157-161.

60 Charles S. Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivitiy in the 1920s," *Journal of Contemporary History*, no. 2 (1970): 29. See, also, Craig R. Litter, "Understanding Taylorism," *The British Journal of Sociology*, no. 2 (June 1978): 185-202.

61 For example, see the Weimar campaign to rationalize housework: Mary Nolan, ""Housework Make Easy": The Taylorized Housewife in Weimar Germany's Rationalized Economy," *Feminist Studies*, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 549-577. The yearbook of the girls'

A booklet published by the Ministry in 1938 exemplified the influence of Taylorism, stating that, like all of the labor in the advanced countries, housework had also progressed such that household tasks required "comprehensive knowledge" and had become "technical work."[62] Underscoring the "technical nature" of housework, the booklet also stated that managing the home and the household budget, as well as providing healthy, nutritious and economical meals, had "became delicate work (*ince iş*) that required women to be well informed."[63]

In line with Taylorism, the *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü* published a schedule in one of its yearbooks, emphasizing that the ideal housewife was well-disciplined and organized every aspect of her daily life and routine. The booklet offered both a monthly and annual breakdown of the important tasks for a nuclear family with four children. The daily schedule was divided into one-hour intervals. It included all the tasks deemed part of a married woman's ideal day, including childcare, chores, cooking, sewing and repairing clothes, and shopping along with leisure time activities such as listening to music, reading, and doing handicrafts.[64]

The institutes offered two kinds of courses, general and vocational. General courses were like those offered in standard secondary schools:[65] Turkish language, history, geography, civics education (*medeni bilgiler*), physics, natural sciences, mathematics, bookkeeping (*defter tutma*),

institute in Izmir published the translation of an article from L'organisation Ménagère. *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, June 1936, 40-42.

62 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 32. *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*, 71. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 47-48.

63 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 32. *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*, 71. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 47-48.

64 *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, December 1940, 30-31.

65 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 47. For the curriculum, see *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekaleti Kız Enstitüleri Müfredat Programı* (Ankara: Maarif Vekaleti, 1935). See, also, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekilliği Kız Enstitüleri Programı* (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1942).

foreign language[66], gymnastics, music and handwriting.[67] The vocational courses offered included introduction to sewing, embroidery, painting and decoration painting (*resim ve tezyinî resim*), cooking, clothing care and maintenance (including washing and ironing), childcare, healthcare, and home management.[68] The sewing courses include sewing and cutting, fashion, underwear, sewing technology, technical drawing, and the history of clothing. The fashion courses included fashion, flower, sewing and cutting, fashion technology, technical drawing and the history of clothing.[69] The students received the same general courses like all other secondary schools and obtained the same statute with the graduates of these schools.[70] All graduates of the girls' institutes received a diploma equivalent to that of a secondary school diploma.[71] Special attention was given to French language courses due to the close connection with art. The institutes encouraged students to follow vocational work and fashion periodicals in French.[72]

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66 According to the exhibition guide in 1933, the students chose one foreign language — either German, French and English—with parental approval. French was probably the preferred foreign language as most of the institutes only offered French. For example, Yumniye Akbulut states that she chose French, as it was very popular in those years. Indeed, the 1936 guidebook of schools in Istanbul notes that all the girls' institutes and even girls' evening art schools were only teaching French as the foreign language. See *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*, 71. Yumniye Akbulut, *Şıklığın Resmi Tarihi Olgunlaşma Enstitüleri* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2010), 28. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 34;36.

67 *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekaleti Kız Enstitüleri Müfredat Programı,* 2. During World War II, military service was included to the curriculum. See *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekilliği Kız Enstitüleri Programı*, 3. See, also, "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsünde…," 2.

68 *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekaleti Kız Enstitüleri Müfredat Programı*, 2. See, also, See *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekilliği Kız Enstitüleri Programı*, 4-7.

69 *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekaleti Kız Enstitüleri Müfredat Programı*, 2. See, also, See *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekilliği Kız Enstitüleri Programı*, 4-7.

70 The curriculum of the girls' institutes was reviewed in 1934 by a commission and the number of secondary school courses increased. See *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekaleti Kız Enstitüleri Müfredat Programı,* 1.

71 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 34-35.

72 *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 42.

Workshop and vocational courses were obligatory for every student in the first and second classes. Students had to choose one branch—fashion or sewing-cutting— in which to specialize from the third class.[73] The girls' institutes also had special classes for two years for the students who had graduated from secondary schools. These students undertook both workshops and vocational courses.[74]

5.3.3 Graduates of the Girls' Institutes

The Ministry of Culture gave information about the job opportunities for the girls' institutes' graduates in guidebooks published in the 1930s for the schools in Istanbul. According to this information, the graduates could work separately by opening a workshop; or could open a tailoring school; or could be registered to the high schools and fine arts academy without entering to an exam; and could be art teachers in the schools after attending to the teachers' school opened in *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* in Ankara.[75]

The yearbook of the girls' institute in Izmir published for the 1934-1935 academic year stated the same job opportunities for the graduates. The stated aim of the institute was to raise Turkish girls worthy of the new Turkish republic. According to an article in the yearbook, after graduating from school, a Turkish girl should be "a skillful businesswoman if necessary," a housewife who knows how to protect her family's health and income, and "a valuable mother" knowledgeable in how to raise children. The article reported that graduates could open a sewing or fashion workshop and be a tailor or a milliner. It stated that those wishing to pursue higher education could study further. It also stated that the graduates could enroll in the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* to

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73 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 36. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 32. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 43.

74 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 38.

75 *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 38. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 45. *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı*, 40.

train as teachers of sewing, home management, or childcare at a girls' secondary or girls' teacher school.[76]

There was increasing interest in the girls' institutes over the years, and the number of enrollees increased in the early republican period. Numbers grew from 456 in 1928, to 729 in 1933, 1,603 in 1937 and 2,199 in 1939. Likewise, the number of graduates increased. With 37 graduates in 1928, numbers fell to 15 in 1930, and 20 in 1931, picking up again to 39 in 1932, 75 in 1933, 82 in 1934, 69 in 1935, 161 in 1936, and 239 in 1937.[77] Alumni stayed in touch after graduation through the various events organized by the alumni association.[78]

The girls' institutes targeted mostly the children of middle-class families in the interwar period.[79] It is not possible to know how many

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76 *Enstitü Yıllığı 1934-1935* (İzmir: Nefaset Basımevi, 1935), 16-17.

77 The number of students of girls' evening art schools was 294 in 1931, 1,497 in 1934, 5,309 in 1937 and 7,712 in 1939. The number of graduates from girls' evening art schools was 38 in 1933, 117 in 1934, 357 in 1935, 719 in 1936 and 848 in 1937. *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 52; 56. The yearbook of the *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü* reported roughly the same numbers for the academic year 1937-1938. See *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü 1937-1938 Yılı Mezunları Armağanı (İzmir: Nefaset Basımevi, 1938)*, 48.

78 Dr. Hafız Cemal founded an alumni association, the "*Türkiye San'at Mektebleri Mezunlar Cemiyeti*" (Association of Turkey Art Schools' Graduates), in 1936, with headquarters in Divanyolu. The aim was to have a single association for all alumni of boys and girls' art schools, including the graduates of building crafts schools (*inşaat usta mektepleri*), tailoring and furriery schools and flower-making and basketry schools for professional networking. The association published a periodical so that alumni could update their technical and professional know-how. The association's statute promised to work in line with "the industrial aims of the government." It organized events to gather graduates. For example, a tea dance event (*dansant*) was organized to gather the graduates of all girls' and boys' art schools in the saloon of the Park Otel in 1938. "San'at mektebleri mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 August 1936, 2. "San'at mekteblerinin danslı çayı," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1938, 5. See, also, "San'at mektebleri mezunları içtimaı," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 July 1938, 2. "Sanat mektepleri mezunlarının toplantısı," *Akşam*, 10 July 1938, 5.

79 See Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*. See, also, Arat, "Educating the Daughters of the Republic." Erdem states that the girls' industrial schools in the late Ottoman Empire targeted economically lower classes in addition to the middle classes. According to the statute of the girls' industrial schools, the schools consisted of a boarding and daily department. The boarding department was opened mostly for the enrollment of the orphan girls. See Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e,* 215-216.

graduates continued further education or started in paid employment. However, it is obvious that many women started their own businesses or were employed in state or private schools or worked as tailors rather than staying at home being housewives. This aspect of the institutes needs further investigation.[80]

One of the few sources related to graduates is the yearbooks of the *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü*. The yearbook for 1937-1938 offers information on what some of the previous two academic years' graduates were doing. Some students from the academic year 1935-1936 had gone on to the *Ankara Kız Ertik Öğretmen Okulu* (Ankara Girls' Art Teachers School), while others worked at home or ran sewing workshops. One graduate had become a bank officer and another a sewing teacher in one of the secondary schools. One of the graduates continued to the Fine Arts Academy.[81] From the 1936-1937 academic year, one alumna had gone on to run a fashion store and workshop, and another had opened a private sewing workshop of her own. Others became teachers in different areas, including sewing, home management, childcare, and primary schooling. Finally, one had taken up an embroidery internship at the *Elazığ Kız Enstitüsü*.[82]

In the yearbook published in December 1940, the institute again published a list of what some of the graduates were doing.[83] Some had become school teachers or were undergoing teacher training at the *İsmet*

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80 The existing literature underlines that the graduates of the girls' institutes returned their homes and did not entered into the working life. For example, in her seminal book, Elif Ekin Akşit states that the institutes gave weight to ideological training rather than vocational education. She further states that the place of a "Turkish girl" was determined to be home. Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği,* 144.

81 *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, September 1938, 50.

82 Ibid*.,* 51.

83 The list is not exhaustive and provides but a snapshot of what some former students were up to. This is likely because only a selection of the alumni chose to report their professional pursuits to the yearbook after graduation. Still, it is an important source because the majority of those listed seem to be in paid work or training rather than pursuing household duties. This indicates the institute sought to encourage its graduates to pursue a profession of some kind. *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, December 1940, 24-25.

Paşa Kız Enstitüsü. Others were employed as tailors or in other professions. As in the previous period, one had gone on to the Fine Arts Academy.[84] Others still had eschewed professional life or further education and had married and started a family.[85]

Overall, the limited information available tells us that women graduates from the institutes pursued various professional and personal opportunities after finishing their studies. Often, they pursued tailoring and handicrafts. Many were also undertaking higher education and teacher training, thus becoming the educators of the future.

5.3.4 Girls' Evening Art Schools

Each girls' institute had one or could have two girls' evening art schools (*akşam kız sanat okulları)*.[86] The schools aimed "to teach women's crafts (*kadın işleri*) to those of school age who could otherwise not attend class because of economic or family issues" and to provide rapid training to post-school-age women so they could "earn a living in one of the woman's arts (*kadın sanatları)*."[87] The girls' evening art schools enrolled female civil servants, women who ran businesses, and those at work (either in the home or in paid employment) during the daytime hours. Many women who graduated from these schools started a business or worked at home.[88] The education period was two years in these schools, which provided opportunities for every woman to attend to the school according to their choice.[89] While girls' institutes targeted middle-class young girls of school age, the girls' evening art schools complementarily were opened to provide to a wider spectrum of women at various ages.

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84 Ibid., 24-25.

85 *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, September 1938, 50-51. *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, December 1940, 24-25.

86 For example, *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* had two evening art schools. The girls' evening art schools in Kadıköy and Üsküdar were under the administration of *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü. İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 36.

87 For further details, see *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 41-48.

88 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 55.

89 Ibid., 57.

Girls' evening art schools[90] were around twice as many as the girls' institutes. The numbers grew over time, from 4 in 1934, 7 in 1936, 14 in 1937, 17 in 1939[91] 30 in 1941, 36 in 1942, 49 in 1943, 54 in 1944, 64 in 1945, 72 in 1946, 77 in 1947, 78 in 1948 and 83 in 1949.[92] Numbers kept growing through the Second World War and indeed beyond it to meet war needs. Indeed, the institutes and the evening art schools were mobilized to meet the army's clothing necessities during the war.[93] More generally, the art schools' purpose was to raise ideal middle-class women who could earn a living through handicrafts or sewing.

§ 5.4 Girls' Institutes in the Interwar Period

As mentioned before in the chapter, 11 girls' institutes were opened in Turkey during the interwar period. Three of them were in Istanbul, and the rest were in Ankara, Bursa, Izmir, Adana, Manisa, Trabzon, Edirne, and Elazığ. This section of the chapter offers a detailed account of the establishment and management of these schools in the period to shed light on their role in women's education and how they were received in society more generally.

As mentioned already, the *Selçuk Hatun Kız Sanayi Mektebi* was in existence before the transition to the republic.[94] It continued to be active in the early republican period and, by the 1930s, had become one of the

90 All of the evening schools were free of charge. None took borders. The maximum age for enrollees was 45. Those between 12 and 16 years old had to present their primary school diplomas. Students of other ages were required to provide documentary proof of attendance of three years of primary school or a leaving certificate from one of the National Schools (*Millet Mektebleri*). Students who could not present such documents had to sit an entrance exam before they could enroll. "Mektebler," 4.

91 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 56.

92 A total of 11,200 students were enrolled in the 1943-44 academic year. The number reached 23,429 in 1949. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitimi 1943-1944, 1948-1949*, 58; 62-63.

93 "Fedakâr Türk kızları Kahraman Türk askerine kışlık hazırlayorlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 November 1940, 4.

94 Erdem, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e*, 197-201.

most significant girls' institutes under the name of *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* in Istanbul.[95]

The other pre-republican vocational school was the *Mithat Paşa Kız Sanayi Mektebi*. It had been established in 1890 in Üsküdar and had been closed and re-opened several times during the late Ottoman period. The school continued to exist until 1927[96] when it was re-badged as a girls' institute (*Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü*).[97] In 1943, together with the girls' institute in Izmir, the school was renamed again, to *Mithat Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* (Mithat Pasha Girls' Institute), in honor of the Ottoman official who, as mentioned in earlier in the chapter, had pioneered girls vocational and technical education in the 1850s and 1860s.[98] This school also rose to great prominence in the 1930s.

The only girls' institute in Ankara during the single party period was the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü*. It first opened in one of the buildings of *Himaye-i Etfal* (Children's Protection Society) in Samanpazarı Street in

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95 In the guide books prepared by the Ministry of Culture, the name of the school was *Selçuk Kız Sanat Okulu* (Selçuk Girls' Art School) until 1937. Later, its name changed into *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü*. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 34. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 45. *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı*, 40.

96 This school was united with the *Dersaadet Neharî Mektebi* (Dersaadet Day School) and its name changed to the *Dersaadet Kız Sanayi Mektebi* (Dersaadet Girls' Vocational School) in 1913. One year later, the *Üsküdar Kız Sanayi Mektebi* again re-opened, this time as the *Mithat Paşa Sanayi Mektebi* (Mithat Pasha Vocational School) in the same year. This school was again closed in 1914, only to be re-opened shortly after by Fatma Zekiye Hanım and other former teachers at the school under the name *Mithat Paşa Kız Sanayi Mektebi Üsküdar İnas Sultanisi (Mithat Pasha Girls' Vocational School Üsküdar High School)*. For further information, see Ibid., 197-200.

97 The guide books of the Ministry of Culture mentioned the school as *Üsküdar Kız Sanat Okulu* (Üsküdar Girls' Art School) until 1937. Later, the name of the school changed into *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü*. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 34. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 45. *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı*, 40.

98 "Mithatpaşa san'at mektebleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 May 1943, 2. "Üsküdar Kız San'at Enstitüsünde merasim," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 May 1943, 1-3.

1928, and then moved to a new building in 1930.[99] Sibel Bozdoğan states that this new building "occupied special status as a republican icon of modernity."[100] Underlying the symbolic association of modern architecture and the new Kemalist woman, Bozdoğan states that "as women's appearance and visibility became the primary symbol of the Kemalist *inkilap* [revolution], educational buildings for women became the most representative structures of the New Architecture in the early republic."[101]

Kâzım Nami wrote an article in 1933 in *Cumhuriyet* asserting that "if women's fashion ... in Ankara today can be said to stand independently from Istanbul, or even Europe, it owes this to *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü*."[102] He reported that most women in Ankara ordered "the most beautiful garments and the most modern hats" from this institute.[103] According to Nami, "Turkish girls learn the most elegant woman's art (*kadın sanatı*) there."[104] Nami also described the building of the institute. He stated that the building's first floor had showcases in the street-front displaying the "school's beautiful works."[105]

İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü remained very well-regarded throughout the republican period. Indeed, the institute were praised by foreign officials. In 1933, the Greek premier, M. Tsaldaris, and foreign minister visited the institute's workshops and classrooms. A news report in *Cumhuriyet* stated that the foreign visitors "indicated their satisfaction and appreciation while they were leaving the institute."[106] In 1935, Bay Laprad—the head of architecture and general inspector of fine arts in vocational courses and national museums in France—attended a

99 See "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsünde…," 2.

100 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 86-87. See, also, a master's thesis on the architectural history of the institute. Gürol, "Building for Women's Education During the Early Republican Period In Turkey".

101 Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 84-85.

102 Nami, "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsü," 3.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid.

106 "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsünde," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1933, 5.

conference in a local *Halkevi*. In his speech, he noted that while he regularly visited all the institutes on his visits to Turkey, the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* and the *Gazi Enstitüsü* (Gazi Institute) stood out and would honor Turkey in the future.[107]

The *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* even became a model for neighboring countries. Correspondence from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the prime ministry in 1938 states that on his visit to Ankara, the Shah of Iran had declared his wish to open a school in Tehran modeled on the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü*. The correspondence notes that the Shah wished the building's size and style—and even the color—to be replicated in Tehran and his view that the Iranian school should follow the Turkish school's curriculum.[108] Arab countries also showed great interest in the institute, which Ankara presented as a model for women's education in the Middle East.[109] Many visitors came to the school in the 1930s. Amit Bein listed some of the visitors: "Emir Faisal of Saudi Arabia in 1932, the Shah of Iran in 1934, the Emir of Transjordan in 1937, and a representative from the Jewish agency for Palestine in 1938."[110] Leading feminists such as Huda Sha'rawi, Hayat al-Barazi, Salma Sayigh and other feminists also visited the institution.[111] Visitors expressed their enthusiasm and desire to open a similar form of school in their country.[112] One of them was Huda Sha'rawi, who applied to the Turkish Embassy in Cairo demanding scholarship for Egyptian students in the institute. Ankara accepted this application. According to a Lebanese educator who visited the school in 1938, there were students from Iraq and Egypt. Bein states that no further information exists about these students, but it is obvious that Ankara's acceptance of students from Middle Eastern countries was closely related

107 The conference of Bay Laprad was on 18 November 1935. Bay Laprad- Remzi Oğuz "San'at ve Modern Mimari Hakkında," *Ülkü*, no. 34 (January 1935), 254.

108 BCA 030.10.261.762.24, 437, 3 November 1938.

109 Amit Bein, *Kemalist Turkey and the Middle East: International Relations in the Interwar Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 139-178.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.

to the aim to "promote its reputation as a bastion of modernity and progressive womanhood."[113]

Ankara Kız Ertik Öğretmen Okulu was opened in *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* to train teachers in home management and sewing to be sent out across the country.[114] Only the students who had graduated from girls' institutes were allowed to enroll.[115] Students specialized in one area—sewing-cutting, underwear, childcare, technical drawing, hat and fashion or flower handicraft— from the third class onward.[116] Only *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* ran such a teacher training school.

Some of the girls' institutes were not originally established by the state. For example, the history of the girls' institute in Izmir dated back to a private school called *Sepet, Çiçek Mektebi* (Basket, Flower School), which opened in Göztepe in 1923.[117] Ayşe Pertev Hanım and her husband, Hasip Bey, two young entrepreneurs educated in Europe, founded this school.[118] Ayşe Pertev Hanım was trained in Germany. Hasip Bey was interested in handicrafts from primary school and learned to make

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113 Ibid.

114 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 39. See, also, "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsünde…" 2.

115 The campus ran a day school, and also took boarders both on a fee-paying and free-board basis. Fee-free places were limited, and students had to have been nominated as particularly worthy and to pass an exam. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 38. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 45. Training for teachers of secondary schools took two years, and for the girls' institutes and girls' evening art schools, three years. *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 39.

116 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 40. See, also, *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 38. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 45.

117 *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü 1936-1937 Yılı Mezunları Armağanı,* 14. Mithat K. Vural, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde İzmir'de Eğitim," *İzmir Kent Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2013), 232. I cannot find a document which proves the date of establishment for the school. There is only one article published in 1929 in *Muhit*, in which an author stated that this school was "known in Izmir for years." K.Ş., "Resim Sergisi Yerli Mallar Sergisi İzmir sepetcilik, çiçekcilik, şapkacılık mektebi sergisi," *Muhit*, no. 11 (September 1929), 814.

118 K.Ş., "Resim Sergisi Yerli Mallar Sergisi," 814.

wicker (*sepet örücülüğü*), flower, and hat in Paris and Vienna.[119] In 1927, the school's name changed to *Sepet, Çiçek, Şapka Mektebi* (Basket, Flower and Hat School), with the inclusion of millinery courses.[120] In 1928, the school's curriculum was taken over by the Ministry of Education.[121] *Cumhuriyet* announced that the school would open a campus in Istanbul.[122] The school was free of charge and had offered courses in six thematic areas,[123] offering courses lasting one year.

This institute aimed to provide vocational education for women and men in floristry, basket-weaving, and hat-making. With the change in 1928, the Ministry started to pay the wages of the teachers, administrative officers, and servants. A commission consisting of the school president, the director of education, the director of industry and work, an administrative officer, and two members from the chamber of industry was established to run the school.[124]

In 1929, after a request by Mustafa Kemal, the school opened two hat-making departments, one for men and one for women. The graduates started businesses in various cities all around Turkey. Some of the graduates were employed in the school in Izmir.[125] Recalling discussions on fashion consumption in 1913, an author in *Muhit* stated that the school was doing the country a great service by raising local craftspeople and

119 Ibid.

120 *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü 1936-1937 Yılı*, 14.

121 Ibid., 15. The Board of National Education and Discipline (*Milli Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu*) approved the opening of the school on 28 April 1928. See BCA 180.9.126.606.11, 2 28 April 1928. See, also, BCA 180.9.126.606.11, 4 18 April 1928.

122 "Sepet, Çiçek ve Şapkacılık," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 July 1929, 1.

123 The branches were fantasy flowers, natural flowers, fantasy baskets, knitting furniture, and women's and men's hats. Ibid.

124 The period of education was four semesters of three months each. Preconditions for registration were being a Turkish citizen and below 13 years old. Exams had to be certified by an examination commission and the graduates were granted diplomas certificated by the Ministry of Education. BCA 180.9.126.606.11, 4-6 17 April 1928.

125 No information is available on the number of graduates from the school. However, an article in Muhit stated that 34 students graduated from the school in 1929. K.Ş., "Resim Sergisi Yerli Mallar Sergisi," 814.

developing local handicrafts so that the national wealth would not flow to other countries for the import of these goods.[126]

In 1931, the institute became a three-year secondary art school with the inclusion of relevant courses.[127] This school was renamed *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Sanat Enstitüsü* (Izmir Republican Girls' Art Institute) in 1932[128] as a result of the Ministry of Education's policy to promote vocational schools in the 1930s. The Ministry funded the construction expenses of the institute until 1935.[129] Hasip Akıncı became the first director of the school in 1934. Ayşe Akıncı was a teacher in the school.[130] New buildings were added to the school after the decision to convert it into a girls' institute.

Hasip Bey traveled to Paris, Napoli, Venice, and Brussels to gather ideas on the school's new construction. He saw "the biggest and modern institute of the world" in France and studied its curriculum.[131] With the stated aim of raising modern, skilled women, the school curriculum included three foreign languages and instruction in making jams and canned goods and various forms of pastry, as well as in sewing, embroidery, hat-making, and other related handicrafts.[132] This institute was also opened to meet the needs of neighboring cities in the Aegean

126 Ibid.

127 *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü 1936-1937*, 15.

128 Ibid. Z.D., "Ev kadını nasıl yetişir?" *Cumhuriyet*, 6 May 1933, 5. Mithat K. Vural states that the school was re-badged as a girls' institute in 1932. Vural, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde İzmir'de Eğitim," 232.

129 "İzmir kız sanat enstitüsü," *Akşam*, 10 March 1935, 6.

130 Hasip Akıncı was the director of the school in 1929. He served again as director of the school from 1933 until 1938. "Sepet, Çiçek ve Şapkacılık," 1. *Enstitü Yıllığı 1934-1935*, (İzmir: Nefaset Basımevi, 1935), 5. E*nstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü 1936-1937 Yılı*, 14. Ayşe Akıncı was the publisher (*imtiyaz sahibi*) of the institute yearbook and was employed as a Turkish teacher in the 1938-1939 academic year. *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü 1936-1937 Yılı*, 63. *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü 1937-1938 Yılı*, 54. *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü 1938-1939 Yılı*, 11.

131 "İzmir kız sanat enstitüsü," *Akşam*, 21 August 1935, 5.

132 Z.D., "Ev kadını nasıl yetişir?," 5.

region.[133] It was one of the "developed cultural institutions" in Izmir, and foreign officials visited.[134] Increasing demand for courses stretched the school's facilitates, and so in 1935, the Ministry of Education purchased land for an additional school building, opening a branch in Beyler Street.[135]

Izmir Cumhuriyet Kız Sanat Enstitüsü established connections with other nearby institutes. For example, the teachers and a group of students from the school traveled to went to Manisa to meet with their colleagues and visit schools and cultural institutes in the city in 1936. They also received information on the history, geography, and culture of the city.[136]

The Ministry founded another girls' institute, *Bursa Necatibey Kız Enstitüsü* (Bursa Necatibey Girls' Institute), in 1929.[137] *Cumhuriyet* stated that it was "a perfect institute that taught the girls of Bursa advanced household management skills."[138] In an article, Musa Ateş (the spelling changed to "Ataş" in the mid-1930s with reforms to the Turkish language) portrayed the institute as "a modern training school for housewives."[139] He also informed readers that the institute graduates continued on to further education in Ankara, were sent to Europe, took jobs as teachers in the schools, or got married. Some of the graduates became women

133 A considerable number of young girls from neighbouring cities attended to the institute. "İzmir sanat enstitüsüne çok rağbet var," *Akşam*, 5 May 1935, 5.

134 For example, a French delegate to the League of Nations visited the institute in 1936. See "İzmir kız enstitüsü," *Akşam*, 21 May 1936, 7.

135 "İzmirde Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 June 1935, 4. See, also, "İzmirde bir yangın herkesi çok korkuttu," *Akşam*, 19 June 1935, 7.

136 "İzmir Kız San'at Enstitüsü talebesi Manisada," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 February 1936, 5.

137 According to information in Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi, the number of girls' institutes in the 1929-1930 academic year was four. Up to this point, there were just two girls' institutes in Turkey—one in İstanbul and the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* in Ankara. The fourth girls' institute was probably in Bursa. The institute opened in 1929. *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 52. See Musa Ataş, "Genç kızlarımızı hayata hazırlayan müessese," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 February 1936, 2. An article in *Akşam* stated the year of establishment as 1927. See R.R, "Kız sanat enstitüsünün yıllık sergisi açıldı," *Akşam*,3 July 1932, 6.

138 "Bursa'da Necati B. Kız Enstitüsünde," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 July 1932, 4.

139 Musa Ateş, "Ev kadını yetiştiren asrî bir müessese," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 May 1935, 11.

"entrepreneurs," opening hat and fashion workshops in Bursa and Edirne.[140]

In another article, Musa Ateş mentioned the increasing demands on the institute in Bursa. From 29 students in the first year, there were 250 in 1936, up 40% in just one year. Based on this information, Ateş asserted that this showed how much the nation's women (*memleket kızları*) needed this kind of school.[141] Like other girls' institutes, the Bursa school had an evening course, attended by married women, family girls, and the women who wanted to do tailoring outside. One department of the school trained tailors, qualifying them to open a tailoring school after attending the school for six months.[142]

The institute became "a highly frequented place every day in the afternoon for the women in Bursa."[143] The workshops were supervised by "two Turkish girls who had been educated in Belgium."[144] Rukiye Hanım, the painting teacher, came from *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* and was appointed to the institute's directorate in 1936.[145] According to the newspaper, her first task was to enlarge the capacity of the evening class. House girls (*ev kızları*), girls from civil officers' families, and primary school teachers attended the evening classes. Students also ran the workshops, working to meet the orders of local consumers and businesses.[146]

The new institutes were generally opened first in the most developed cities (or rising regional centers). The decision was taken directly in Ankara, in some cases, on the initiative and with the cooperation of the

140 Ibid.

141 In another article, Ateş complained that schools had been insufficiently attentive to household management, and for this reason, many well-educated women remained indifferent to housework. According to Ateş, this problem was solved with the opening of the art schools and girls' institutions in the 1930s. Ateş, "Ev kadını yetiştiren asrî bir müessese," 11. Ataş, "Genç kızlarımızı hayata hazırlayan müessese," 2.

142 Ataş, "Genç kızlarımızı hayata hazırlayan müessese," 2.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

145 "Ev kadını yetiştirmek için çok hayırlı emekler," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 November 1936, 5.

146 Ibid.

governors. The opening of the girls' institute in Manisa is an example of this kind of cooperation. According to reports in *Akşam*, the opening of the girls' institute in Manisa came after a popular mobilization started there by the governor Lûtfi Kırdar in 1937.[147] It opened in December 1937 to wide acclaim from the people in the city.[148]

For the girls' institute in Adana, correspondence took place between the governorate and the Ministry of Culture over the need for a girls' vocational school in the area. The governor's petition probably reflected local demands coming from the mercantile and municipal elite of the city. Demands in Adana were also raised through the newspapers. For example, one author published on the need for an arts school. He noted how crowded the city was and its large hinterland, and its role as a trade center.[149] The Adana girls' institute opened in a modern, purpose-built building in 1936.[150]

In some cases, party inspectors from the RPP played a key role. For example, *Edirne Kız Enstitüsü* (Edirne Girls' Institute) opened in 1936[151] on the initiative of Genera Kâzım Dirik,[152] who was the general inspector of Trakya. His petition was backed by the RPP, the Ministry of Culture, and the people of Edirne.[153] One report in *Cumhuriyet* mentioned *Edirne Kız*

147 "Manisada kültür seferberliği," *Akşam*, 31 December 1937, 11. "Manisada birçok yeni binalar yapıldı," *Akşam*, 24 March 1938, 6.

148 "Manisada kültür seferberliği," 11. See, also, "Manisada birçok yeni binalar yapıldı," 6. "Manisa Kız Enstitüsü Açıldı," *Tan*, 25 December 1937, 10.

149 One author in *Cumhuriyet* noted that in Adana it was financially impossible for many families to send daughters on to university. Yet, the report noted, many fathers did wish to see their daughters have access to training in household management and other useful skills and were supportive of proposals to open such an institution in the city. "Adanalılar Kız San'at Enstitüsü istiyorlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 October 1935, 5. See, also, "Adanada Kız San'at Enstitüsü açılıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 March 1936, 7.

150 "Adanada iki güzel müessese açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 December 1936, 6.

151 In a document sent from the general inspector of Trakya to the prime minister, İsmet İnönü, in 1937, the inspector stated that the establishment of Edirne Kız Enstitüsü was one year ago. BCA 030.10.73.477.10, 77D, 10 June 1937.

152 "Edirne Kız Sanatokulu çok iyi neticeler veriyor" *Akşam*, 21 June 1938, 11.

153 "Edirne Kız San'at okulunun sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 June 1938, 5. "Edirnede ev kadını yetiştiren bir müessese," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 June 1939, 7.

Enstitüsü and stated that the institute taught arts like tailoring, millinery, and floristry "for women who could not otherwise make a living and poor Turkish girls," as well as skills in household management.[154] The author noted the wide pool of enrolled students, from the poor and unemployed through to well-to-do young girls and married women.[155] Alongside the school's director, Hayriye Hanım, it had three teachers who taught, respectively, sewing, millinery, and floristry, and fashion.[156] Local newspapers in Edirne approved of the institute's courses for women.[157] The graduates opened tailoring schools. *Akşam* stated that many private tailoring schools were opened in Edirne and various other places in Trakya.[158]

One key objective of the policy was to train Muslim girls in tailoring, a sector traditionally dominated in Ottoman times by non-Muslim communities. Kâzım Dirik stated this explicitly in a document he sent to the prime minister, İsmet İnönü, reporting on the *Edirne Kız Enstitüsü* in 1937. Dirik noted how before Edirne had been primarily served by "Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, and Jewish women artisans"[159] and seamstresses. He underscored the girls' institute's role in helping to train Muslims to do this kind of work, stating how the institute had "entirely closed this wound" and had supported the "boosting of Turkish culture."[160]

The girls' institutes in Trabzon were also established through cooperation between the RPP inspector and locals. A girls' evening art school was opened in January 1937 with Melâhat Tırnakçı Hanım as director to great acclaim by local Trabzon people.[161] The school had

154 "Edirnede açılan Kız Enstitüsü," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 November 1936, 6.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid.

157 Ibid. "Edirne kız sanat okulunda" *Akşam*, 18 May 1938, 4.

158 "Edirne kız sanat okulunda," p 4.

159 BCA 030.10.73.477.10, 77D, 10 June 1937.

160 He also presented a small album of the exhibition to the ministry. Ibid.

161 According to the newspaper, the school was widely welcomes and 180 students were enrolled in short order. "Trabzon Akşam Kız San'at mektebi çok rağbet gördü," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 January 1937, 2.

cutting, sewing, and millinery departments. Due to the increasing demand, the Ministry of Education decided to add departments in subsequent semesters.[162] A couple of months after the foundation of this school, the Ministry of Education decided to open a girls' institute in Trabzon. The general inspector Tahsin Uzer played a significant role in this.[163] According to *Akşam*, local women were especially appreciative, since they had been "slaves of chador and face veiling" in the near past.[164] According to the newspaper, this attention showed that Trabzon women were interested in "modern art and home management," as well as their commitment to the "opportunities and instruments provided by Kemalism to advance in Atatürk's regime."[165] The institute hosted the Eastern Cities Congress (*Doğu Vilayetleri Kongresi*) in 1938, attended by general inspectors and governors.[166] The director of the school, Melahat Hanım, stated that consuls' wives also visited the institute. The German consul's wife had expressed particular admiration for the school and asked if she could order some of the handicrafts made by the students.[167]

Elif Ekin Akşit draws attention to the socio-economic differences between the students who attended daytime and evening classes in the institutes. She further notes that this kind of difference came to the surface more, especially in the girls' institute in Elazığ. Urban officers' children tended to attend in the day, and Kurdish village girls were often boarders.[168] The day school offered a curriculum much like similar institutions of the time, and, like others, it also ran a girls' evening art school.[169]

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162 "Trabzon Akşam Kız San'at mektebi," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 February 1936, 2.

163 "Trabzon Kız Enstitüsü çalışıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 December 1937, 6. "Trabzon kız sanat mektebine rağbet fazla," *Akşam*, 7 January 1938, 11.

164 "Trabzon kız sanat mektebine rağbet fazla," 11.

165 Ibid.

166 Ibid.

167 Ibid. See, also, "Trabzon Kız Enstitüsünün sergisi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 June 1938, 5.

168 Akşit also states that the curriculum was different in daytime and evening courses. Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği,* 147; 148; 149-162.

169 *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Milli Eğitimi 1943-1944, 1948-1949*, 62.

The boarding school of *Elazığ Kız Enstitüsü* (Elazığ Girls' Institute) was distinct in being designed to assist in the new regime's Turkification policy in the region. The single party regime sought to construct a homogenous nation-state in Turkey and extend its control to the eastern regions of the country, where the majority of people were Kurds.[170] The city of Dersim (which was renamed Tunceli in line with the Turkification policy in language) was at the forefront of the centralization efforts. The so-called *Tunceli Kanunu* (Tunceli Law) was the basis for the fourth general inspectorate that included the cities of Tunceli, Elazığ, and Bingöl, established by decree in January 1936.[171] Dersim was the site of a major uprising two years later, which lasted almost one year. The opening of the girls' institute in Elazığ was brought forward by the head of the local inspectorate, Lieutenant-General Hüseyin Abdullah Alpdoğan, at this time,[172] in a move designed to support the Turkification policy and the assimilation of local Kurdish girls.[173]

The *Elazığ Kız Enstitüsü* opened its doors in December 1937[174] as a Kurdish rebellion continued in the region. At a conference held in a local *Halkevi* in 1938,[175] the director of the institute, Nuriye Hekimoğlu,

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170 Mesut Yeğen, "The Turkish State Discourse and the Exclusion of Kurdish Identity," *Middle Eastern Studies*, no. 2 (April 1996): 216-229.

171 The corps commander, Lieutenant General Hüseyin Abdullah Alpdoğan was appointed to the fourth general inspectorate. See *Resmi Gazete*, law no 2884, 2 January 1936. *Resmi Gazete*, decree no:2/3823, 16 January 1936. *Resmi Gazete*, decree no2/3847, 16 January 1936.

172 Ö. K. Ağar, "Kız Enstitüsü Açıldı," *Altan*, no. 34 (28 December 1937): 12. Nuriye Hekimoğlu, "Kız Enstitüsü Niçin Açıldı?" *Altan*, no. 33-34-35 (January 1938): 32.

173 For other studies related to the girls' institute in Elazığ, see Akşit, *Kızların Sessizliği*. Altınay, "Dressing for Utopia," 212-216. Türkyılmaz, "Nationalizing Through Education". Yeşil, "Unfolding Republican Patriarchy".

174 In one of his articles for the *Halkevi* in Elâziz (which was later redesignated as Elazığ in line with the Turkification of place names), Ömer Kemal Ağar stated that the local girls' institute opened in 1937. Ömer Kemal Ağar, "Kız Enstitüsü Açılırken," *Altan*, no. 30 (28 September 1937): 6. For the opening of the institution, see Ağar, "Kız Enstitüsü Açıldı," 12-13.

175 Conference participants included the inspectors of the army, General Kâzım Orbay, Lieutenant-General Alpdoğan, the governor of Elazığ, Şefik Bicioğlu, the deputy governor of Elazığ, Sedad Öğen, along with counsellors and local officials. Nuriye Hekimoğlu, "Kız Enstitüsü Niçin Açıldı?," 32.

explained that the Ministry of Culture had decided to open a boarding school "to raise Tunceli girls."[176] The school would teach "the future mothers of the Eastern region" how to speak the "national language" and instructed them that "they were Turks."[177] Hekimoğlu stated that after cultivating their "loyalty to the national goal (*milli mefkure*) and country, and shaping them into conscious citizens and knowledgeable housewives, we will return them to their villages."[178]

One report of the local general inspectorship in 1937 reflected the same view. According to the report, one of the aims of this institute was to play a role in the social development of the surrounding areas by educating female boarding students who would be properly instructed and returned to their homes.[179] The report notes explicitly that the *Elazığ Kız Enstitüsü* sought to ensure everyone spoke Turkish everywhere and to cultivate "Turkishness" and a love of motherland from birth.[180] The inspector stated a preference for the selection of village girls who met all the other preconditions and spoke "mountain Turkish in their homes and villages" up until that time and never "had the opportunity to learn Turkish."[181]

In line with this policy, the boarding school at the *Elazığ Kız Enstitüsü* enrolled village girls between 13-17 years old. The aim was to craft "a modern village woman" in two years by imparting the most necessary principles and methods related to "sewing, embroidery, housekeeping, personal hygiene, and childcare."[182] The curriculum offered a limited

176 Ibid.

177 Ibid.

178 Ibid. Similar views existed in the newspapers. For example, according to news reports in *Cumhuriyet*, one girl from each village would be enrolled. The newspaper stated that when each girl finished their education and returned their home, they would be eligible enough to be governesses of the other girls in the village. "Elâzizde Kız Enstitüsü açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 November 1937, 5.

179 BCA 030.10.72.470.2, 77C 01 September 1937.

180 Ibid.

181 Ibid.

182 *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 48.

number of general knowledge and vocational courses[183] and was different from that of the day students. For example, there were fewer vocational lessons on offer. Apart from that, the boarding school curriculum at the *Elazığ Kız Enstitüsü* resembled that provided in most girls' evening art schools, the key difference being that there were more hours dedicated to the Turkish language.[184]

In sum, the girls' institutes were a new invention, with just two held over from the Ottoman Empire into the republican period. The others were established during the 1930s. Most were established by the state, with the notable exception of the girls' institute in Izmir, which had been established privately by a married couple educated in Europe. While Ankara took the lead, many institutes were established with the collaboration of local communities and municipal leaders.

All in all, the girls' institutes played a significant role in the cities where they were established. This was mostly about raising Turkish women as ideal housewives and working women capable of pursuing an independent living who could reflect the nation's values in their private and professional lives. However, the girls' institute in Elazığ shows other objectives were at play in some cases, including assisting in the republic's Turkification policy.

183 The courses offered to boarders included Turkish language, civics education, arithmetic, geometry, painting, cooking, home management, childcare, sewing-cutting, hat-making, embroidery, music and gymnastics. Ibid. *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 183.

184 The boarding school students took ten hours of Turkish lessons a week. In the standard curriculum of the girls' institutes, students took between two and five hours of Turkish language classes a week. *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 179-183. See, also, Yeşil, "Unfolding Republican Patriarchy," 96-97. Some of the preconditions for registration were similar to those of the girls' institutes, such as "being Turk" and between 12 and 17 years old, as well as the health and vaccination certificates. The boarding school in Elazığ had two further preconditions—namely, that the student should have sufficient intellectual capacity and not be physically / mentally ill or defective. *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 183.

§ 5.5 The Girls' Institutes as Fashion Centers

Girls' institutes worked like fashion centers in the early republican period producing various kinds of clothes, accessories, and attire for local middle-class women.[185] In line with republican policy, the institutes became centers of Western, often Parisian, fashion.

The institutes opened workshops (*atölye/ sipariş atölyesi*) that offered tailor-made clothes on order for local women and provided an income for the students. Students were therefore exposed to the life of work even before their graduation. For example, students were paid 10 kuruş for an hours' work in the workshops in 1936. The wages were held in trust in the national bank in accounts set up for the students and were paid out after graduation.[186] In this way, the workshops were designed to replicate the experience of working in a real customer-facing environment.[187] Students worked to produce goods in their specialization under the supervision of their teachers.[188]

The workshops were model capital enterprises (*döner semayeli işletme*), which prepared students by reproducing all the aspects of real business life.[189] According to the Ministry of Education periodical, five girls' institutes had workshops with a total capital allocation of 9.541,78 lira in 1939.[190] The periodical did not offer a line detail by name for the schools, but a close look at other archival sources indicates that the girls' institutes in question were the two ex-Ottoman schools (*Selçuk Kız*

185 Yumniye Akbulut states that all women in Manisa were keen to shop for clothes from the girls' institute in the 1940s. Akbulut, *Şıklığın Resmi Tarihi,* 31.

186 *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 33.

187 *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 32. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 43-44. *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı*, 39.

188 *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 32. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 43-44. *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı*, 39.

189 *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*, 73. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 49.

190 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 49. The workshop of *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü* was opened in 1936. See "İzmir kız enstitüsünün yeni binası açıldı," *Akşam*, 18 December 1936, 6. *Akşam*, 19 December 1936, 8.

Enstitüsü and *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü*) in Istanbul, and the three first post-war girls' institutes established in Ankara, Izmir, and Bursa.[191]

Limited information exists on the workshops. The one at the *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* was opened in October 1931, and senior class students, as well as the graduates, were employed there.[192] This workshop had garment, underwear, embroidery, and fashion departments[193] and operated solely on a make-to-order basis.[194] The print media appreciated the students' outputs. For example, *Cumhuriyet* claimed the products were made "attentively and successfully" by the students and regarded them as "products of high art."[195] Most of the workshops were directed by foreign teachers, which was also appreciated in the press. For the girls' institute in Üsküdar, *Cumhuriyet* stated that the fourth-grade students "presented an exceptional talent" under the supervision of the "qualified and capable" teacher, Mademoiselle Friçi, and "obtained outstanding results."[196]

With the permission of the directorate of technical education in the Ministry of Education, the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* opened a workshop in Nil Apartment, which was in front of Tokatlıyan building in Beyoğlu.[197] The workshop was opened on the initiative of the student cooperative,[198] and the senior class also worked at the workshop and took orders. The revenue received from the sale of student-made products accumulated in the cooperative's reserves,[199] ensuring that the graduate students had

191 *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 49. See "İzmir kız enstitüsünün yeni binası açıldı," 6. *Akşam*, 19 December 1936, 8.

192 "Üsküdar Kız San'at mektebinin sergisi çok muvaffak oldu," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 June 1932, 1-2.

193 Ibid.

194 Ibid.

195 Ibid.

196 Ibid.

197 "Selçuk kız san'at mektebinin sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 June 1934, 4.

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid.

both a job and growing savings.[200] The school showcased student products at a store in Beyoğlu in 1937.[201]

It seems that the institutes aimed to raise tailors who could produce haute couture clothes at low cost. The institutes mostly copied fashionable designs from the Parisian fashion houses intending to spread Western fashion to a wider spectrum of women. For example, the workshop of the girls' institute in Izmir was opened in 1936 with the participation of the governor Fazlı Güleç, the local army chief, and the head of the local party directory Avni Doğan, as well as other officials. *Akşam* stated the workshop aimed to "meet the people's clothing needs as cheaply as possible" and produce "hats, artificial flowers, sewing and embroidery works."[202] At the opening ceremony, some of "the latest fashion garments" designed by the students were showcased.[203]

The workshop was generally staffed by the later-year students, who had more experience.[204] The workshop had only a sewing and fashion department in 1936.[205] Saadet Ertunç was the fashion workshop's head,[206] while the French expert Fernand Reymond oversaw the sewing workshop.[207] According to the yearbook of the *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü*, the chief "with her excellent taste and knowledge," followed "European fashion every day" and left a mark of her expertise on every item. The French teacher was appreciated for his work and for closely following European fashion.[208] The workshop was the only place that was "meeting the fashion needs of Izmir women" who had previously had to source all their fashion needs from Istanbul.[209]

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200 Ibid.

201 "Selçuk Kız Enstitüsünün sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 July 1937, 5.

202 "İzmir kız sanat enstitüsünde sipariş atelyesi açıldı," *Akşam*, 29 January 1936, 6.

203 Ibid.

204 *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü Yıllığı*, June 1936, 36.

205 Ibid.

206 Ibid.

207 Ibid.

208 Ibid.

209 Ibid.

The workshop of *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* had the most opportunities in this period[210] and worked like a haute couture house.[211] Yumniye Akbulut, a former student of the institute, emphasized differences between the workshop of *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* and that of the girls' institute in Manisa, where she attended the two-year special class after graduating from a secondary school. Akbulut confirms that the workshops in *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* were fashion houses in the 1940s. The institute had several workshops consisting of students, teachers, and directors. Like all others, the workshops worked based on a circulating capital system, and students also got paid after extracting expenses.[212]

As Akbulut tells it, the French fashion was followed in the workshops which subscribed to French periodicals such as *L'Officiel*, *L'Art et la Mode*, *La Femme Chic*, *Vogue*, *Jour de France,* and *Collection*.[213] She noted the staff and students' focus on hosting perfectly executed fashion shows and producing custom-made clothes, always prioritizing customer satisfaction.[214] She also recounts how each workshop tried to create exclusive designs and worked in secret to ensure the clients' made-to-order outfits would be one-of-a-kind. The desire to ensure each piece was unique engendered much competition between and inside the workshops, according to Akbulut.[215]

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210 *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*, 73.

211 Some studies (e.g., Altınay, "Dressing for Utopia," 217) claim that all of the girls' institutes worked as haute couture fashion houses in the interwar period. However, no information exists to support this claim. Only the workshop of *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* seems to have functioned this way. Instead, as discussed, the principle goals of the typical girls' institute were to train tailors and churn out affordable clothing for local women. Haute couture (literally "high sewing") emerged in the second half of the 19th century in Paris and lasted until the mid-20th century. It was a very characteristic form of craft making and was deemed "the highest form of fashionable design and dressmaking." For the dictionary definition of the term, see Valerie Cumming, C. W. Cunnington and P. E. Cunnington, *The Dictionary of Fashion History* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2010), 102.

212 Akbulut, *Şıklığın Resmi Tarihi,* 35.

213 Ibid., 36.

214 Ibid., 35.

215 Ibid., 38-39.

The clientele of the workshop in *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* was distinct. As Akbulut notes, the workshop catered almost exclusively to the wives and daughters of the ruling elite and state officials and Ankara's well-to-do. Akbulut prepared clothes for Özden İnönü, the daughter of İsmet İnönü, and Memduh Satır, the wife of the Adana deputy of the RPP.[216] Despite these special clients, the prices charged were reasonable, and garments were constructed economically and priced based on the cost of the fabric. She also recounts how some clients would insist on reusing fabric from existing garments when it was not possible to find the desired fabric in Ankara's stores.[217]

Paris was the center of fashion and haute couture in the interwar period. Paris fashion shows, which took place four times a year, attracted buyers and press from all around the world. Buyers would order custom-made clothes and purchase haute couture garments and the right to copy the designs.[218] Some of the well-known tailors of Beyoğlu went to Paris and returned to Turkey with copies of these exhibited designs.[219] Some of the periodicals also presented haute couture fashion. For example, a monthly fashion periodical, *Moda Albümü* (*Fashion Album*) published in

216 Ibid., 39.

217 Ibid.

218 Two major fashion shows took place in August and February in Paris. Two smaller midseason shows took place in October and April. See Véronique Pouillard, "Design Piracy in the Fashion Industries of Paris and New York in the Interwar Years," *Business History Review* 85 (Summer 2011): 323.

219 For example, Bayan Fegara had returned from Paris and presented Paris designs in the fashion periodical, *Moda Albümü* (Fashion Album) in 1936. See Fegara, "Günün Modası," *Moda Albümü,* no. 2 (May 1936): 8. *Moda Albümü* portrayed *Lion Store* as a store which closely followed Paris fashion and always brought the newest fashions to Istanbul. "Neler Giyeceğiz?" *Moda Albümü*, no. 2 (May 1936): 14. A report in 1930 informed that Madam Emilia Griscti returned from Paris and presented latest the fashion robes, coats and hats to her clients. "Muvasalat," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 October 1930, 6. A fashion milliner in Beyoğlu, Madame Marinet informed her clients when she returned from Paris with winter hat designs, ready for sale in the store. See *Cumhuriyet*, 15 November 1932, 8. "Müvasalât Zoe Moda Evi," *Akşam*, 13 April 1937, 5. For similar advertisements of two milliners in Ankara, see "Diker şapka salonu," *Akşam*, 27 September 1938, 6. "Bayan Afife," *Akşam,* 15 October 1938, 3.

the mid-1930s, played a key role in disseminating the newest haute couture designs.[220] From the beginning, *Moda Albümü* offered the tailoring schools and girls' art schools in Anatolia the latest designs and patterns for a fixed price, which were dispatched by mail as soon as they were published.[221] It seems that not only well-to-do women read this periodical but also the staff and students of the tailoring schools and girls' art schools, who benefitted from the designs included in the fashion pages.[222]

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220 The periodical published the latest fashion designs brought by the tailors of Beyoğlu. See "Büyük Terziler," *Moda Albümü*, no. 1 (April 1936): 24. In the first issue, *Moda Albümü* published a short paragraph explaining what its fashion policy for the first 10 issues of would be. According to the periodical: "Fashion was born in Paris, from where it spread all over the world. Nowhere else could fashion have emerged. Fashion showed up twice in a year as spring and summer in February and fall and winter in August in Paris. During this period, drapers, tailors, hat producers who created fashion opened exhibitions." *Moda Albümü* was the first periodical to send a journalist to one of the Paris exhibitions. Its Paris correspondent, Matmazel Pomeri, was employed to send the latest fashion lines, colours, garnitures presented in the exhibitions every season. All of the designs published in the periodical were "brought specifically for the periodical and were unique in Istanbul." *Moda Albümü*, "Günün Modası," *Moda Albümü*, no. 1 (April 1936): 27. *Moda Albümü* also announced that it had the copyright of all designs presented in the periodical. The periodical published a warning in its first page under the journal info that the right to reproduce and publish of all designs were protected by the Copyright Law. After the 10th issue, the periodical replaced the warning statement with that the publisher did not "accept the responsibility of the content of advertisements."

221 For example, see "Moda Servisi," *Moda Albümü*, no. 4 (July 1936): 15. "Moda Servisi," *Moda Albümü*, no. 5 (August 1936): 19. "Moda Servisi," *Moda Albümü*, no. 6 (September 1936): 23. "Moda Servisi," *Moda Albümü*, no. 7 (October 1936): 11. "Moda Servisi," *Moda Albümü*, no. 8 (November 1936): 21. "Patron Servisi," *Moda Albümü*, no. 10 (January 1937): 8-9. "Moda Albümünün Şık ve Pratik Hazır Patronlar," *Moda Albümü*, no. 11 (February 1937): 8. "Moda Albümünün Şık ve Pratik Patronları," *Moda Albümü*, no. 12 (March 1937): 19. Patrons of garment designs were published in a couple of more issues in the periodical but there was no further announcement related to the patron service of the periodical from the issue 13. However, the periodical continued to publish photographs and mostly sketches of the designs with detailed descriptions in its pages.

222 The periodical published mannequins' photographs taken by the well-known photographers of Istanbul, such as Foto Süreyya, Foto Rekor and Foto Moda. With these photographs, the periodical presented latest designs of Beyoğlu tailors. The periodical

Leading all other girls' institutes, *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* adopted a similar policy in this period and brought all the fashion designs and materials from Paris. The government removed the ban on importing some of goods specifically for the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* in 1936, and the school could then import various kinds of fabrics for garments and hats and materials for flower making.[223] The government even paid the head of the school's workshop, Violette Pilzer, to travel to Paris in person to collect materials and observe fashion exhibitions herself in 1936. Her contract with the Ministry of Education allocated a certain budget for purchasing such materials and fashion items and her travel costs.[224] Pilzer continued to be a teacher even after 1940.[225]

European influence was evident in the education system of the institutes. Likewise, the girls' institutes brought Western fashion to the country and undertook the mission to produce and disseminate Western fashion and train female tailors who could displace non-Muslims in the fashion industry in Beyoğlu. One of the institutes' most significant public activities was exhibitions, where the students presented their products and through which the institutes could reach a wider segment of society.

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also included photographs of mannequins presenting Paris fashion and photographs of Hollywood artists presenting American fashion of the day. Most of the pages of the periodicals were full of sketches of either fashionable designs of Beyoğlu and Paris tailors. In some issues, the periodical presented haute couture designs that the periodical brought from Paris. In doing this, *Moda Albümü* disseminated Paris fashion and Paris haute couture to a wider spectrum of women in Turkey.

223 BCA 030.18.1.2.64.31.15, 144.197, 21 April 1936. During the 1930s, the Ministry of Education wanted to buy "designs, fabric, garnishing, fashion materials and patterns from Paris," which were "considered to be necessary" for education at the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* and *Ankara Kız Ertik Öğretmen Okulu*. The government not only authorized these purchases but set aside a budget for them in Turkish liras to cover the foreign currency needed to acquire them. See BCA 030.18.1.2.34.12.5, 144.138, 27 February 1933; BCA 030.18.1.2.40.76.18, 144.154, 05 November 1933; BCA 030.18.1.2.63.23.13, 144.194, 26 March 1936. BCA 030.18.1.2.77.64.1, 08 July 1937; BCA 030.18.1.2.85.109.15, 144.243, 30 December 1938; BCA 030.18.1.2.84.82.16, 144.237, 14 September 1938; BCA 030.18.1.2.88.84.15, 144.252, 05 September 1939.

224 BCA 030.18.1.2.67.63.8, 143.159, 23 July 1936.

225 BCA 030.18.1.2.93.105.19, 127.41, 14 November 1940.

§ 5.6 Exhibitions at the Girls' Institutes and Girls' Evening Art Schools

The girls' institutions hosted annual exhibitions to present all kinds of handicrafts made by the students in their lessons throughout the year. Therefore, the exhibitions included artifacts from different departments. For example, the 1935 exhibition stalls of the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* included pedagogic, technological, home management, cooking, and fashion exhibits. In the home management exhibit, the clothes and home articles that the students cleaned and repaired were on display. The fashion stall exhibited the latest fashion garments, underwear, pillows, coverlet sets, hats, children's clothes, and various embroideries. Mazhar Nazım Hanım had trained in Europe and was in charge of the decoration of the exhibition.[226] The girls' institute in Bursa put on a similar exhibition in 1939. The kitchen stall showcased "delicious cakes and cookies prepared in a modern kitchen," which were portrayed as any housewife's foundational skill.[227] In other parts of the exhibition, "precious and elegant artifacts made in fashion, hat-making and sewing courses" were on display. According to *Cumhuriyet*, especially the part presenting flowers received the attention of the visitors. Saadet Hanım, the flower teacher in the school, had her education in Belgium on flowery.[228]

These exhibitions were opened or presided over by the city's elite and significant political figures, such as the local governor, general inspector, officials, and party members.[229] The exhibitions hosted by

226 "Türk kızlarını hayata hazırlayan san'at yuvası," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 June 1935, 4.

227 "Bursa Kız Enstitüsünün senelik sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 June 1939, 5.

228 Ibid.

229 Leading examples included the exhibition of the girls' institute in Edirne in 1937, which was attended by the general inspector, the principal consultant and the governor. The 1938 exhibition was opened by the inspector, General Kâzım Dirik. His wife, Maide Dirik, opened the school's 1939 exhibition, along with the principal consultant Sabri, the governor Ferid and his wife and other distinguished guests. The governor and mayor participated in the opening of the 1936 the exhibition of the *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü*. *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* opened an exhibition in 1930 with the participation of some state

İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü always attracted politicians since it was in the capital and was considered the leading girls' vocation school of the period. High officials and deputies in Ankara were always present to open the institute's events.[230] İsmet İnönü and Mustafa Kemal also visited the exhibitions of the school.[231]

Apart from the annual exhibitions, *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* also held smaller exhibitions throughout the year. These smaller exhibitions were used to showcase seasonal fashions to the people of Ankara. For example, in 1933, a spring fashion exhibition was held for the elite of Ankara and the women from the consulate committees.[232]

It is not possible to know exactly how many visitors attended every exhibition, but *Akşam* published some rough numbers for some of them. For example, *Akşam* stated that more than 1,000 people visited the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* exhibition over four days in 1932.[233] According to the

officials. The governor, Fazlı Güleç, and the local army commander, General Salim Cevad, helped open the *Bursa Necatibey Kız Enstitüsü* in 1935. In 1936, the school's graduation ceremony was presided over by the new governor, Şefik Soyer, and General Cevad. "Selçuk Kız San'at Mektebi sergisi dün açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1930, 1. "Edirne Kız San'at mektebinin sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 June 1937, 4. "Edirne Kız San'at okulunun sergisi," 5. See, also, "Bursa Kız Enstitüsünün senelik sergisi," 5. "Edirnede ev kadını yetiştiren bir müessese," 7. "Üsküdar Kız San'at mektebi sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 June 1936, 2. "Necatibey kız enstitüsü," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 June 1935, 6. "Necatibey Kız Enstitüsünün veda müsameresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 April 1936, 5. "Bursa Necati bey kız enstitüsünde bir sergi açıldı," *Akşam*, 28 June 1937, 4.

230 For example, the annual exhibition was opened in the presence of high officials from the government and deputies in 1932. The Minister of Education, Hikmet Bey opened the exhibition in 1934. In 1935, Rüşdü Bey, the director of vocational education in the Ministry of Culture, opened the event, while the Minister of Education did so personally in 1936. "İsmet Pş. enstitüsünün sergisi" *Cumhuriyet*, 17 June 1932, 3. "İsmet Paşa kız enstitüsünün sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 June 1934, 3. "İsmet Paşa Enstitüsündeki sergi dün açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 June 1935, 3. "İsmetpaşa Kız Enstitüsünde açılan sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 June 1936, 2.

231 İnönü presided over the exhibition's opening ceremony in 1933 and Mustafa Kemal visited the same year. "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsünde," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 June 1933, 3. "Gazi Hz. İsmet paşa enstitüsünde," *Akşam*, 25 June 1933, 1.

232 "Ankarada moda sergisi," *Akşam*, 19 April 1933, 9.

233 "Selçuk hatun elişleri sergisi," *Akşam*, 28 June 1932, 4.

information in *Akşam*, 6,142 people visited the exhibition of *Bursa Necatibey Kız Enstitüsü* in 1932.[234] According to the paper, for the 1935 exhibition of the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü*, a total of 20,000 people visited the exhibition.[235] *Cumhuriyet* reported that approximately 59,900 people visited an exhibition gathering all the art schools together in 1938.[236] Looking at these numbers, it seems that the girls' institute exhibitions were significant and popular public events in the interwar period in Turkey.

Print media reports always commented favorably on the exhibitions, noting teachers and students' efforts in putting them on. The papers noted the fine artistry of the products being showcased. For example, in 1932, *Cumhuriyet* noted that the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* exhibition had showcased "many fine and artistic handicrafts," which were appreciated.[237] For the exhibition of the *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Mektebi* (Beyoğlu Evening Girls' School) in 1933, the newspaper acclaimed the efforts of the president of the school, Ayşe Hanım, along with the European teachers and the Turkish faculty who had received their training in Europe. The newspaper also praised the graduates and published their names.[238]

Artifacts prepared over 40 days by the students and teachers of *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* as well as the institute in Ankara were presented at the exhibition of *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* in 1930. *Cumhuriyet* claimed that it was the best evidence that "tailoring and handicrafts" had come of age in Turkey. According to the newspaper, hundreds of artifacts vividly showed "Turkish girls' aesthetic talent and good taste."[239] The latest fashion and methods were applied in the school with the participation of foreign experts. Specifically, the moulage sewing technique, which

234 "Bursada kız sanat enstitüsü sergisi," *Akşam* 12 July 1932, 8.

235 "İsmet İnönü kız enstitüsü sergisi kaptıldı," *Akşam*, 19 June 1935, 2.

236 "Ankaradaki kız san'at enstitüleri sergisini 59 bin kişi gezdi," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 June 1938, 3.

237 "İsmet Pş. enstitüsünün sergisi," 3. See, also, "İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsünde," 3.

238 "Akşam Kız Sanat mektebinde sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 June 1933, 4. See, also, *Cumhuriyet*, 17 July 1933, 1.

239 "Selçuk Kız San'at Mektebi sergisi dün açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1930, 1.

became and was readily operational, was used to create some of the artifacts in this exhibition.[240]



Figure 5.1 The exhibition of *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* in 1932. SOURCE: *Akşam* (June 28, 1932).

Mürüvvet Avni İlkiz Hanım was a sewing teacher at the girls' evening art school in Konya. The fashion teacher at the school was Bediye Hanım.[241] The school had cutting, sewing, embroidery, millinery, and flower-making departments. According to *Cumhuriyet*, this school made an exhibition in 1937 to present works of art as instances of "good taste, elegant soul" and the innate ability of Turkish women "to produce fine arts."[242] The newspaper stated that the hats displayed in the exhibition resembled the style and form of those adorning the showcases of the

240 Ibid.

241 "Konya Kız San'at mektebinin sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 June 1937, 7.

242 "San'atkâr Türk kadını yetiştiren bir müessese," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 June 1937, 5.

famous fashion saloons. It also asserted that the artifacts made by Turkish women artists would undoubtedly receive great appreciation.[243]

Cumhuriyet covered the exhibition of *Edirne Kız Enstitüsü* in 1938, the year in which the first cohort of students graduated. In the exhibition, blouses, shirts, pillows, coats, and artificial flowers and hats made by the school's final class were on display. According to the newspaper, the institute opened an "extraordinarily elegant" exhibition that showcased work of "very delicate and fine taste."[244] The newspaper stated that this exhibition was a sight to behold in terms of art, aesthetics, and value for money.[245]

In the exhibition of the *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* in 1932, *Cumhuriyet* stated that the visitors appreciated the students' products. The fashionable hats made by the efforts of the hat teacher, Nadide Hanım, and her students were applauded very much. Other teachers at the school were celebrated for their efforts. The newspaper praised the school for becoming a "modern art school" with the Ministry of Education's help. In this year, shows and stage plays accompanied the annual hat and handicraft exhibits of the school.[246] For the 1936 exhibition, *Cumhuriyet* stated that some of the "pieces on display were of high artistic value and marked by fine craftsmanship."[247] The paper marked out the hats and robes the students had made for particular praise. The students sold hundreds of liras worth of goods and received many orders outside the school.[248]

Foreign inspectors visited some of the exhibitions. *Cumhuriyet* reported on the 1929 exhibition of the *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü*, which showcased students' "delicate and precious works of art," including handicrafts, embroidery and manifold sewing artifacts.[249] Many families

243 Ibid.

244 "Edirne Kız San'at okulunun sergisi," 5.

245 "Edirnede ev kadını yetiştiren bir müessese," 7.

246 "Muvaffak bir Mektep sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 June 1932, 2.

247 "Üsküdar Kız San'at mektebi sergisi," 2.

248 "Üsküdar Kız San'at mektebinde konser," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 June 1936, 2.

249 "Üsküdar kız san'atlar mektebinde bir sergi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 July 1929, 4.

visited this exhibition.[250] The paper praised the school president, Zekiye Hanım, for having secured visitors from France and Belgium. According to *Cumhuriyet*, the foreign observers "watched the exhibition astonished" and considered the artifacts as "the standard of Turkish ladies' talents for art and good taste."[251]


Üsküdar Kız San'at mektebi sergisi

Bu sene 24 genç kızımız mezun oldu

Bu sene mektepten çıkan talebeler, kendilerinin hazırladıkları sergide

Figure 5.2 The exhibition in *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* in 1933. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (June 12, 1933).

The exhibition of the girls' art school within the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* was prepared with the efforts of "the hardworking president Semiha Hanım" in 1929. According to *Cumhuriyet*, many people came to see "the delicate handicrafts, each of which was a work of art." The art schools' general inspectors, Madame and M. Ruvalt, two French experts, praised Semiha Hanım, the teaching committee, and Feridun Bey, who dealt with the art schools.[252]

250 Ibid.

251 "Üsküdar kız san'at mektebi sergisi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 July 1929, 4. See, also, "Üsküdar kız San'at mektebinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 June 1930, 2.

252 "Çapadaki kız san'at mektebinin sergisi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 July 1929, 2.

The tailors in Beyoğlu were also very much interested in the exhibitions. In 1933, "the local and foreign storeowners of Beyoğlu" attended the formal opening of the *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* annual exhibition along with state officials and inspectors from the Ministry of Education.[253]

The exhibitions provided the tailors of Beyoğlu an opportunity to discover new talent, some of whom were offered jobs in their stores. For example, *Beyoğlu Kız Akşam Sanat Mektebi* (Beyoğlu Girls' Evening Art School) hosted a hat competition in 1936 in which 50 students competed. It was judged by two famous milliners in Beyoğlu, Bayan Marinet, and Bella. The students showcased their winter hats in the saloon of the school. The jury members examined all the designs, commented on the good quality of the work, and even offered a job to the competition's highest-ranked students. The print media stated that all the designs were indistinguishable from and made "even more perfect than European designs."[254]

Students were not only showcasing their designs in the exhibitions but also ran and modeled for the fashion shows themselves. Details are scarce, but I was able to find information on the 1937 exhibition of the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü*, in which the students themselves performed the runway, something that visitors appreciated.[255] In the same year, the students of *Kadıköy Kız Enstitüsü* (Kadıköy Girls' Institute) showcased many garments in person on stage at their exhibition.[256] *Cumhuriyet* reported on the 1939 exhibition of the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü*, an annual event. The wife of the governor and the mayor, Lûtfi Kırdar, were present at the exhibition and exchanged correspondence with the head of the school.[257]

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253 "Üsküdar Kız San'at mektebi sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 June 1933, 1.

254 "Muvaffak bir şapka müsabakası," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 January 1936, 4. "Şapka müsabakası," *Akşam*, 2 February 1936, 10.

255 "Selçuk Kız San'at Enstitüsü talebesinin müsameresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 February 1937, 2. See, also, "Selçuk Kız enstitüsünde sergi," *Akşam*, 13 July 1937, 4.

256 "Kadıköy Kız Enstitüsünde açılan sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 June 1937, 2. "Kadıköy kız enstitüsü sergisi," *Akşam*, 18 June 1937, 5.

257 "Selçuk Kız San'at mektebinde açılan sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 May 1939, 5.



Figure 5.3 The governor, his wife, and the students dressed in their products at the exhibition of the *İstanbul Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* in 1939. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (May 19, 1939).

It seems that the fashion shows were popular events in these years and hosted many distinguished guests. In 1942, Mevhibe İnönü, Hayriye Kırdar, Lûtfi Kırdar and Reşad Mimaroğlu, the president of the administrative committee of the provincial party, attended the fashion parade of the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü*.[258]

İstanbul Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi (Istanbul Girls' Evening Art School) prepared a fashion parade in the school building in Cağaloğlu in 1939.[259] Significantly, the newspapers reported that traditional clothes were also presented at the exhibition. Various items that had been commonly worn approximately hundred years before in Istanbul and Denizli were showcased alongside more modern pieces.[260] According to

258 "Selçuk Kız San'at Enstitüsünde defile," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 January 1942, 3.

259 "İstanbul Akşam Kız San'at mektebinin hazırladığı defile," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 May 1939, 2. See, also, "Akşam Kız San'at mektebinde açılan sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 June 1940, 4.

260 "İstanbul Akşam Kız San'at mektebinin hazırladığı defile," 2. See, also, "Akşam Kız San'at mektebinde açılan sergi," 4. At the school's 1941 exhibition, a fashion parade again took place. Lûtfi Kırdar, Nazmi Topçuoğlu, the previous Trade Minister, some of the deputies and journalists participated in this. Approximately 20 mannequins presented garments,

the news, all the garments, hats, belts, and gloves were made from domestic fabric.[261] Newspapers also reported that 24 garments produced in the school were sent to the international exhibition in New York in 1939 and were well received.[262]

In fact, all the exhibitions emphasized the use of domestic fabric in the making of the products. The exhibitions sometimes included refurbished clothes as well. For example, *Bursa Necatibey Kız Enstitüsü* opened an exhibition with the "elegant articles" prepared by the institute's students in 1930.[263] *Cumhuriyet* reported that domestic fabrics were used to make the articles on display. The newspaper also noted that the skillfully embroidered hats had been constructed from recycled pieces of fez that had been dyed and reshaped.[264]

The students' products were compared to European goods and found to be cheaper and of equal quality. For example, *İzmir Sepet, Çiçek, Sanat Mektebi*, which later became the *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü*, opened an exhibition in Luxembourg Shop in Beyoğlu in 1929. Students' products, such as artificial flowers, basket sets, and hats, were presented in the exhibition. According to the news, all the products were as good as their European equivalents but 40% cheaper.[265] The school also participated in the "National Industry Exhibition" (*Milli Sanayi Sergisi*) in 1929.[266] Some of the products were sold on the first day. As the products were very cheap, the newspaper stated that they could compete with European

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coats, topcoats, *tayyörs* as products of the tailoring department in the school. "Beyoğlu Akşam Kız San'at mektebinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 March 1941, 3.

261 "İstanbul Akşam Kız San'at mektebinin hazırladığı defile," 2. See, also, "Akşam Kız San'at mektebinde açılan sergi," 4.

262 "İstanbul Akşam Kız San'at mektebinin hazırladığı defile," 2. See, also, "Akşam Kız San'at mektebinde açılan sergi," 4.

263 "Bursa Necati B. Enstitüsünde sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 July 1930, 2.

264 Ibid.

265 "Sepet, Çiçek ve Şapkacılık," 1.

266 "Çiçek ve Sepet Sergisi bugün küşat edilecek," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 July 1929, 2. "Çiçek sepet ve şapka sergisi dün açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 July 1929, 2.

products.[267] *İzmir Sepet, Çiçek, Sanat Mektebi,* also participated in the National Industry Exhibition in 1930.[268]

İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü worked with the *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* (Association of National Economy and Thrift)[269], which organized the National Domestic Goods Exhibitions in the early republican period. The institute even received an honorary medal from the *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* for its contributions to the economy and austerity in 1932.[270] The girls' institute prepared "a substantial women's economic exhibition" together with *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* in the same year.[271]

The *Kadıköy Kız Enstitüsü*, whose director was Behiye Sağlar Hanım,[272] organized a show for the "Savings and National Products Week" in 1937. The students put on a play named "Five Year Industrial Plan" ("*Beş Yıllık Sanayi Planı*"), and a monologue titled "A Housewife" ("*Bir Ev Kadını*") was delivered along with an exhibition presenting the students' artifacts.[273]

The girls' institutes and the evening schools' exhibitions were the perfect way for the new republic to showcase women's education in the interwar period. Public officials were regular visitors to these events, including İsmet İnönü and Mustafa Kemal. The print media also played a major role in publicizing the exhibitions and always commented positively on the women's creations, which were portrayed as examples

267 "Çiçek sepet ve şapka sergisi dün açıldı," 2.

268 K.Ş., "Resim Sergisi Yerli Mallar Sergisi," 814. Kemalettin Şükrü, "İkinci Yerli Mallar Sergisi," *Muhit*, no. 23 (September 1930): 328. "Çiçek ve Sepet Sergisi bugün küşat edilecek," 2. "Çiçek sepet ve şapka sergisi dün açıldı," 2.

269 For further information on *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*, see Aysu Özçaylak, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ekonomisinde Yerli Malı Politikaları ve Uygulamaları," (master's thesis, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2016), 91-98.

270 "İsmet paşa enstitüsüne şeref madalyası," *Akşam*, 28 June 1932, 1. See, also, "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsü sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 December 1932, 1-5.

271 "Kadın iktisat sergisi," *Akşam*, 30 November 1932, 2. See, also, "Kadın sergisi," *Akşam*, 19 December 1932, 2. "İsmet Pş. Kız Enstitüsü sergisi, 1-5.

272 Kadri Necip, "Kadıköy Kız Sanat Enstitüsünde 1 Saat," *Ana Dergisi*, no. 14 (28 February 1939): 8.

273 "Kadıköy Kız Enstitüsündeki müsamere," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 December 1937, 5.

of Turkish women's natural skills and talents. The widespread praise emphasized how the institutes allowed women's arts to become prominent in the public sphere.

Another aim of the republic was to encourage people to wear Western clothes, which they could find for reasonable prices in the girls' institutes and evening art schools' workshops. The design and form of the clothes were copied from the latest fashion designs from Europe. Simultaneously, throughout the 1930s, using domestic materials to produce clothes, accessories, and handicrafts was emphasized. In this way, domestic materials were used by Muslim Turkish women tailors reproduce foreign (i.e., Western) fashions in these institutes.

Interestingly, a policy shift occurred in 1935. With the government's decision, the girls' institutes began to stress the importance of traditional handicrafts and even produced modernized forms of traditional clothes.

§ 5.7 The Revival of National Handicrafts and the International Women's Congress of 1935

The girls' institutes offered vocational courses in embroidery, in which students learned lacework and needlework and worked on both white and colored embroidery. In these courses, "national embroideries were taught following contemporary tastes and necessities."[274] A 1947 embroidery course handbook noted the aim was to teach the girls to

[274] *Kız Enstitüleri ve Sağnat Okulları*, 36. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 32. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 42. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1938*, 38. See, also, *Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi*, 47-48. The Ministry of Education's exhibition guide, published in 1933, noted that embroidery and whitework (*nakış ve beyaz işleri*), formed a specialized department in the girls' institutes. According to the guide, students specialized in national and European-style embroidery, whitework, toy making, netting work (*file işleri*), angora and knitting work and underwear in this department. *Maarif Sergisi Rehberi*, 72.

draw on "motifs from the old Turkish pieces, to make national embroideries compatible with today's demands."[275]

The girls' institutes produced and presented old embroidery designs from the beginning.[276] However, an increasing emphasis on the older traditions became visible after the mid-1930s. The first government-led initiative to revive national handicrafts arose around the International Women's Congress in Istanbul in 1935. The *Türk Kadınlar Birliği,* the prominent women's association of the single party period, participated at the Congress, but the members in attendance did not wear "national clothing," even as participants from other countries sometimes did. On the contrary, members of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* wore Western-style clothes at these international congresses.

The clothing preferences of women delegates became an issue at the 1929 International Women's Congress in Berlin.[277] Efzayiş Suat was elected as the delegate of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* to the Congress.[278] According to *Cumhuriyet*, women from 45 countries participated wearing their "national clothes," unlike Efzayiş Suat, who stated that "Turkish womanhood did not have a particular costume" and Turkey "directly accepted modern clothes."[279] Likewise, according to *Akşam*, at the Congress in 1935, the members of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* did not wear "national clothes" while some of the representatives of other countries did.[280] In line with the new republic's policy, the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* did

275 *Kız Enstitüleri Nakış Program ve Ders Dağıtma Cetveli Yönetmeliği* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947), 3.

276 For example, the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* presented garments, blouses, hats, bags, and embroidered underwear at the exhibition in 1932. The "colorful embroideries of old Turkish pieces" were especially commented on and well received. "Selçuk hatun elişleri sergisi," 4.

277 The *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* was invited to the Congress, which was held on 12 June 1929.

278 The Ministry of Interior met the travelling expenses of Efzayiş Suat. "Beynelmilel Kadınlar Kongresine Hanımlarımızda Çağırıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 June 1929, 3. See, also, BCA 030.10.229.541.5, 410, 30 May 1929.

279 "Kadınlar Kongresindeki Murahhasımız," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 June 1929, 1-2.

280 "İstanbula gelen murahhaslar gördüklerine hayran," *Akşam*, 19 April 1935, 7.

not aim to create a national costume after the dismissal of Nezihe Muhiddin.

The *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* proposed to open an exhibit at the Istanbul Congress to showcase "Turkish women's social activity" in silk culture, tobacco farming, carpet making, twilling, and agriculture, including fig and grape production. Safiye Hüseyin was assigned to the commission responsible for overseeing the exhibit.[281] According to *Akşam*, the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* demanded 500 liras from the Ministry to cover the costs of, but the Ministry declined, and it was scrapped.[282] Instead, the Ministry of Education decided to support an exhibit showcasing "Turkish women's handicrafts" at the International Women's Congress in Yıldız on 18 April 1935. *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* was assigned to prepare this exhibit. Probably, the school was informed in a short period of time — according to *Cumhuriyet*, it worked in a hurry to open in time for the opening day of the Congress.[283] *Cumhuriyet* also announced that the school would participate with the handicrafts presented in this exhibit at the international sewing exhibition (*uluslararası dikiş sergisi*).[284]

Commenting on the exhibit's success, *Cumhuriyet* stated that the girls' art schools satisfied "a significant and basic necessity on its own in a revolutionary manner."[285] It also stated that the girls' art school was not an ordinary art school but "almost a form of fine arts institute."[286] The paper commented on the products of the students of the *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* in 1935 as "delicate works" and also stated that all the handicrafts made by the Turkish girls in the school were "the highest

281 The members of the commission included Müşerref Üstündağ, the wife of the governor, Muhiddin Bey, Aziz Bey, the president of the Museum, Hamid, the vice president of the municipality, Namık İsmail, the president of the Fine Arts Academy, Asım Bey, the director of *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü*, Ayşe Hanım, the directress of a girls' evening art school, Besime Hanım, the directress of *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* and Yunus Nadi, the editor-in-chief of *Cumhuriyet*. "Uluslararası Kadın Kongresinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 February 1935, 2.

282 "Elişleri sergisi," *Akşam*, 4 April 1935, 3.

283 "Kız Sanat mektebi sergisi," Cumhuriyet, 22 April 1935, 8.

284 "Kız san'at mektebinde sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 April 1935, 2.

285 "Kız Sanat mektebi sergisi," 8.

286 Ibid.

example of fine arts." The newspaper praised the teacher, Muzaffer Bey, and the directress, Ayşe Hanım, for their efforts in the exhibition.[287]

Refia Berk (Övünç), a teacher in the girls' institutes in the 1930s,[288] recalls the exhibition as a turning point in the revival of the old Turkish art. She stated that her life changed when she was appointed as the directress of the *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi*. The previous director of the school was Ayşe Ege, commissioned by the Ministry of Education to prepare an exhibition to introduce "the unique taste of Turkish women" to women from all around the world at the International Women's Union Congress in 1935.[289] Övünç recalls that Ayşe Ege prepared this exhibition by gathering various heirloom handicrafts from all around.

A Turkish embroidery workshop was later opened in the school. The first order was a dining table set from the relatives of Egyptian King Faruk in Istanbul as a wedding gift.[290] As Övünç became the school director in 1938, she took over her task and continued to work in the embroidery workshop.[291] She worked in the workshop from the mid-1930s and provided a market for the school graduates. She aimed to revive the old motifs by applying them to modern clothes.[292]

Melek Celâl (Sofu), a Turkish painter, sculptor, and writer, also emphasized the role of the *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* in reviving Turkish embroidery. She wrote an article in 1941 in *Vatan*, stating that "lately an interest in folk arts has expanded."[293] She announced that 36

287 Ibid.

288 Refia Berk graduated from *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* in 1928. She became a sewing teacher at the *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* in 1932. She was appointed as the director of the *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* in 1938. The next year, she was appointed to the *Nişantaşı Kız Enstitüsü* (Nişantaşı Girls' Institute). She also became one of the first directresses of the *Beyoğlu Olgunlaşma Enstitüsü* (Beyoğlu Maturation Institute). Refia Övünç, *Türk İşleme Desenleri* (İstanbul: Akbank, 1986), 9.

289 Ibid.

290 Ibid.

291 Ibid.

292 Ibid.

293 Melek Celâl, "Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi ve Türk İşlemeciliği," *Vatan*, 17 January 1941, 3.

artisan associations in Istanbul had gathered to progress their crafts and decided to investigate the "old Turkish arts in Anatolia," sending some of the talented young to work with masters in various places across Anatolia.[294] Some were selected for formal education in handicrafts and to make an exhibition on their return. The RPP encouraged the associations to establish a bureau to provide money for the masters who were skillful but had economic difficulties.[295]

According to Celâl, further evidence of the revival of the handicraft was *Dekorasyon* (Decoration), the store of Selahattin Refik Sırmalı, known to be the republic's art deco decorator. She considered the handicrafts presented in Refik's store as "a path towards the resurrection of fine arts and its adaptation to the tastes of the day."[296] She stated that all of these handicrafts were artifacts that preserved their "national quality" and were "compatible with contemporary taste and necessities."[297] Significantly, she stated that "we owe the revival of handicrafts, one of the richest departments of decoration arts (*tezyinî sanatlar*) suddenly coming to the forefront to *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* with the efforts of Ayşe Ege to revive and teach Turkish handicrafts a couple of years before.[298] She also noted that the successor Refia Berk continued this attempt and progressed the workshop (the name of the workshop was *Sim Atölyesi*).[299]

Celâl also expressed appreciation for the workshop's chief, and "vigorous embroidery teacher, İkbal Hanım, and painting teacher Semiha Hanım" for their efforts in this area.[300] Celâl stated that "more than 30 young girls continued this national tradition by learning old Turkish handicrafts and creating new artifacts."[301] She also stated that "dinner sets, Turkish blouses and covers constituted the first step of our future

294 Ibid.
295 Ibid.
296 Ibid.
297 Ibid.
298 Ibid.
299 Ibid.
300 Ibid.
301 Ibid.

national activity from both aesthetic and commercial aspects."[302] In this respect, she thanked the Ministry of Education for its support for this kind of work and wished that the art schools would continue to make national goods without ignoring Europe's artifacts.[303]

The attempts to revive national handicrafts continued after the exhibition prepared for the International Women's Congress. The *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* presented some examples of Turkish


Akşam kız sanat mektebinde müsabaka

Şapka müsabakasına giren on bir bayan takdirname kazandı

Yukarıda solda: Elbise müsabakasına iştirâk eden bayanlardan bir grup, sağda ve aşağıda: Yaptıkları şapkaları giyerek takdire mazhar olan bayanlar

Figure 5.4 The hat designs from the exhibition of the *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* in 1937. SOURCE: *Akşam* (February 21, 1937).

302 Ibid.

303 Ibid.

national handicrafts in its later exhibitions. In the school's annual exhibition in 1937, hats, garments, table covers, and various other handicrafts made by the students were on display. The students had been encouraged to seek out old handicrafts as models or inspirations in their own modern designs. The school also presented the handicrafts previously showcased in the hat competition. *Akşam* informed readers that the embroidery designs on the table covers and garments were "adapted to modern tastes based on ornaments on the precious towels and covers made by our grandmothers in old times in Anatolia and Rumelia, and were regarded as antiques."[304] A jury committee examined all the works presented in the exhibition, and the winners were announced in the newspapers. A cape made with *krep damura* (a kind of fabric) and embroidered with *sırma* (silver thread) attracted the most praise. *Akşam* reported that a Paris fashion house had asked for the design.[305] The paper also reported on the school's 1940 exhibition that tea sets, table covering sets, and various handicrafts made by "imitating old Turkish designs" were on display."[306]

Following Beyoğlu's lead, other girls' institutes started to produce modernized forms of old Turkish handicrafts. The girls' institute in Trabzon participated in the general art schools' exhibition in Ankara in 1938. For this exhibition, the institute sent ten pieces of work. One was a tea set with embroideries derived from "an old and antique plate" and modified according to tastes of the moment.[307]

Cumhuriyet reported that specifically modernized forms of classical Turkish costumes attracted wide attention at the exhibition of the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* in 1942.[308] In 1940, the *İstanbul Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi*

304 "Kız sanat mektebinde el işleri sergisi açıldı," *Akşam*, 16 February 1937, 5. "Akşam kız sanat mektebinde müsabaka," *Akşam*, 21 February 1937, 8.

305 "Kız sanat mektebinde el işleri sergisi açıldı," 5. "Akşam kız sanat mektebinde müsabaka," 8.

306 "Beyoğlu Akşam Kız San'at mektebinde," 3. For another example of a girls' evening art school which presented "national clothes" in an exhibition in 1935, see "Akşam Kız San'at mektebi sergisinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 April 1935, 6.

307 "Trabzon kız sanat enstitüsü," *Akşam*, 11 May 1938, 11.

308 "Selçuk Kız San'at Enstitüsünde defile," 3.

presented table cloth sets designed with "old Turkish embroidery" that attracted visitors' attention.[309] Likewise, in the exhibition of the *Nişantaşı*



Figure 5.5 The modernized design of the old *üç etek* presented in the yearbook of *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü*. SOURCE: *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü* (October, 1943).

Kız Enstitüsü in 1942, students presented embroidery and artifacts with "Turkish motifs." Mevhibe Hanım visited the exhibition and was welcomed by the president of the school, Refia Berk. According to *Cumhuriyet*, Lâtife Arıbal, a sewing teacher, gave information on the steps taken to train Turkish girls to produce economical garments.[310] A fashion parade was put on, and students modeled their own garments on stage. The newspaper stated that Mevhibe İnönü was satisfied with the parade

309 "Akşam Kız San'at mektebinde açılan sergi," 4.

310 "Milli Şefin refikaları Dün, Nişantaşı Kız Enstitüsünün sergisini ziyaret ederek eserlerini takdir ettiler," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 March 1942, 1-3.

and expressed an interest in "old Turkish filigree motifs" and appreciated the students' embroidery designs.[311]



Figure 5.6 The garment design with old Turkish embroidery presented in the yearbook of Izmir Girls' Institute. SOURCE: *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü* (October, 1943).

The change in cultural policy was visible in the yearbooks of the *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü*. In the 1940s, the examples of clothes made by the students with old Turkish motifs were presented in the yearbooks. Under the title of "*Modernizasyon Dikiş*" (Modernization Sewing), a student from the *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü* summarized the cultural policy of the early republic in clothing, stating that

311 Ibid.

> … our clothes hitherto passed through several phases. These phases manifested themselves as abandoning our old clothes and copying European designs. In contrast, today our fashion found the best way for itself as we returned to our national clothes expressing Turkish good taste and character in clothing, just like we did in all aspects of life. However, our purpose in doing so is not to revive the past exactly, but to modernize —to transmit the beauty of the past to the present in an appropriate form. Our institutes and workshops have been achieving successful results by taking these principles into consideration… Today, we benefit tremendously from these rich and beautiful Turkish motifs as ornaments. Our aim is to lay the foundations of tomorrow's Turkish fashion by combining the characteristic example of the past with the creative and inventive Turkish taste and ability.[312]



Figure 5.7 An elegant bikini set made from villagers' handkerchiefs, presented in the yearbook of *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü*. SOURCE: *Enstitü Yıllığı İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü* (October, 1943).

312 *İzmir Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitü Yıllığı*, November 1943, 14-15.

Two illustrations were published next to this passage. The student informed readers that one of the illustrations was a modernized design of the old *üç etek* (three-paneled skirts), a classical garment worn by Ottoman women and other illustrations had motifs, all of which were old embroideries.[313]

On another page of the yearbook, a red and elegant bikini set made from villagers' handkerchiefs was presented.[314] The attempts to create modernized forms of traditional clothes or embroideries signified the gradual policy shift in the Kemalist regime to revive and preserve local norms in clothing from the mid-1930s.

§ 5.8 Conclusion

In line with the Kemalist regime's policy, the girls' institutes had two main goals: to raise Turkish women as ideal housewives and to educate Turkish women as successful tailors. These two aims were not mutually exclusive. The new republic desired women to be ideal housewives at home and encouraged them to be in the public sphere — the tailoring profession was one way women could accomplish both. The institutes were at the forefront of this aim, training students in the skills they would need to become "modern women." Women were empowered as they entered into a professional working life.

Even women who left school to begin a family and did not pursue a full-time career outside the home could use their tailoring skills at home for their families or work from home as tailors and earn a living. Therefore, women's tailoring work demonstrated how the public and private spheres were porous in this period.

Another conclusion of this chapter is that the Kemalist regime did not pursue a policy to create a national norm in clothing until the mid-1930s. The new republic adopted Western clothes after the Hat Law in 1925 and encouraged its citizens to be dressed according to Western fashion. In this direction, the institutes produced Western-style clothes and became

313 Ibid.

314 Ibid., 18.

fashion centers, especially for the middle-class women living in the cities where such institutes were established.

The institutes had a considerable number of foreign teachers who supervised the making of Western-style clothes produced by Turkish women. Significantly, these products were made with domestic materials. In other words, the national costume was Western-style attire, which was produced by Turkish women and with domestic materials.

However, a gradual shift occurred in this policy from the mid-1930s. After this period, the republic started to give attention to traditional embroideries and clothes. The republic aimed to modernize traditional clothes or embroideries that had unique Turkish characteristics. The first attempt to revive Turkish national motifs and handicrafts occurred in 1935. It is important to note that even with this shift, the ruling elite did not adopt a systematic policy to revive traditional clothes in the interwar period. From the beginning of the 1940s, traditional and local norms were much more integrated into the public's general attire.

In contrast to the Kemalist regime's embracement, women's organizations had been critical of Western fashion from 1913 onwards. Women's organizations continued to fight against women's fashion consumption, and some of them even adopted a form of sartorial nationalism. In the following chapters, the aim is to focus on the women's organizations and analyze their approaches towards Western fashion while pointing out the differences between the women's agenda and the Kemalist regime's position in the interwar period.

6

The *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Union) and the Fashion Question in the Interwar Period

With the aim of analyzing the political agenda of the women's movement of the time, this chapter will focus on the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Union, TKB), which was the foremost women's association in the single party period. It came to the forefront as the only women's association struggling for women's political rights in this period, especially under the leadership of Nezihe Muhiddin.

The previous literature on the TKB has mostly highlighted the period of Nezihe Muhiddin's leadership. Scholars observe that activity was limited in the post-Muhiddin period as previous political demands were abandoned and a rapprochement with the Kemalist regime pursued.[1] Recently, studies have begun to pay attention to the post-Muhiddin period and emphasize the association's relationship with the international women's movement of the time.[2] Still, further research is needed to present a comprehensive view of the association's history.

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1 For example, see, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 205; 249-257.

2 See Aslı Davaz, *Eşitsiz Kız Kardeşlik: Uluslararası ve Ortadoğu Kadın Hareketleri, 1935 Kongresi ve Türk Kadın Birliği* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2014). Kathryn Libal,

The aim of this chapter is to explore the activities of the association before and after the removal of Nezihe Muhiddin from office. This chapter also aims to show that the association undertook similar activities in both periods, such as demanding political rights and dealing with the issue of morality and women's fashion consumption. In this sense, one of the aims of this chapter is to offer a comparison of these two periods to make better sense of the TKB policy shifts that occurred after Nezihe Muhiddin departed. The chapter also seeks to analyze specifically the association's approach toward Western fashion in these two periods.

§ 6.1 The *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (Women's People's Party)

As Çakır observes, a declaration claiming political rights for women in Turkey first appeared in the statute of the *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* in 1921, even though it was missing in the association's founding documents in 1913.[3] Compared to their European counterparts, women activists in the Ottoman Empire rarely asserted their political rights publicly. Yaprak Zihnioğlu chronicles the opinion of Nezihe Muhiddin that "the ideas and activism around women's political rights matured during the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy but found no opportunity to come to the surface."[4]

Women's demands for political rights burst into public view when Muhiddin and her colleagues attempted to found a political party in 1923.[5] When the party's application was denied, Nezihe Muhiddin and her friends established the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Union, TKB), which emerged as a leading voice for women's rights in the public sphere. Indeed, the TKB stood as the only women's association backing women's suffrage assertively in the early republican period.

"Staging Turkish Women's Emancipation: Istanbul, 1935" *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 31-52.

3 Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 58.

4 See Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 119.

5 Ibid.

At the end of the War of Independence, the Ankara government held elections in 1923. The elections encouraged women elites. A committee of female activists organized a women-only conference in Istanbul and invited two members from each of the city's women's associations and female graduates of local secondary schools. Educated women in various places in Anatolia were also claimed about the conference.[6] On 15 June 1923, the women's council (*kadınlar şurası*) assembled at Darülfünun [7] to found the *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* (Women's People's Party), and the details were published in the press.[8] The administrative committee consisted of 12 women[9], some of whom had previously established and worked in women's associations.[10] The founding members were well-educated daughters or wives of senior officials in the state bureaucracy.[11]

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6 *Vakit* interviewed two members of the committee. For further information, see "Kadınlarımız Hukuk-i Siyasiye İstiyorlar," *Vakit*, 31 May 1923, 1.

7 The party's official establishment date was 15 June 1923 as per the statute published in *Vakit*. See "Kadınlık Âlemi," *Süs*, no. 1, 16 Haziran 1339 (16 June 1923): 5; "Kadınlık Âlemi: Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," *Süs*, no. 2, 23 Haziran 1339 (23 June 1923): 3. "Şehrimizde Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," *Vakit*, 16 June 1923, 1.

8 "Kadınlık Âlemi: Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," 3; "Şehrimizde Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1.

9 The print-media gave the name of only eleven women in the administrative committee. The committee included Nezihe Muhiddin (president), Nimet Rumeyde Hanım (vice president), Lâtife Bekir (responsible for delegates, *murahhas-ı mesul*), Şükufe Nihal (general secretary), Matlube Ömer [Sömerk] (cashier), Seniyye İzzeddin Hanım (bookkeeper, *muhasebeci*), and Muhsine Salih (administrative secretary). Other prominent members were Nesime İbrahim, Tuğrul (Bedri) Hanım, Zeliha Ziya, and Faize Emrullah. The central committee of the party consisted of fifty women. See "Şehrimizde Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," *Vakit*, 26 June 1923, 1. "Kadınlık Âlemi: Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," 3. See, also, Zihnioğlu, Kadınsız İnkılap, 130-131.

10 Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 130.

11 *Vakit* reported on the biographical details of the founding members of the party, noting that the president, Nezihe Muhiddin, was the daughter of the late Muhiddin Bey, the director of the Mosul Court of Appeals (*Musul İstinaf Reisi*). The paper noted she had been a founder of the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*, and the general secretary of the *Müdafaa-i Hukuk-i Nisvan Cemiyeti* and had presided in the Istanbul branch of the *Donanma Cemiyeti*. She had also worked in the *Milli Kongre* which was established at the beginning of the Armistice Period. The paper reported that Nimet Rumeyde Hanım was the daughter of the late Neşet Bey and had been one of the first graduates of the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* (School of Fine Arts) and had worked in

The party statute is not available as a standalone publication but was published in *Vakit* in 1923.[12] The first article declared the party's support for the *Dokuz Umde* (Declaration of Nine Principles).[13] The second article

various women's associations. She was also a founder of the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*. Şükufe Nihal Hanım, the party's general secretary, was the daughter of the late Miralay Ahmed Bey. She was the first graduate of the Istanbul Literature Branch (*Edebiyat Şubesi*) and was known for her poetry and literary work. Lâtife Bekir Hanım was a grandchild of the late Subhi Pasha and wife of Bekruf Bey, the commissar of telephony and a postal inspector until 1923. According to the newspaper, Latife Bekir had not been involved with women's associations until 1923. Seniyye Hanım, the party accountant was married to the late İzzettin Bey, Kastamonu deputy and she was the daughter of a former commander-marshal of the police (*zaptiye müşiri*) Hüseyin Hüsnü Pasha. Muhsine Hanım was the daughter of Salih Pasha, who was a cavalry general. Matlube Hanım was the daughter of Ömer Bey, the former Governor of Bitlis. She was also one of the founders of the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*. She was working in the women's branch of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* and *Himaye-i Etfal* (Children's Protection Society). Apart from the administrative committee, the party had four other members. One was Nesime İbrahim Hanım the daughter of the late Hulusi Bey, the director of the bureau of the Court of Justice. She founded the *Teali-i Vatan Cemiyeti* (Association for the Advancement of the Homeland), the first women's association in Salonica and became the president of the association in 1918. Another member, Tuğrul Bedri Hanım, was the daughter of Elifi Bey, a member of the Council of State, and was married to district Governor Bedri Bey. Zeliha Ziya Hanım was a grandchild of Vasıf Pasha, the Marshal of the Imperial Guard (*hassa müşiri*). She was married to Miralay Ziya Bey. She worked as the general secretary of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* in Bagdad during the Great War and had been honored with a *Hilal-i Ahmer* medal. Another member, Faize Hanım, was the daughter of Emrullah Efendi, the late Minister of Education and the wife of Atıf Bey, the director of Legal Affairs at the *Duyun-i Umumiye*. She had not worked in a woman's association until 1923. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," 1-2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap,* 130-132.

12 Zihnioğlu also reports being unable to find an original copy. Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 132; 291. The statute published in the newspaper may be the original. Two days after publication, *Vakit* announced that the *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* had formally submitted an application to the governorship, which *Vakit* published verbatim. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," *Vakit*, 18 June 1923, 2. On 23 June 1923, *Süs* magazine published the same documents, *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası*. "Kadınlık Âlemi: Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," 3. According to *Vakit*, the party statute contained 27 articles. "Şehrimizde Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1.

13 "Şehrimizdeki Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1-2. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," 2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 133.

stated that after women proved themselves in political, social, and economic life, they would add another principle to *Dokuz Umde*, which would recognize women's political rights.[14] With the article third, the party expressed the wish that women would participate in municipal elections.[15] Zihnioğlu significantly argues that *Dokuz Umde* urged the founders of *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* to contemplate on women's political rights.[16]

The party had economic concerns associated with the consumption of domestic goods, especially clothing. Article four stated that the party would be a significant agent working for the betterment of the economy.[17] The party would work for the consumption of domestic goods to produce manufactures and crafts whose basic materials could be found inside the country and to work to bring the products currently made in local factories in line with twentieth-century tastes.[18] The party announced that it would itself employ women and open factories. Another article promised to provide support to women orphans and widows.[19]

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14 "Şehrimizdeki Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1-2. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," 2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 133.

15 "Şehrimizdeki Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1-2. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," 2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 133.

16 Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 119; 23.

17 "Şehrimizdeki Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1-2. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," 2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 133.

18 "Şehrimizdeki Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1-2. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," 2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 133-134.

19 The party statute declared the party's intention to encourage women to be thrifty and productive in public life. One aim of the party was to open an orphanage (*eytamhane*) and nursery home (*ırzahane*) to educate the children of martyrs. The party proposed some educational reforms as well. One such recommendation was to leave primary education to women teachers. The party also suggested a woman education advisor be appointed in the Ministry of Education to manage girls' education. The party would host informative public meetings and would publish handbooks for the education of women. "Şehrimizdeki Kadın Hareketi İlerliyor," 1-2. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," 2. The party's first activity was to host a conference on education (*terbiye ve maarif kongresi*), inviting teachers and well-known experts to attend. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkasında," *Vakit*, 4

The committee lodged an official application for party status with the Governor of Istanbul, Ali Haydar Bey, on 16 June 1923.[20] Reports in *Vakit* indicated that the Governor immediately forwarded the documents to the Ministry of Interior to decide whether the party should be registered.[21] After an unusual delay, the founders wrote to the Governor's office asking why it was taking so long to respond to the party's application, but the inquiry was refused a hearing because the petitioners could not correspond using the name *Kadınlar Halk Fırkası* since the party did not yet exist.[22] When the government eventually rejected the application, Nezihe Muhiddin and her followers established the TKB as a women's association.

§ 6.2 The *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* Under the Leadership of Nezihe Muhiddin

The TKB was established in Istanbul on 7 February 1924.[23] The association aimed to advance women in ideological and social domains so that they could progress and modernize.[24] A set of supporting objectives were announced for the organization, including "raising young girls to be real mothers," working to address "disastrous social wounds," helping widow and orphan families with young children, encouraging women to lead productive public lives, organizing conferences and public

July 1923, 2. See, also, "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası Faaliyette," 2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 134-135.

20 "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," *Vakit*, 17 June 1923, 1.

21 "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," 2.

22 See "Kadınlar Halk Fırkasında," 2. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkasının Müracaatı," *Vakit*, 12 July 1923, 2. "Kadınlar Halk Fırkası," *Vakit*, 8 August 1923, 1. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 141-142.

23 *Kadın Birliğinin Nizamnamesidir* (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1924), 1. See the document in the Republican Archives: BCA 030.18.1.1.14.42.6, 80.11, 28 June 1925. The first study that comprehensively dealt with the history of TKB was Yaprak Zihnioğlu's book, *Kadınsız İnkılap: Nezihe Muhiddin, Kadınlar Halk Fırkası, Kadın Birliği*.

24 *Kadın Birliğinin Nizamnamesidir*, 1.

lectures, and publishing books encouraging women to pursue skilled handicrafts.[25]

The association stated in its statute that its income would depend on monthly subscription fees, government-approved donations, and shows and exhibitions organized by the association.[26] The TKB sold badges[27], organized lottery,[28] offered tours[29] and annual balls for its benefit throughout the years it was active.[30]

The center of the association was in Fevziye Caddesi Şehzadebaşı in Istanbul.[31] The building was one of the old Ottoman houses building of the association consisted of two parts, one of which included three other associations along with the TKB.[32]

Only women could join as full members. The association statute stated that any Turkish Muslim woman desiring women's advancement

25 Ibid.

26 See the article 24: Ibid., 6.

27 "Kadınlar İttihadı," *Milliyet*, 29 May 1927, 3.

28 No further information is available on the scope or organization of the lottery, although *Cumhuriyet* reported that one association lottery was held in a *Halkevi* in 1932. "Kadınlar Birliğinin Piyangosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 March 1932, 3. "Kadın Birliği Piyangosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 March 1932, 4.

29 "Türk Kadın Birliği Tenezzühü," *Milliyet*, 22 August 1927, 4. "Kadınlar Birliği," *Milliyet*, 3 September 1929, 3. "Kadın Birliğinin Tenezzühü," *Milliyet*, 21 September 1929, 3.

30 The association organized entertainment to raise money for charity. For example, it organized a soiree for the benefit of migrants coming from Trakya in 1935. See "Türk Kadın Birliği Havâdisleri," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 23, 15 Teşrin-i Sani 1926 (15 November 1926): 16. "Kadın Birliği Balosu," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 26, 15 Kanun-i Sani 1927 (15 January 1927): 16. "Türk Kadın Birliği Balosunun Hâsılatı," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 27 (15 February 1927). "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1928, 2. "Kadınlar Birliğine teşekkürümüz," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 February 1933, 2. See, also, "Kadın Birliği balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 December 1934, 2. "Kadın Birliğinin müsameresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 January 1935, 2.

31 The street address was Fevziye Caddesi Şehzadebaşı 40, located behind the park in Sultanahmet. See *Kadın Birliğinin Nizamnamesidir*, 7.

32 Other associations in the building were the *Milli Talebe Yurdu* (National Student Dormitory), the *Ameli Hayat Mektebi* (Working Life School) and the *Tıp Talebe Yurdu* (Medicine Student Dormitory). The other part of the building housed private residences with *kafes* (lattice). See "Kadınlar Birliği binası," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 September 1932, 2.

could apply for membership. Men could only join as "associate members" and could not vote in association meetings.[33] No precise information is available on the number of members, but some rough estimates exist for certain years. It seems the highest membership numbers were recorded in Nezihe Muhiddin's period leading the association. In 1924, a newspaper published the activity report of the association, stating it had 400 members.[34] In June 1927, a news report in *Milliyet* noted that the association had 700 members.[35] In July 1927, Nezihe Muhiddin declared that the association had 300 male members.[36] In October 1927, the lawyer acting for Nezihe Muhiddin in the case she brought against the Istanbul governorship stated the total number of members as 800.[37] In 1930, the total number of members was 210, according to a news report in *Cumhuriyet*.[38] Reporting on the final congress of the association that took place on 10 May 1935, *Cumhuriyet* stated that there were 500 members.[39] Furthermore, after Muhiddin was dismissed from the TKB, women's participation in the congresses diminished, and the association struggled to reach a quorum. Annual congresses had to be delayed as a result.[40]

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33 See the article 5, 6, 7 and 17: *Kadın Birliğinin Nizamnamesidir*, 2-3; 5.

34 "Kadın Birliği Faaliyeti Hakkında Etraflı Malumat," *İkdam*, 30 May 1924, 2. Quoted in Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 155; 294.

35 "Kadın Birliği," *Milliyet*, 28 June 1927, 4.

36 "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 July 1927, 2.

37 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımın Vilayet Aleyhine Açtığı Dava," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 October 1927, 1.

38 According to the statute, the general committee organized one congress annually and could gather with a quorum of one third of members. If the quorum was not met, the association would gather again regardless of the number of the members. According to a news report in *Cumhuriyet* in 1930, the quorum was 70, which could not be met in the first gathering. On 8 June 1930, the congress gathered with 34 women members and one male member. See article 10, *Kadın Birliğinin Nizamnamesidir*, 3. "Kadın Birliği Kongresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 June 1930, 2.

39 "Kadın Birliği de dün maziye karıştı!," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 May 1935, 1.

40 For example, the annual congress of the association had to be postponed a couple of times in 1928 as the quorum was not met. The congress finally took place on 5 August 1928 and fewer than 30 members participated. "Kadın Birliğinde İstifalar," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 July 1928, 4. "Kadın Birliğine Aza Celbi için Bulunan Çare!," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 July 1928,

In 1924, the founders declared they had abandoned the goal of opening branches in cities apart from Istanbul to avoid any adverse reactions.[41] However, in the following years, the association opened branches in some cities in Anatolia. For example, a branch was opened in Denizli in 1926 on the initiative of the wives, daughters, and sisters of local elites, party members, deputies, state officials as well as women teachers and school directors.[42] It is understood that this branch had good connections with the local administration and the *Türk Ocağı*.[43] In 1927, two women teachers petitioned the TKB to open local branches in Afyonkarahisar and Aydın.[44] The association opened branches as well in Üsküdar [45] and Kadıköy.[46] It also had a branch in Manisa.[47] In 1927, *Milliyet* reported plans to open several new branches, the first of which

1. "Kadın Birliğinin Kongresi Gayet Sakin Oldu," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 August 1928, 1-2. "Kadın Birliği Kongresi," 2. "Kadın Birliği de dün maziye karıştı!," 1.

41 Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 147-148.

42 The administrative committee of the local branch in Denizli in 1927 consisted of Saadet Esad Hanım (president), the sister of the prosecutor of the Ankara Independence Tribunal and Denizli deputy Necib Ali Bey; Latife Hanım (honorary president), wife of the Governor Midhat Bey; Nebile Hanım (general secretary), a teacher and sister of the doctor Nevzad Eşref Bey; Nahide Hanım (deputy general secretary), a librarian in the *Türk Ocağı*; Şükriye Lütfü Hanım (accounting manager), director of the Mal Hatun School; Meveddet Nuri Nebile Hanım (adviser), director of the *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü*; Muazzez Hanım (responsible for delegates), wife of the president of the *Türk Ocağı*; İhsan Hanım (member), wife of the operator Hamdi Bey; Hatice Hanım (member), the wife of Saraçzâde Râgıp Bey; Emine Hatice Hanım (member), wife of the Grand National Assembly deputy Kâzım Bey; Müzeyyen Hatice Hanım (member), daughter of the Grand National Assembly deputy Yusuf Bey. "Türk Kadın Birliği Havâdisleri," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 27 (15 February 1927): 12-13. For the first administrative committee and the information on the foundation of the branch, see "Denizli Kadın Birliği," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 14 (1 February 1926): 14. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 188.

43 "Denizli Türk Kadın Birliği'nden," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 30 (1 August 1927): 11-12.

44 "Türk Kadın Birliği Havâdisleri," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 26, 15 Kanun-i Sani 1927 (15 January 1927): 16.

45 "Türk Kadın Birliği Havâdisi," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 18 (15 May 1926): 15. "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 July 1927, 2.

46 News that the Kadıköy branch was open was reported in *Cumhuriyet* in 1928. "Kadıköy Kadın Birliğinin İctimaı," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 November 1928, 2.

47 See "Kadın Birliği de dün maziye karıştı!," 9.

would be in Bakırköy.[48] In January 1928, Saime Hanım stated that the association had opened branches in Diyarbakır[49] and Ankara.[50] In 1928, it seems that the association decided to enlarge its organization in various other places across Turkey and changed its statute so that a branch could open "with no less than 50 members" (it had been 100 members initially).[51] Despite the limited information, it is clear that the TKB was the largest women's organization in terms of membership in the period.

6.2.1 The Philanthropic Activities of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*

One of the association's main activities was philanthropy, focusing specifically on helping women and children in need. For example, in 1925, it opened a workshop where members volunteered to produce "healthy and well-made" baby-clothing sets donated to mothers in need.[52] The association provided small amounts of monetary aid to women in need from the outset, a program it decided to expand in 1926. The association offered free medical treatment to poor women one day per week, and in 1926, a doctor from the *Etfal Hastanesi* (Children's Hospital) joined the association.[53]

In the same year, the association decided to open weaving and toy-making workshops to employ poor women to earn a living.[54] These kinds of philanthropic activities continued increasingly in the years after

48 "Onlar da İstiyorlar!" *Milliyet*, 7 June 1927, 2.

49 The president of this branch was Afet Halim Hanım. Other members were Vecihe Celil, Nezihe Şevket, Meliha Sadık and Zarife Hanım. According to news reports, more than 100 women were members in this branch. "Nezihe Hanım Dayak mı Atacakmış?," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 January 1928, 2.

50 Ibid.

51 "Kadın Birliğinin Kongresi Gayet Sakin Oldu," 2.

52 This support was financed by membership fees. Dr. Safiye Ali Hanım was in charge of the distribution of clothes. "Kadın Birliği Şeker İnhisarı Aleyhinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 November 1925, 2.

53 "Kadınlar Birliği Faaliyetini Tevzii Ediyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 January 1926, 2.

54 The association distributed free medications to poor patients in need. "Kadınlar Birliği Faaliyetini Tevzii Ediyor," 2. Under an agreement signed with the gendarmerie in 1934, the association employed 1,000 women to produce 31,000 pairs of socks for the troops. "Kadın Birliği Münasakasalara Giriyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 January 1934, 6.

Muhiddin was dismissed. For example, in 1929, the TKB moved to expand its monetary donations to orphans and the destitute.[55] In 1930, it delivered knitted clothes produced in a domestic factory for needy school children.[56] In 1930, the money raised organizing shows and selling badges was used to provide free clothing for 100 children, as well as funding school fees and providing jobs for unemployed women.[57] The association also provided sports facilities,[58] medical services,[59] and legal support. According to a news report in *Cumhuriyet*, the TKB opened a new office to help women in need of legal advice, and the lawyer Faika Hanım offered advocacy services twice weekly.[60]

This kind of philanthropic activity allowed the TKB to apply for recognition as an "association working for the general benefit" (*menafi-i umumiye*). Under Art. 17 of the Law of Associations, the TKB was granted this status by the Ministry of Interior in 1924.[61] This legal status meant the association was exempted from paying taxes. In 1930, the association again applied to the governorate to be registered as an association

55 "Kadınlar Kongresinde Murahhasımız," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 June 1929, 3. The association announced that it would provide charity to nine poor families in 1934. See, also, "Kadın Birliğinde Faaliyet," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 January 1934, 2.

56 "Kadın birliğinin hayırperverliği," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 March 1930, 4. See, also, "Dün 35 talebeye kadın Birliği Tarafından Elbise Tevzi Edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 October 1928, 1.

57 "Kadın Birliği," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 May 1930, 2.

58 The association decided to buy the land behind the headquarters and turn it into a sporting venue to increase women's participation in sports, especially tennis. The association offered tennis courses to women and organized matches. Besides, a group of young women in Şişli and Moda sought help from the association to open a gymnasium and a library, and the TKB agreed to support these endeavors. "Kadın Birliğinde Spor Merakı!," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 July 1934, 2.

59 The association contracted two male eye doctors to provide free treatment for women in need in the building of the association. The association also opened dispensaries for medications. "Kadın Birliğinde Hukuk Bürosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1934, 2. See, also, "Kadın Birliğinde meccani lisan dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 November 1934, 6. "Kadınlar Birliğinin Bir Kararı," *Akşam*, 2 February 1929, 4.

60 "Kadın Birliğinde Hukuk Bürosu," 2. See, also, "Kadın Birliğinde meccani lisan dersleri," 6.

61 BCA 030.18.1.1.14.42.6, 80.11, 28 June 1925. "Kadın Birliği," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 3, 30 Temmuz 1341 (30 July 1925): 2.

working for the public benefit. The aim was to gain an exemption from paying taxes on imports.[62] No information exists as to whether this application was accepted.

Beyond these important philanthropic activities, the association's primary business during the early republican period was its suffrage demands for women and its work in advancing women's right to vote.

6.2.2 The Political Demands of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*

The third article in the association's statute explicitly declared the TKB was apolitical.[63] However, until the dismissal of Nezihe Muhiddin, the association worked as a political organization and sought to contribute to policymaking. In some cases, the association tried to get involved in decision-making processes in the parliament. For example, in 1925, the association submitted petitions (*layiha*) to the parliament related to an upcoming bill on the sugar monopoly. The association considered this issue inside its field of interest, as it saw the sugar monopoly as posing a risk of malnutrition in children.[64]

Some of the attempts of the association created tensions with the government in this period. For example, the association applied to the directorate of religion (*Müessesat-ı Diniye Müdiriyeti*) in October 1925 to give *vaaz* (preach) and conferences in mosques. The association stated its aim as reaching out to women corrupted by the preaching of ignorant fanatics (*softa*) in certain districts to enlighten them.[65] The president of the directorate of religion appreciated the women's initiative and agreed with the ideas put forward by Nezihe Muhiddin.[66] According to the existing regulation on preachers, the president directed the women to

62 "Birlik Kongresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 May 1930, 2.

63 See the article 17, *Kadın Birliğinin Nizamnamesidir*, 2.

64 "Kadın Birliği Şeker İnhisarı Aleyhinde," 2.

65 "Hanımlarımızın Cumalarda Vaaz Meselesi," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 October 1925, 1-2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 168.

66 Ibid.

apply to the Office of Mufti[67] and seek Ankara's guidance.[68] Almost one month later, the directorate rejected the TKB's application and stated that mosques were not suitable places to host such conferences.[69] In protesting the decision, Muhiddin stated that women could conduct such public events in religious institutions in the USA and London. She also explained the association's aim to enlarge its audience and enlighten ignorant women living in the quarters of Istanbul.[70]

Apart from these attempts, the association claimed suffrage rights for women and undertook political activism. The first initiative of the association to present candidates in municipality elections was in 1925.[71] The association also applied to the Republican People's Party's headquarters in Ankara for the TKB to be recognized as an official affiliate of the party.[72] Muhiddin stated that women had the right to be involved in politics and that this should be directed through the Republican People's Party since it was the nexus of all educated people in the country who came together under its roof.[73] Muhiddin recommended that educated women be allowed to run for elected office before a general franchise was extended to them, given the limited educational attainment among Turkey's female population.[74] She also advocated the franchise could be partially extended to women—for example, to those who had graduated from primary school.[75]

In 1927, the association added an article to its statute, which stated that the association worked to advance women's political rights.[76] *Umur-*

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 "Hanımların Vaazı," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 November 1925, 2.

70 "Kadınlar Camilerde Vaaz Edemez mi?," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 November 1925, 1-2.

71 "Hanımlar Faaliyette!," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 February 1925, 2.

72 "Türk Kadınları Siyasi Hayata Atılmalı mıdır?," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 January 1926, 1-2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 177-180.

73 "Türk Kadınları Siyasi Hayata Atılmalı mıdır?," 1-2.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid. A similar view was expressed by Esma Zafer. See "Kadınlık," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 June 1927, 2.

76 "Kadınlarda Hukuk-i Siyasiye," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 May 1927, 2.

ı Hukukiye Müdüriyeti (The Directorate of Law Orders) approved the change as the government had already granted women the right to be civil officers in the civil service law (*Memuriyet Kanunu*).[77]

Members of the association's central committee had different views about women's suffrage, and a quarrel broke out over political participation in the subsequent elections in 1927. Some of the members did not approve of running women candidates since the constitution did not give women suffrage rights. In the end, the proposal of Muhiddin and the majority of the members to present women candidates on behalf of the Republican People's Party was accepted.[78] As *Cumhuriyet* claimed readers, many new membership applications were received at this time from women wishing to run as candidates.[79] In 1927, Nezihe Muhiddin stated that the association would endorse a male candidate in the elections under the Republican People's Party's auspices, one with a clear feminist agenda.[80] In endorsing a man to run representing the TKB on a feminist platform, she asserted her goal of launching a feminist movement among the parliament's deputies.[81] The association attempted to endorse a series of male candidates, but all of these initiatives were rejected.[82]

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77 Ibid.

78 "Kadınlar Birliği ve Mebusluk," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 June 1927, 2.

79 "Kadınların Mebusları," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 June 1927, 3.

80 Esma Zafer, Efzayiş Yusuf and Muhsine Salih Hanım agreed with Muhiddin on this subject. "Kadınlar ve İntihabat," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 June 1927, 3.

81 "Kadınlar Namzed Göstermekten Vazgeçtiler!," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 June 1927, 3.

82 The TKB first asked Kenan Bey, who was the director of Legal Affairs of Istanbul and known to be a feminist, to run as the candidate of women. A few days later, Kenan Bey declined this endorsement and resigned from the association. Muhiddin then reported that Şeyhülharirin Mahmud Sadık Bey, also a male champion of feminist causes, had joined and taken over Kenan Bey's responsibilities in the association. According to another news report in *Cumhuriyet*, the TKB had thought to endorse Şükrü Naili, Perto Pasha and the Minister of Education Necati Bey as candidates. All of the attempts of the association to endorse candidates was rejected. The RPP also decided it would not allow the association to endorse a candidate under the official party banner. See "Kadınların Mebus Namzedi," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 June 1927, 1. See, also, "Kadınların Mebusları," 3. "Kadınlar Bugün Namzedlerini Tesbit Ediyorlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 June 1927, 2.

On 18 June 1927, the TKB's legal affairs council gathered to negotiate the elections and candidates. The council prepared a report concerning the candidateship and aimed to present this report to the National Assembly.[83] The association also gathered members to elect a group of women[84] to call on Mustafa Kemal and pay their respects.[85] The association decided to petition the National Assembly to amend the municipality law so that women could participate in municipal elections and join the Municipal General Council.[86]

The suffrage claims of the association started a discussion in the print media, which was not supportive. *Cumhuriyet*, for example, published an article stating that the demand for women's suffrage was "a pleasant amusement" and claimed that women were not suited to voting since their main preoccupation in life was to "be sensitive, to read and write novels and to dress in accordance with the latest fashion."[87] The newspaper also stated that women would not acquire the right to vote or run until they had proven themselves a benefit to society.[88] *Cumhuriyet* sought the views of a senior official, Refik İsmail Bey, who did not favor women's involvement in politics. İsmail Bey stated that women could be granted voting rights in some party organs or commissions working on relevant issues, such as child protection or the *Hilal-i Ahmer*, where

"Kadınların Mebusluğu," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 June 1927, 2. "Kadın Birliğinde," 2. "Kadın Birliği," *Vakit*, 11 July 1927, 4. "Kadınların Mebusluğu," *Milliyet*, 14 June 1927, 1-4. "Kadınlar, Mutlaka İntihabata İştirak Etmek İstiyorlar!" *Milliyet*, 15 June 1927, 1-4. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 211-212.

83 The participants were Emin Ali, Kenan Bey, Emrullah Bey, Nezihe Muhiddin, Esma Zafer, Hatice Ahmed, Lamia Refik, Meziyet Refik and Saffet Ali Rıza. "Kadınlar Bugün Namzedlerini Tesbit Ediyorlar," 2.

84 "Kadınlar Birliği ve Mebusluk," 2. Nezihe Muhiddin, Muhsine Salih, Naile, Lamia Refik, İffet İhsan, Müfid Ali, Matlube Ömer [Sömerk] Hanım. "Kadınlar Namzed Göstermekten Vazgeçtiler!," 3.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 "Hanımlar Faaliyette!," 2.

88 Ibid.

women were already active. For İsmail Bey, women could be suitably employed in public affairs and social work.[89]

Nakiye Hanım, a member of the Aircraft Society (*Teyyare Cemiyeti*) and the *Türk Ocağı*, stated that she did not support the TKB's suffrage demands. She also stated that women had not yet reached the level to demand the suffrage right. Nakiye Hanım emphasized that women should first prove themselves by opening women's organizations, and then demand political rights.[90]

The issue also came to the fore during the negotiations on the law of compulsory military service in the parliament. Hakkı Tarık Bey asked if women wished to be conscripted like men into military service, noting the widespread reports in the press of women demanding equal suffrage rights to men. Hakkı Tarık Bey's question triggered several heated responses.[91] The Sivas deputy Şemseddin Bey supported the proposal of Hakkı Tarık Bey and stated that TKB was a benevolent society but not a political institution.[92] For her part, Muhiddin had always denied political rights linked to military service, given her view that women's primary role was motherhood.[93] Muhiddin also stated that the petition to run for office was not a political demand but a modern right.[94] She asserted that the TKB's goal had been to raise public awareness of the rights of women to vote, which had largely been accomplished. She then declared the

89 *Cumhuriyet* did not support women's suffrage and published various articles emphasizing the claims were premature. "Türk Kadınları Siyasi Hayata Atılmalı mıdır?," 2. "Kadınların Mebusluğu," 2.

90 "Kadınların Mebusluğu," 2. For the response of Nezihe Muhiddin, see "Kadınlar Bugün Namzedlerini Tesbit Ediyorlar," 2. "Kadınlar Namzed Göstermekten Vazgeçtiler!," 3. See, also, "Galiba Doğru Söz Bu..," *Milliyet*, 17 June 1927, 1-4. "Kadın Birliğinin Tasavvuru Tebessümle Karşılandı," *Milliyet*, 18 June 1927, p 1-4. "Nakiye Hanım Cevaba Cevap Veriyor," *Milliyet*, 19 June 1927, p 2.

91 "Millet Meclisinde Kadınlar Yüzünden Çıkan Münakaşa," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 June 1927, 2. See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 215-219.

92 "Kadınlar Birliği," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 June 1927, 2. "Kadın Birliği," *Cumhuriyet,* 30 July 1927, 2.

93 The TKB even sent a telegram to thank to one of the deputies who had supported the association during the discussions. "Kadınlar Birliği," 2. "Kadın Birliği," 2.

94 "Kadın Birliği ve Siyaset," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 June 1927, 2.

association would not endorse any candidates in the upcoming elections.[95]

Nezihe Muhiddin was elected as TKB president at the association's 1927 congress.[96] In her speech during the congress, she described the TKB not as a philanthropic organization but as an association working for women's political and social rights.[97] This assertion raised discussions in the general committee (*heyet-i umumiye*). Some of the delegates stated that the suffrage claim was premature. Muhiddin, on the other hand, stated that the goal of the association was to have the political right and advance women's status politically and economically.[98]

The second topic that raised tension at the congress concerned article 5 of the statute concerning men's role in the association. There was a proposal to discard the right for men to vote in the general administration. This divided the general committee into two opposing camps on the issue.[99] Muhiddin proposed to endorse men's right to vote in the general administration without being a member.[100]

After this congress, opposition was again aroused in the organization over the issue of expenses. The administrative committee decided to gather the congress again and create a commission to audit the

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95 Some of the members in the administrative committee continued to state their decisiveness in their suffrage claim. "Kadın Birliğinde," 2. See, also, "Kadınlar Birliği Arz-ı Tazimat Birliğini İntihab Etti," *Milliyet*, 20 June 1927, 1-4.

96 The congress elected a new administrative committee. However, the sources are inconsistent concerning who precisely was elected. See "Kadınlar Birliğinde Erkeksiz Heyet-i İdare," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 March 1927, 3. "Türk Kadın Birliği Kongresi," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 29, 15 June 1927: 6.

97 "Kadın Birliği Kongresi," 2.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Articles 2 and 7 of the statute were amended. Article 2 was revised to state that the association would work to help Turkish women advance so they could prove their "responsibility and interest in the country." Article 7 was changed to allow men to join as "assistant members" (*aza-i muhazere*) with the right to vote but not to run as officeholders. According to this article, men also had to pay a subscription fee. "Kadınlar Birliğinde Erkeksiz Heyet-i İdare," 3.

association's accounts (*tedkik-i hesabat komisyonu*).[101] The audit commission invited participants from the general committee, the central committee, the administrative committee, and one or two officials from a group opposed and had gone to the Governor of Istanbul with complaints. Anyone else who wished to participate in the commission was also accepted.[102]

The commission met at the beginning of April in 1927 and reviewed three years' worth of accounts. A line by line review of expenditures and income was conducted. The commission report stated that from the establishment of the association until 1927, total income had been 8,500 liras, while total expenses had been 7,635 liras. The balance of 865 liras was in the petty cash box.[103]

Nezihe Muhiddin was an ardent advocate of women's political rights. However, as we saw above, not all women in the association agreed. Political demands caused opposition against Nezihe Muhiddin in TKB. The opposition in the association would arise again in 1927 when corruption claims against Muhiddin were raised. This would lead to her purge from the association. The chapter now turns to focus on how the association approached the issue of morality and the fashion question, two topics directly connected to the purge of Nezihe Muhiddin in 1927.

6.2.3 *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* on the Question of Morality

The association was keenly interested in the issue of women's morality, especially that of young girls. It established commissions to deal with this

101 According to *Cumhuriyet*, the commission members were Dr. Safiye Ali, İffet İhsan, Nedime Esad, Sıdıka Behçet, Dürriye Faik and Süreyya Cemal. According to the information in *Milliyet*, Dürriye Faik Hanım was not on the commission. *Milliyet* stated that in addition to the above-mentioned names, Emin Ali and Enver Bey were also elected to the commission. See "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1927, 2. See "Kadın Birliğinde İctima," *Milliyet*, 2 April 1927, 3.

102 "Kadınlar Birliğinde İctima," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 March 1927, 3.

103 "Kadınlar Birliğinde," 2. See "Kadın Birliğinde İctima," *Milliyet*, 2 April 1927, 3.

issue. At the 1927 congress, based on Art. 23 of the statute[104] and a proposal of Nezihe Muhiddin, the *TKB* established several commissions[105] to investigate several different aspects of the life circumstances affecting women and girls.

These included the Education Comission (*Terbiyevi Komisyonu*)[106], the Press Commission (*Tedkik-i Matbuat Komisyonu*)[107], the Children's

104 Under the supervision of the administrative committee, the founders of the association decided to establish commissions related to science, literature, health and education. See article 23, *Kadın Birliğinin Nizamnamesidir*, 6.

105 One commission concerned activities in League of Nations (*Cemiyet-i Akvam)*, where the association decided that Azize Hanım would work for peace and women's rights. The second commission, to which İffet Hanım and Nezihe Muhiddin were elected, would work to promote equal pay for men and women in paid work. The third commission under the presidency of Efzayiş Yusuf Hanım would question women's social position and whether women should be subject to the control of men. A Commission on Moral Equality and the Fight against Prostitution (*Ahlak-i Müsavat ve Fuhuşa Karşı Mücadele*) was established, which found the male and female parties equally responsible for the act of prostitution. Esma Hanım was elected to head it. Dr. Safiye Ali Hanım was elected to the Unmarried Women and Illegitimate Children Commission (*Evlenmemiş Kadınlar ve Gayr-i Meşru Çocuklar*). "Erkek mi Kadına, Kadın mı Erkeğe Tabi?," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 March 1927, 1.

106 There is uncertainty with regard to the names of the commission members. According to *Cumhuriyet*, Nakiye, Sadiye Lütfi, Muallime Sıdıka, Muallime Aliye Esad, Şazimend, Hatice, Muallim Murtaza and Emrullah Bey were members. *Milliyet* lists Sadiye Lütfi, Nakiye, Muallim Sıdıka, Aliye Esad, Hatice Kamil, Şazimend, Muammer Azmi, Pakize Ahmet and Muallim Murtaza Bey as members. The Education commission was charged with looking at issues concerning Primary Girls' Schools (*İlk Kız Mektebi*) and investigating modern education. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1927, 2. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1927, 2. "Annelerin Annelere Yardımı Temin Edilecek," *Milliyet*, 9 April 1927, 1.

107 According to *Cumhuriyet*, Esma Zafir, Matlube Ömer, Şadan from the Faculty of Literature, Aliye Şinasi Hanım and Emin Ali Bey were on the commission. *Milliyet*'s list included Esma Zafir, Matlube Ömer, Şadan, Aliye Şinasi Hanım, Efzayiş Yusuf, Pakize Ahmet and Safvet Ali Rıza Hanım. The commission was charged with following the international press on issues directly or indirectly related to women. The commission was mandated to periodically report its findings to the association. "Kadınlar Birliğinde" *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1927, 2. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1927, 2. "Annelerin Annelere Yardımı Temin Edilecek," 1.

Literature Commission (*Çocuk Edebiyatı Komisyonu*)[108], the Law and Society Commission (İçtimai ve Hukuk Komisyonu)[109], the Health Commission (*Sıhhiye Komisyonu*)[110] and the Commission for the Contact

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108 According to *Cumhuriyet*, this commission included Esma Zafir, Samiha Kemal, Lamia Refik, Rezzan Ahmet Emin, Hadiye Selim Sırrı, Misis Danteri. *Milliyet*'s list included Lamia Refik, Esma Zafir, Samiha Kemal, Hadiye Selim Sırrı, Azmayiş Hanım, Pakize Ahmet, Matmazel Setez, and Misis Danteri. The commission was to translate children's books from German, English and French into Turkish. Another aim was putting on "moral and educational (*ahlaki ve terbiyevi*) plays" for children in schools. The administrative committee of the association would review suitable plays and then seek approval from the Ministry of Education. Nezihe Muhiddin noted that the first such play was "Zamane Kızları" ("Girls in Our Time"). "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1927, 2. See "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1927, 2. "Annelerin Annelere Yardımı Temin Edilecek," 1.

109 According to *Cumhuriyet*, the members were Nigar Şevki, Kerime Hamid, Refia Hanım, İrfan Emin, Rıza Bey, Enver Behnan. According to *Milliyet*, the members were Nigar Şevki, Beyhan Hüsamettin, Müdrike Cemil, İrfan Emin and Enver Behnan. This commission was charged with advancing women's social and political rights and to investigate the proper role of women in social life. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1927, 2. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1927, 2. "Annelerin Annelere Yardımı Temin Edilecek," 1.

110 According to *Cumhuriyet*, the members of this commission were: Misis Danteri, Dr. Safiye Ali, Lahike Reşad Hanım, Dr. Rüştü and Şükrü Bey. According to *Milliyet*, the members of this commission were: Safiye Ali, Leman Halil, Lamia Refik, Matlube Ömer, Kerime Hamit, Firdevs Ahmet, Süreyya Cemal, Zeliha Ziya, Lahike Reşat, Halet Şükri, Matmazet Setez and doctor Rüştü Bey. This commission was to focus on the "children of the country." It would work to establish institutions to distribute milk, helping mothers and providing "free healthy clothing for small children in need." The association would consult Dr. Safiye Ali, who was elected to be responsible for the delegates in 1927, for Health Commission (*Sağlık Encümeni*). Dr. Safiye Ali proposed the association launch a campaign to establish a Milk Distribution House (*süt damlası evi*) for neglected children and their mothers. The association allocated one day of the week for the examination of child diseases and one day for the examination of gynecological diseases and sought to open a clinic in 1927. According to *Milliyet*, Muhiddin said the commission was to gather women to sew clothes for infants. The same news quoted Dr. Safiye Ali's statement related to the commission. According to Safiye Ali, the commission aimed to establish an institution, which she called "mothers helping other mothers." This institution would work in the ground floor of the TKB building. In this institution, women would work to produce layettes. These layettes would be used for the children in need until the age of five and then returned to the institution for the usage of children in need. Safiye Ali

With International Women's Society (*Beynelmilel Kadın Cemiyeti ile İrtibat Komisyonu*).[111] A commission was established by "kind and privileged" women members of Istanbul's high society to organize balls and shows and provide income for the association.[112] The commissions were all established based on provisions in the TKB statute, and, as Muhiddin stated, the commissions would gather on certain days every week.[113]

The association foregrounded the significance of morality for the younger generation and took steps to protect women's virtues in the public realm. It commissioned moral films for children and, in 1925,

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expressed one of the desires to make the middle-class women to be interested in poor and needy mothers. One of the ideas of the commission was also to gather once in a week to warn mothers in child rearing. The commission would also aim to be interested in nourishment, games, sleeping and everything in the rearing of children. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1927, 2. "Kadınlar Birliğinde İctima," 3. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1927, 2. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1927, 2. "Genç Kızlar Yuvası," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 August 1927, 4. "Annelerin Annelere Yardımı Temin Edilecek," 1. The association decided to use the small piece of land in front of the TKB headquarters for children's play and a sun bath. One part of it would be used for women's sport activities. For further information about the philanthropic activities of the association for children, see "Kadınlar Birliği Genç Kızlar İçin Bir Kulüp Açıyor," *Milliyet*, 25 April 1927, 1-2. "Bir Çocuk Bakımevi Daha Kazandık," *Vakit*, 15 April 1927, 1.

111 According to *Cumhuriyet*, members of the commission were Doctor Safiye Ali, Nezihe Muhiddin, Efzayiş Yusuf, Esma Zafir, Seniha, İffet İhsan, Naile Vahab, Kıbrıslı Azize Hanım and Madmazel İsteis(?). According to *Milliyet*, the members of the commission were Efzayiş Yusuf, İffet İhsan, Nezihe Muhiddin, Seniha, Kıbrıslı Azize, Naile Vahab, Leman Halil, Safiye Ali and Matmazel Setez. Dr. Safiye Ali became the president of this commission. This commission would investigate international activities on womanhood and keep contact with the International Women's Association (*Beynelmilel Kadın Cemiyeti*), with which the TKB had close connections. According to a news report in *Cumhuriyet* in 1927, more than 500 documents had been delivered to the TKB in the last year from the International Women's Association. The commission also evaluated letters that came from other women's movements in Europe. "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 April 1927, 2. See, also, "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1927, 2. "Annelerin Annelere Yardımı Temin Edilecek," 1. See "Kadın Birliğinde Dünkü İctima," *Vakit*, 22 July 1927, 2.

112 "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1927, 2.

113 "Annelerin Annelere Yardımı Temin Edilecek," 1.

petitioned the ministry to prevent girls below the age of 16 from entering cinemas showing films that offended morality.[114] In the struggle against prostitution, in 1927, the association launched an effort targeting new recruits to this line of work, in collaboration with the police.[115] The association also attempted to prohibit offensive plays being performed by the *Tuluat Kumpanyası* (Improvised Company) and films broadcast in cinemas.[116] The association proposed to ban young girls' wandering at night in the streets to prevent theaters and cinema halls from becoming places of rendezvous.[117] Nezihe Muhiddin favored preventing young girls from attending dance salons without a male relative accompanying her.[118] The association also decided to take an interest in the print media and worked to prevent indecent writing and caricatures.[119] For this purpose, the association contacted with the Administration of Justice. Muhiddin also stated that the association attempted to cooperate with the Education Board Committee (*Talim ve Terbiye Heyeti*) of the Ministry of Education.[120] The association planned to establish a young girls club to prevent young girls from spending their spare time in "unproductive" activities.[121]

The association's Education Commission established an association called the Young Girl's House (*Genç Kız Yuvası*) in the absence of any existing social and educational institution for young girls.[122] According to

114 "Kadınlık Aleminde 'Kadınlar Birliği'nin Faideli Teşebbüsleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 October 1925, 3. The TKB applied to the Ministry of Interior, demanding government control of the coffee houses where, the association claimed, the unemployed youth were becoming mixed up with drugs and gambling. "Kadın Birliği kahvelerin tahdidini istedi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 June 1933, 4.

115 "Kadın Birliği," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 April 1927, 2. "Fuhuşu Nasıl Önüne Geçecekler?," *Akşam*, 23 April 1927, 1.

116 "Kadın Birliği," 2. "Fuhuşu Nasıl Önüne Geçecekler?," 1.

117 "Kadın Birliği," 2. "Fuhuşu Nasıl Önüne Geçecekler?," 1.

118 "Kadın Birliği," 2. "Fuhuşu Nasıl Önüne Geçecekler?," 1.

119 "Kadın Birliği," 2. "Fuhuşu Nasıl Önüne Geçecekler?," 1.

120 "Kadın Birliği," 2. "Fuhuşu Nasıl Önüne Geçecekler?," 1.

121 "Kadınlar Birliği Genç Kızlar İçin Bir Kulüp Açıyor," 2.

122 In May 1927, the commission gathered under the presidency of Şekib Bey, the director of psychology (*Ruhiyat Müdürü*) in the Faculty of Literature and the statute of the house

Milliyet, the association rented a tennis-court-sized parcel of land for the house in May 1927.[123] The expenses of the house would be met by selling badges and organizing a tour in Istanbul.[124] The house's statute was prepared, and the newspapers announced that its activities would start in a short period of time in August 1927. The association decided to accept 30 women at first, and in case of more than 30 applications, it was announced that these would also be considered. The house would accept young girls between 13 and 20 years old.[125]

The association desired to establish an open-air camp for women and young girls in the pinetum around the mansion of Abbas Hilmi Pasha in Heybeliada under the direction of Nezihe Muhiddin.[126] Muhiddin stated the association aimed to raise young girls following modern norms.[127] The camp was planned to last until the end of September 1927.[128]

The association supplied tents and all the necessities for the camp. Just before it was due to open, the police notified Nezihe Muhiddin that the camp could not proceed—gendarmes then removed all the tents in

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was negotiated. "Genç Kızlar Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 May 1927, 1. See, also, "Genç Kızlar Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 30 May 1927, 2. "Genç Kızlar Kulübü," *Akşam*, 29 May 1927, 2.

123 The association also planned to hold conferences on social issues for young girls. "Genç Kızlar Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 30 May 1927, 2. See, also, "Kadınlar İttihadı," 3.

124 "Kadınlar İttihadı," 3.

125 "Genç Kızlar Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 May 1927, 1. "Genç Kızlar Yuvası," 4. "Kızlar Kampı," *Vakit*, 15 August 1927, 2.

126 It was not obligatory to stay in the camp until the end. The subscription for one week or 10 days was also a possibility. The participants would be charged according to the days they stayed in the camp. According to news reports, every Turkish girl who paid 10 kuruş monthly could be a member in the association. Foreign women could not be members but could participate in the activities of the association. The total of 16 women registered for the camp, the majority of whom were teachers. The association also prepared a statute to be a guide for young girls in the house. See "Genç Kızlar Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 May 1927, 1. "Genç Kızlar Yuvası," 4. See, also, "'Kadınlar Birliği' Yirmiiki Yaşına Kadar Genç Kızlar İçin Bir Yuva Teşkil etti," *Akşam*, 16 August 1927, 2. "Kadın Kampı Açıldı," *Milliyet*, 26 August 1927, 4.

127 "Genç Kızlar Yuvası," 4.

128 Ibid.

the campsite.[129] The association had applied to the local municipality but did not get permission from the police and so the camp was closed.[130] The Governor of Istanbul, Süleyman Sami Bey, stated it would be inconvenient to open the camp, to which Muhiddin rejoined that many camps had opened that summer without inconvenience. She also insisted the application of the association to open the camp be reconsidered.[131]

Amid these discussions, the TKB announced a sea tour to Marmara Island in late 1927.[132] The tour was not permitted either.[133] Lamia Refik Hanım and another woman went to the governorate to get permission for the tour but were rebuffed. The governorate later explained the reason for cancellation as the association's perpetual delays in scheduling the tour, finding this to be against the association's statute.[134]

Akşam explained the situation as a conflict between the TKB and the governorate. After the tour was canceled, the TKB gathered on 29 August 1927, and the administrative committee decided to complain about the governorate to the Ministry of Interior.[135] An article titled "A Black Cat Between Nezihe Muhiddin and the Governor ("Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımla Vali Bey Arasında Kara Kedi") in *Cumhuriyet* stated that the tension between the Governor and Muhiddin dated back to an old quarrel and a misunderstanding between them when Muhiddin was the president of *Kız Hayat Mektebi* (Girls' School of Life).[136] In an interview, Muhiddin endorsed the title and content of the article. From his appointment as

129 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımla Vali Bey Arasında Kara Kedi!," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 August 1927, 1-2. See, also, "Kadınlar Kampı Açılamadı," *Vakit*, 27 August 1927, 2.

130 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımla Vali Bey Arasında Kara Kedi!," 1-2. See, also, "Kadınlar Kampı Açılamadı," 2.

131 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımla Vali Bey Arasında Kara Kedi!," 1-2. See, also, "Kadınlar Kampı Açılamadı," 2.

132 "Kadınlar Birliği ve Mebusluk," 2. See the announcement of the tour: "Kadınlar İttihadı," 3. "Kadın Birliğinin Tenezzühü," *Vakit*, 11 July 1927, 3.

133 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımla Vali Bey Arasında Kara Kedi!," 1-2.

134 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Kampı Kaldırıldıktan Sonra…," *Akşam*, 30 August 1927, 1. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım Her Tarafa Baş Vuruyor," *Milliyet*, 30 August 1927, 4.

135 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Kampı Kaldırıldıktan Sonra..," 1.

136 Muhiddin was dismissed from the presidency of the school. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımla Vali Bey Arasında Kara Kedi!,"1-2.

Governor of Istanbul, Muhiddin asserted, Süleyman Sami Bey had failed to "provide convenience" for the association and had stood in the way of every fundraising initiative, such as the badge day (*rozet günü*), and the designation of the association as an association working for the public good.[137]

After an investigation, *Cumhuriyet* alleged the camp had been closed for two reasons. One objection was that women and young girls were to be housed together in the same camp. According to the newspaper, "girls and women staying together is not correct."[138] The newspaper underlined that girls and women should not be housed in the same camp. Another objection was failures in the bureaucratic procedure. The newspaper stated that if it was a girls' camp, the association had to get permission from the Ministry of Education and if it was a women's camp, from the police.[139]

After the camp was canceled, Muhiddin applied to the Minister of Interior for permission.[140] She told *Cumhuriyet* that the Minister of Interior, Cemil Bey, had promised to solve the issue of approval for the camp and sea tour.[141] She also stated that the Governor was not acting for the public's benefit but in the pursuit of his personal opinions and rehash old issues between them.[142] The association sent a committee to the Governor as a courtesy, but the Governor declined even to see them.[143] Muhiddin's petition to the Ministry of Interior was returned with a margin note explaining why the camp had been banned. She then sought to visit Necati Bey, the Ministry of Education, to petition him personally but could not reach him.[144] Muhiddin also petitioned the Islands' Municipality (*Adalar Belediyesi*) after the camp was demolished, but the

137 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Kampı Kaldırıldıktan Sonra…," 1.

138 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımla Vali Bey Arasında Kara Kedi!," 1-2.

139 Ibid.

140 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Kampı Kaldırıldıktan Sonra…," p 1.

141 "Kadın Birliğine Reklam!," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 September 1927, 3.

142 Ibid.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım Her Tarafa Baş Vuruyor," 4. See, also, "Kadınlar Kampı Niçin Kapatıldı?," *Vakit*, 28 August 1927, 3.

municipality was not authorized to intervene.[145] In sum, every attempt Muhiddin made to resolve the problem failed, and both the camp and the tour could not go ahead. This quarrel also played into Muhiddin's dismissal from the association in 1927.

The year of 1927 saw Nezihe Muhiddin pursue an active political program on the issue of morality. This was alongside her attempts to open a school and her failed efforts to organize the camp and tour of the islands. We turn now to discuss Muhiddin's other political venture in 1927—namely, her efforts to eliminate women's fashion consumption and advance the adoption of a uniform clothing.

6.2.4 The Campaigns of Nezihe Muhiddin and the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* Against Fashion Consumption

During Nezihe Muhiddin's presidency, the TKB encouraged women to wear clothes made from domestic fabric. The association's periodical, *Türk Kadın Yolu* (Turkish Women's Way),[146] published articles criticizing women's fashion consumption. For example, an article in the first issue claimed that women's household consumption choices were formative in the nation's economic well-being. The periodical also cautioned women to stay away from stores opened during the armistice period and motivated them to sacrifice for the nation, then considered a sacred duty for the citizens. It encouraged women to use domestic fabrics in summer evening dresses and winter clothes, promoting this contribution to national economic progress.[147]

Alongside the publicity campaign, the magazine also promoted local designs by showing women how to make clothes themselves. For

145 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım Her Tarafa Baş Vuruyor," 4.

146 The periodical was published by the organization from 16 July 1925 to 1 August 1927. The first two issues were published under the title *Kadın Yolu* (Women's Way), after which the magazine's name was changed to *Türk Kadın Yolu*. Nezihe Muhiddin sought financial support from the Ministry of Education in 1926, which was approved, although no further information is available as to whether the funds were ever received before the publication ceased in 1927. The association launched a second periodical, *Kadın Sesi* (Women's Voice), in 1929. BCA 180.9.45.233.8, 1-2 29 July 1926.

147 "Nasıl Giyinmeliyiz?," *Kadın Yolu*, no. 1, 16 Temmuz 1341 (16 July 1925): 13.

example, it published instructions for producing colorful craftwork from Mezdan Hanım, who was in charge of producing handicrafts for the *Türk Kadın Yolu* magazine. Mezdan Hanım proffered designs from European fashion that women could make at home. Readers were also welcome to visit the association's headquarters to gather further information on the designs if they wished.[148]

All fashion designs published in the periodical were made from domestic materials. For example, *Türk Kadın Yolu*'s fashion page presented a nightgown produced from domestic *krebdöşin* from Bursa and adorned with Cava lacework and an embroidered flower.[149] Another design was a evening dress produced from thin domestic fabric or a thin white crepe over a black domestic taffeta and adorned with delicate lacework.[150] *Türk Kadın Yolu* instructed women with illustrations on how to make fashionable adornments for themselves, such as handiwork with dyes on etamin.[151] The association also promoted domestic goods consumption through a baby pageant in 1925, showcasing babies from 9 months to 2 years old. The periodical announced that the winner would get a dress made from chic, vintage Turkish handicrafts from the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*.[152]

The periodical published advertisements for domestic tailors. For example, it published an advertisement for the House of Beauties, Ladies Work House (*Mehasin Yurdu*, *Hanımların Mesai Yuvası*), an initiative of a woman tailor, Mahbule Hanım. It was stated that she visited Paris twice a year to review the latest fashions and brought "the most distinguished

148 Mezdan, "Boya ile Elişi," *Kadın Yolu*, no. 1, 16 Temmuz 1341 (16 July 1925): 14. In another issue, *Kadın Yolu* presented four pairs of shoes designed by Mezdan Said Hanım. See *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 3, 30 Temmuz 1341 (30 July 1925): 16. Readers could request to visit the *Kadınlar Birliği* headquarters in Fevziye Street in Şehzadebaşı and the magazine promised to show those invited around the workshop. "Moda," *Kadın Yolu*, no. 2, 23 Temmuz 1341 (23 July 1925): 29.

149 "Moda," *Kadın Yolu*, no. 2, 29.

150 Ibid.

151 "Boya ile El İşi," no. 2, 23 Temmuz 1341 (23 July 1925): 29.

152 "Güzellik Müsabakası Bebekler Aramızda," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 6, 20 Ağustos 1341 (20 August 1925): 11.

and exceptional designs to Istanbul."[153] The advertisement claimed that the Ladies Work House only existed in Beyoğlu.[154] Attached to the advertisement, *Türk Kadın Yolu* noted that "it was a big sin" that Turkish women preferred foreigner stores while this kind of domestic producer existed in Beyoğlu.[155]



Figure 6.1 Garment designs made from domestic fabric in *Kadın Yolu*. SOURCE: *Kadın Yolu* (July 23, 1925).

Türk Kadınlar Birliği opened a tailoring house for the employment of orphans and widows on 20 September 1926.[156] There were "many sincere and reputable persons" at the opening, and a tea party was given.[157] In one of the issues of *Türk Kadın Yolu*, the statute of the tailoring house was

153 "Mehasin Yurdu," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 14 (1 February 1926): 17.

154 Ibid.

155 Ibid.

156 "Türk Kadın Birliği Havadisi," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 20 (1 October 1926): 13.

157 Ibid.

published. According to the statute, the house would produce "fancy stitching, white clothes, domestic fabric and always economical goods."[158] Ten percent of the income generated by the house would belong to the TKB. The statute stated that Turkish women who were in need would always be employed in the workshop.[159] According to the statute, two women who were experts in stitching and handiwork would manage the workshops. A committee consisting of three women would be selected from the members of the executive board of the association in order to control the house.[160] The advertisement for the tailoring house was in the same issue. It stated that women who wanted to dress with good taste for a reasonable price and wanted to help orphan girls should apply to the TKB headquarters in Fevziye Street in Şehzadebaşı.[161] This tailoring house was characteristic of the women's movement initiatives in this period to encourage women to consume domestic goods and train poor women as domestic tailors. However, no further information is available on the association's tailoring house and if the house continued to work.

Nezihe Muhiddin was a strict critic of fashion consumption.[162] In an interview in 1923, she even supported the preservation of veiling and *çarşaf*, which she considered the "national clothing."[163] She always underlined the negative effect of fashion consumption on the economic development of the country. In one of her articles in *Türk Kadın Yolu*, emphasizing the necessity of economic development for the new republic and women's role in this development, Muhiddin criticized city women for their fashion expenditures.[164] She criticized these "ornamental and fashion women" (*süs ve moda kadınları*) who damaged the country's

158 "Türk Kadın Birliği Havadisleri," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 19 (15 September 1926): 10.

159 Ibid.

160 Ibid.

161 "Türk Kadın Birliği Dikiş Evi," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 19 (15 September 1926): 17.

162 Zihnioğlu also states that Nezihe Muhiddin took a conservative stance toward clothing. Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 113.

163 Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 113; 288.

164 Nezihe Muhiddin, "Türk Kadınlığı ve İktisadiyatımız," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 20 (1 October 1926): 2.

wealth by spending thousands of liras and sending money to foreign countries because of their fashion consumption.[165] As a solution to Western fashion dominance, Muhiddin petitioned local factories and manufacturers to create domestic goods with modern good taste in accordance with women's desires and to sell these goods for reasonable prices.[166] Muhiddin asked women consumers to choose domestic products even if they had deficiencies to contribute to the nation's development.[167]

In 1926, Nezihe Muhiddin also suggested domestic beauty salons open while criticizing women for their hairdresser choices, referring to the non-Muslim hairdressers in Beyoğlu. She deplored that the TKB had no hairdresser (*perukar*) that women could visit for manicures and pedicures.[168] According to Muhiddin, if the association had a hairdresser, poor women could go and work there. The income of the hairdresser could also be delivered to women in need.[169] In fact, *Cumhuriyet* published a rumor to the effect that the association was planning such an initiative. The newspaper thought this would prove quite useful since women had no choice but to go to barbershops at that time.[170] According to the newspaper, the number of women who were forced to earn a living was increasing. For enterprising women, opening a salon for women would be a legitimate and profitable endeavor, and the newspaper noted that destitute, widowed, and needy women could be employed.[171] No information is available on whether the initiative came to fruition, but it certainly epitomizes the approach of the association toward beauty consumption and its wish to promote domestic enterprises in all sectors of fashion.

165 Ibid.

166 Ibid.

167 Ibid.

168 "Kadınlar Birliği Faaliyetini Tevzii Ediyor," 2.

169 Ibid.

170 "Kadınlara Mahsus Perukarlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 January 1926, 3.

171 Ibid.



Figure 6.2 A tuxedo design in *Cumhuriyet*. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (February 27, 1926).

In the 1920s, fashion for women was more inclined towards "masculine" designs and women often wore men's suits, including tuxedos. *Cumhuriyet* published a tuxedo design for women produced by a French seamstress in *Illustration*, the French journal. The tuxedo had a skirt but no collar or tie and came in four different designs for women.[172] According to the newspaper, the tuxedo fashion was in demand due to its practicability and affordability.[173] Another news report stated that women in England wore tuxedos at various ceremonies. *Cumhuriyet* published different tuxedo designs taken from the foreign print media, noting the only difference from men's tuxedos was the plain black skirt and lace adornment in the front.[174] According to the newspaper, the reasons for tuxedo fashion were three-fold. First, women's and men's clothes increasingly resembled each other. Second, women got rid of the multicolored dresses in formal places. Third, women preferred the affordability and practicability of tuxedos to women's burdensome evening dresses (*külfetli tuvaletler).*[175] Despite presenting the designs,

172 "Her Gün Bir Adım," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 February 1926, 1-2.

173 Ibid.

174 Küçük Hanım, "Kadınlar ve Smokini," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 February 1926, 3.

175 Ibid.

the newspaper deplored the loss of femininity and the masculinization of women's appearance in this period.[176]

Türk Kadın Yolu followed this fashion closely and presented some garment designs from balls and formal tea parties in its pages. The periodical claimed that American women wore tuxedos and asked when women Istanbulites would adopt this fashion. Nezihe Muhiddin was in favor of women's tuxedos. Accepting women's interest in color, fragrances, and elegance, Muhiddin emphasized the necessity to abstain from excessiveness.[177] The tuxedo was the opposite of what Western fashion represented for Muhiddin. She viewed the tuxedo as a chic and elegant costume that offered an appropriate silhouette for women's bodies if a good tailor made it.[178] Muhiddin recommended women switch their extravagant ball gowns for tuxedos on economic grounds. She claimed that the same tuxedo suit could last several ball seasons if tailored well and allow women to be elegant while saving money.[179]

At a gathering on 25 April 1927, the association adopted a policy of promoting a national Turkish women's costume in accordance with the contemporary economic needs in the gathering in 25 April 1927.[180] The association commissioned a Turkish tailor shop to come up with an attractive uniform design. According to the news in *Milliyet*, the association was explicit that this design should not simply ape Western fashion. The design then would be presented to the public.[181] According to another news report in *Milliyet*, Dr. Safiye Ali was the first to bring the uniform clothing proposal forward. Safiye Ali complained that women spent a lot of money on clothing. She stated that women could "wear healthier, clean, and beautiful clothes according to the necessities of the new century by spending less." She continued by saying, "it is in this

176 Ibid.

177 Nezihe Muhiddin, "Balolarda Kadın Kıyafeti," *Türk Kadın Yolu*, no. 25 (15 January 1927): 2-3.

178 Ibid.

179 Ibid.

180 "Kadınlar Birliği Genç Kızlar İçin Bir Kulüp Açıyor," 1.

181 Deploring the poor state of the moral education of young girls, the association decided at this gathering that it would open a girls' club. Ibid.

sense, we thought it would be quite right for women to adopt a uniform clothing if they were willing to do so. Besides, I believe most of us [women] will welcome the proposal once they see the style and form of the clothing."[182] Muhiddin supported the proposal. *Cumhuriyet* even claimed that Muhiddin herself proposed a "uniform and simple clothing" for Turkish women to prevent young girls' addiction to personal adornment in one of the commissions in the association. The commission did not accept Muhiddin's proposal before the gathering on 25 Nisan 1927.[183] It was not obvious that who first proposed the uniform clothing, but Muhiddin definitely supported this proposal.[184]

Efzayiş Yusuf (Suat),[185] a significant woman intellectual of the period, opposed the uniform clothing proposal. She stated that

> although it is a praiseworthy idea, in practice, it is not in accordance with the mentality of our century, nor does it suit the association's mission. Because, ladies, think for a moment: Would Turkish women, who have just escaped from one obligatory uniform, *çarşaf*, willingly accept wearing another uniform clothing chosen by a couple of women, even if that clothing is designed with good taste and prudence? Wouldn't such an attempt be fanciful?[186]

She considered this to be a useless and time-wasting exercise, which would never be achieved in any case. Furthermore, she accused the TKB of encouraging women to copy this uniform clothing but not to be creative. She instead proposed that the association members, as an example to the public, should dress following the principles of good taste and prudence.

Efzayiş Suat also complained that this proposal would restrict women to a uniform standard. She stated that

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182 "Teklif Yapanlar İzahat Veriyorlar," *Milliyet*, 26 April 1927, 2.

183 "Kadın Birliği," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 April 1927, 2.

184 "Teklif Yapanlar İzahat Veriyorlar," 2.

185 Efzayiş Suat's name before marriage was Efzayiş Yusuf.

186 Efzayiş Yusuf, "Kadınların Kıyafeti Hakkında," *Milliyet*, 29 April 1927, 3.

> if the association attempted such unnecessary acts, which we deem inapplicable, it would be deviating from its primary mission. It should not try to produce identical people… Its task should be to help free ideas flourish, not encourage copying.[187]

Creating a uniform clothing did not come to fruition, but the association continued to propose uniformity in clothing.

According to a news report in *Akşam*, the association had undertaken some research and discovered that ball gowns were the most significant source of women's extravagance in clothing. The TKB had determined to "start the fashion of wearing simple clothes" to balls[188] and, indeed, elected to promote tuxedos for members as the most appropriate attire on these occasions. In making much of this move, Nezihe Muhiddin took the opportunity to reiterate the association's overall goals, stating, "we will struggle against prostitution. We will not walk around decked in finery. We will accept wearing plain garments. We will work to prevent young girls from falling into bad habits. We will avoid loading our husbands with ever more expenses every day."[189] The print media found the idea of wearing plain and uniform clothes strange.[190]

Muhiddin, on the other hand, rejected the claims that *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* would wear tuxedos as night dresses in balls.[191] She told the reporter that this was only her idea and not the union's official view. She nonetheless defended her proposal on the grounds that wearing tuxedos was more economical, if a bit unusual at first sight. She stated that adopting a dress that could "be worn for years would be cheaper than giving hundreds of liras to a ball dress."[192] She was not in favor of entirely accepting the male tuxedo but proposed alterations instead of collars and decoration of the dress. For example, Muhiddin stated that rather than

187 Ibid.

188 "Bu da Bulundu!," *Akşam*, 17 May 1927, 1.

189 "Bir Bu Eksikti!," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 May 1927, 3. "Bu da Bulundu!," 1.

190 "Bir Bu Eksikti!," 3. See, also, "Bu da Bulundu!," 1. "Hanımlar Mebus Olunca," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 June 1927, 1.

191 "Smokinli Kadınlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 May 1927, 2.

192 Ibid.

pants, a black skirt would be preferable.[193] Muhiddin claimed that this dress was "wholesome and very economical."[194] She said that she would go to balls in this kind of a tuxedo.[195]

The first tuxedo was worn at the *Türk Ocağı* ball, which took place in the yard of the summer hotel of Tokatlıyan in Tarabya in June 1927.[196] Egyptian families who came to spend the summer time in Istanbul and stayed in Boğaziçi also attended the ball. Embassy employees, deputies, high degree officials, well-to-do people alone, or along with their daughters or wives attended as well.[197] Notably, TKB member Neriman Salahi wore a tuxedo with a vest and a pant-skirt with stripes on the edges, a white shirt, and a black necktie.[198] She recalled how women were spending around 100 liras on gowns for every ball and emphasized that women in countries like Turkey had to be frugal, should eschew extravagant spending, and wear tuxedos in place of gowns to balls.[199]

According to reports in *Cumhuriyet*, other women attendees did not favor the tuxedo and stated that they would shun it since it effaced a woman's essence, namely her "elegance, and beauty."[200] It is not clear whether these opinions reported in the paper were representative of attendees or not. In general, it is clear that the print media were indisposed to the tuxedo as a trend in ball attire for women and saw it as at best quirky and, at worst, a derogation of femininity.

The project of encouraging domestic consumption laid at the top of the agenda during the reign of Nezihe Muhiddin.[201] But she ran out of time to complete this mission. Her efforts to open a camp at Heybeliada and organizing the sea tour took up a lot of her time and energy. Soon after, the police investigation against her would open.

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193 Ibid.

194 Ibid.

195 Ibid.

196 "Türk Ocağı Balosunda İlk Smokinli Kadın," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 July 1927, 1-2.

197 Ibid.

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid.

200 Ibid.

201 "'Kadın Birliği' Faaliyette," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 August 1927, 3.

Nezihe Muhiddin's removal was evidently a political purge. The single party regime was hardly disposed to the existence of a women's association seeking to educate and empower women outside party structure. The TKB was also promoting a form of sartorial nationalism against Western fashion, the widespread adoption of which was central to the symbolic project of the regime. Thus, the Kemalists sought to reign in the administration and activities of the TKB and bring them in line with the regime's political agenda.

§ 6.3 The Removal of Nezihe Muhiddin in 1927

On 10 September 1927, the police opened an investigation into the association.[202] According to the newspapers, the police were probing corruption and maladministration charges, asserting that Nezihe Muhiddin had misappropriated association funds.[203] She was also accused of using the main premises as a place of residence for herself and her family, a violation of the association's statute.[204] The third allegation was that she had overseen the committee's changes without seeking prior police vetting of the members and securing official approval.[205]

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202 "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 September 1927, 3.

203 The police alleged that her "requisition" of 500 liras from the association's cash box (it was returned a week later) without committee approval was illegal. "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 September 1927, 3. See "Kadınlar Birliğinin Umur-u Hesabiyesi Muntazam Değil," *Akşam*, 12 September 1927, 1. "Kadınlar Birliğinin Teftişi," *Milliyet*, 11 September 1927, 2. "Kadınlar Birliği Niçin Teftiş Ediliyor?," *Milliyet*, 12 September 1927, 1. "Kadınlar Birliği Niçin Teftiş Edildi?," *Vakit*, 12 September 1927, 2.

204 "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 September 1927, 3. See "Kadınlar Birliğinin Umur-u Hesabiyesi Muntazam Değil," 1. "Kadınlar Birliğinin Teftişi," 2. "Kadınlar Birliği Niçin Teftiş Ediliyor?," 1. "Kadınlar Birliği Niçin Teftiş Edildi?," 2. In the first court case, responding the judge's inquiry, Muhiddin stated that she was 34 years old, married, and living in Cihangir. However, *Cumhuriyet* reported that she "resided in the association's headquarters" in Şehzadebaşı. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımın Maznuniyeti Ağırdır!," *Milliyet*, 7 October 1927, 1. "Kadın Birliği'nin Sabık Reisesi Muhakemede," *Vakit*, 7 October 1927, 2.

205 "Sabık Kadınlar Birliği Reisesi Birkaç Meseleye Cevap Verecek," *Akşam*, 30 September 1927, 1.

Nezihe Muhiddin prosecuted Istanbul governorship.[206] On the other hand, the governorship prosecuted Nezihe Muhiddin on her "behavior against the Law of Associations" by misappropriation of 500 liras and not reporting the change in the administrative committee, one among other acts related to the abuse of security.[207] In October 1927, the court case was transferred from a minor court to the civil court.[208] The civil court judge in Sultanahmet considered the case as a subject related to the abuse of security and returned the court documents to the prosecutor, who directed the case to the court of first instance.[209] According to the law, Nezihe Muhiddin was accepted to be a civil officer, thereby the documents related to her court case were transferred to the Council of Trials (*Muhakemat Encümeni*) in 1928.[210] In May 1929, Muhiddin's case was dismissed.[211]

The municipal police closed the association temporarily on 17 September 1927 for flouting the Law of Associations (*Cemiyetler Kanunu)*.[212] After this decision, the association announced it was calling a congress for all members on 23 September 1927 at the Şehzadebaşı headquarters.[213] However, municipal police sought an injunction and

206 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımın Vilayet Aleyhine Açtığı Dava," 1. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımın Davasına Bugün Bakılıyor," *Akşam*, 2 October 1927, 2. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımın Muhakemesine Başlandı," *Milliyet*, 2 October 1927, 2.

207 "Nezihe Hanım Davası," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 October 1927, 3. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımın Maznuniyeti Ağırdır!," 1-4.

208 "Nezihe Hanım Davası," 3. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanımın Maznuniyeti Ağırdır!," 1-4. One of the accusations was that some of the belongings of the association were sold in a traveler ship. "Nezihe H. Davası," *Milliyet*, 6 May 1929, 3. See, also, "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım Aleyhinde Yeni Bir Dava!..,." *Milliyet*, 5 October 1927, 4.

209 "Nezihe Hanım'ın Evrakı," *Milliyet*, 9 October 1927, 4.

210 "Nezihe Hanım Memur!," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 February 1928, 2-3.

211 "Nezihe Muhiddin H. Davası," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 May 1929, 2.

212 "Kadın Birliği Heyeti," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 September 1927, 2.

213 See "Kadın Birliği Heyeti," 2. "Kısa Haberler," *Akşam*, 22 September 1927, 2. "Kadınlar Birliği," *Vakit*, 20 September 1927, 2. See, also, "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Vakit*, 22 September 1927, 2. "Kadın Birliğinde," *Vakit*, 23 September 1927, 3.

sealed documents of the association.[214] They then ordered the police to issue an injunction against the congress until further notice.

Muhiddin announced the congress would proceed anyway and asked for the association's documents to be unsealed, which the police refused.[215] The stated reason was that the judicial proceedings had rendered the old administrative committee void, and the police would only return documents once a new committee had been elected.[216]

A smear campaign was conducted against Muhiddin. One of the newspapers wrote that Muhiddin met with a Belgian woman, accusing her of collaborating with foreigners. Muhiddin strongly refuted this claim and stated that she would never let herself be an instrument of foreign meddling.[217]

During this time, some of the members of the association accused Muhiddin of being culpable in the failed camp and boat tour. They argued she had brought the problems to the association due to her feud with the Governor.[218] It was also rumored that she had decided to resign when confronted with opposition inside the organization.[219] However, the association refuted these rumors and released a statement to the

214 "Kadınlar Kongresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 September 1927, 2. "Zabıta, Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım Hakkındaki Tahkikat Evrakını Muhakemeye Tevdi Etti," *Akşam*, 24 September 1927, 1. "Hükümet Nazarında Kadınlar Birliği İnfisah Etmiş Addediliyor," *Akşam*, 25 September 1927, 1. "Kadın Birliğinde," *Vakit*, 24 September 1927, 2.

215 "Kadınlar Kongresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 September 1927, 2. "Zabıta, Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım," 1. "Hükümet Nazarında Kadınlar Birliği," 1. "Kadın Birliğinde," *Vakit*, 24 September 1927, 2.

216 "Kadınlar Kongresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 September 1927, 2. "Zabıta, Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım," 1. "Hükümet Nazarında Kadınlar Birliği," 1. "Kadın Birliğinde," *Vakit*, 24 September 1927, 2.

217 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım, Ecnebi Parmağına Alet Değilim Diyor" *Akşam*, 26 September 1927, p 2.

218 Nezihe Muhiddin rejected the rumors and did not resign from the presidency. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım," *Vakit*, 3 September 1927, p 3. See, also, "Yerinde Bir Karar," *Milliyet*, 2 September 1927, 1. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım Birlik Riyasetinden İstifa Etmiyor," *Akşam*, 3 September 1927, 1. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım," 3.

219 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım," 3. See, also, "Yerinde Bir Karar," 1. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım Birlik," 1. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım," 3.

press.[220] Safiye Ali Hanım resigned from the TKB[221] and announced other administrative committee members would soon follow suit. Saime Hanım accused Muhiddin of appropriating association funds and property for private use. She also drew attention to the budgetary anomalies and accused Muhiddin of misappropriating funds raised through charity.[222] Lâtife Bekir (Çeyrekbaşı) accused Muhiddin of having collected ticket revenue from one of the association's events without accounting for the money.[223] Many such kinds of complaints and accusations were reported to the authorities about the association at this time.[224]

Muhiddin's opponents were clearly working to overthrow her from the inside. On 18 September 1927, some of the members of the association gathered at the *Türk Ocağı* headquarters to discuss changing the membership of the TKB's administrative committee.[225] According to a news report in *Cumhuriyet*, "some women who were extremely regretful that Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım had put the TKB in such a disastrous situation" had decided to take action. They had gathered signatures from 57 members and petitioned the governorate for permission to elect a new executive and administrative committee. The governorate acceded to this, and a congress was held at *Türk Ocağı* headquarters on 26 September 1927.[226] More than 20 women members of the association

220 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım Birlik," 1. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım," 3. "Kadın Birliğinde," *Vakit*, 4 September 1927, 4.

221 She stated that the first reason for her resignation was health. For the explanation of Safiye Ali Hanım, see "Kadınlar Birliği," *Milliyet*, 13 September 1927, 2.

222 "Kadınlar Gürültülü Bir Kongre Akd Etdiler," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 September 1927, 2.

223 "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1928, 2.

224 "Kadınlar Birliği Niçin Teftiş Edildi?," 2.

225 "Kadın Birliği Heyeti," 2. According to news in *Vakit*, the women who organized the *Türk Ocağı* meeting had invited the administrative committee to attend. "Kadınlar Birliği," *Vakit*, 20 September 1927, 2. See, also, "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Vakit*, 22 September 1927, 2.

226 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım, Ecnebi Parmağına Alet değilim diyor," 2. "57 Hanımın Toplanmasına Muvaffakiyet Edilince..," *Akşam*, 27 September 1927, 1. "Bugünkü İctimada," *Vakit*, 26 September 1927, 3. "Kadınlar Birliği Kongresi Dün Toplanarak Hararetli Müzakeratta Bulundu," *Vakit*, 27 September 1927, 1.

attended, and Saadettin Bey on behalf of the governorate and an officer from the police participated.[227]

The new administration's followers in the TKB wrote a statement criticizing the old committee and used harsh language against Nezihe Muhiddin. The opponents criticized the former administrative committee of making a mockery of the association in front of the public and Nezihe Muhiddin and her companions for putting "their personal aims and passions"[228] ahead of the association's. The new administration's followers desired that the activities of the association should be enlarged, well-known women should be registered, and the main aim of the association should be to work for "the progress and advancement of Turkish womanhood."[229] Nezihe Muhiddin and the other members of the association's former administration could not participate as their case was transferred to the court. Muhiddin found the gathering of women at *Türk Ocağı* headquarters against the association's statute and applied to the governorate with a petition stating that it was illegal.[230] The congress divided into two opposing camps. Half of the members supported Nezihe Muhiddin, and the other half were against her.

Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel was among those criticizing the administration of the association under Muhiddin's presidency. Sertel stated that the association had been set up without closely heeding the ideals and aspirations of Turkish womanhood. She even claimed the Governor's closing of the association to have been a boon for Turkish womanhood

227 "Kadınlar Birliği Kongresi Dün Toplanarak," 1.

228 "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım," *Vakit*, 21 September 1927, 2.

229 "Türk Kadınları," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1927, 3; "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım, Ecnebi Parmağına Alet değilim diyor," 2; "57 Hanımın Toplanmasına Muvaffakiyet Edilince..," 1. See, also, "Bugünkü İctimada," 3. "Kadın Birliği," *Vakit*, 30 September 1927, 2.

230 "Türk Kadınları," 3. "Nezihe Muhiddin Hanım, Ecnebi Parmağına Alet değilim diyor," 2. To see a copy of Muhiddin's petition: "57 Hanımın Toplanmasına Muvaffakiyet Edilince..," 1. See, also, "Bugünkü İctimada," 3. "Kadın Birliği," *Vakit*, 30 September 1927, 2.

and a chance to begin "a real and serious feminist movement."[231] She criticized that the association did not have a coherent program but was instead engaged in a diversity of activities such as promoting peace, working for children, protection of the poor, demands for women's suffrage, lobbying for cinema for children, and calling on the police to start recruiting women.[232] Therefore, according to Sertel, the association did not have a consistent cause and could not initiate a feminist program. Sertel proposed opening a feminist institution for women and determining a program with the participation of sociologists.[233] After Muhiddin's dismissal, Sabiha Sertel was elected to the administrative committee of the association.[234]

In the meeting on 26 September 1927, the opponents elected to the association's central committee.[235] The new committee gathered for the second time to elect the president and the association's administrative committee on 2 October 1927.[236] One rumor was that Doctor Safiye Ali Hanım would be elected to the presidency of the association.[237] However, she became the general secretary. The new president of the association was Sadiye Hanım, the president of *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü*, and vice

231 Sabiha Zekeriya, "Kadınlık Aleminde Olup Biten Şeyler," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1927, 3.

232 Ibid.

233 Ibid.

234 "Kadınlar Gürültülü Bir Kongre Akd Etdiler," 2. "Kadınlar Birliği Kongresi Dün Toplanarak," 1. "Kadın Birliği Bugün Toplanıyor," *Vakit*, 2 October 1927, 5.

235 The administrative committee consisted of Latife Bekir, Saime, Sadiye, Faize, Reşide, Safiye Ali, Aliye Esad, Rana Sani Yaver, Pakize, Kıymet and Mediha Fazılı Hanım. The central committee consisted of Efzayiş Yusuf, Mediha, Nigar, Sadiye, Sabiha Zekeriya, Samiha Kemal, Mutahhara, Hamiyet, Dürdane, Hüsniye Muhtar, Lamia Refik, Zeynep, Hüsniye, Bedia, Seniha, Emine Semiye, Hayriye Salim, Şükufe Abdülrahman and Seyime İbrahim Hanım. "Kadınlar Gürültülü Bir Kongre Akd Etdiler," 2. "Kadınlar Birliği Kongresi Dün Toplanarak," 1. "Kadın Birliği Bugün Toplanıyor," 5.

236 "Kadınlar Birliği Dün Türk Ocağı'nda Toplanarak Yeni Heyet-i İdaresini İntihab etti," *Vakit*, 3 October 1927, 1.

237 "Kadın Birliğinin Yeni Heyeti İdaresi," *Milliyet*, 1 October 1927, 2.

president was Lâtife Bekir.[238] After the administration's election, the association applied to the governorate to present the new presidency of the association and ask for the seal, documents, and the building of the association.[239] The administration received seals, documents, and the building a few days later from the police directorate.[240] On 3 October 1927, gathering in *Türk Ocağı*, the new administration dismissed Nezihe Muhiddin from the association with a claim that she acted against the Law of Associations and the association's statute.[241] Muhiddin, on the other hand, rejected this decision and claimed herself as the president of the association.[242] She also protested the new administration's election and stated that the participants in the congress were not members of the association.[243]

Sadiye Hanım, the new president of the association,[244] resigned from the presidency due to the density of her work in the school's direction in a short period of time, and then Lâtife Bekir Hanım was elected as the new president of the association.[245] The new administration stated that the association would not pursue women's suffrage claim, and Muhiddin

238 "Kadınlar Birliği," *Milliyet*, 3 October 1927, 3. See, also, the views of Nezihe Muhiddin about the activities of the new president Sadiye Hanım: "Kadın Dedikoduları," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 January 1928, 3. "Kadınlar Birliği Dün Türk Ocağı'nda," 1.

239 "Kadınlar Birliği," *Milliyet*, 3 October 1927, 3. "Kadın Birliği Etrafında," *Milliyet*, 6 October 1927, 3. "Nezihe Hanım Birliğin Yeni İntihabatını Protesto Etti," *Akşam*, 6 October 1927, 1.

240 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Mührü," *Milliyet*, 14 October 1927, 3. "Kadınlar Birliği," *Akşam*, 14 October 1927, 3.

241 "Nezihe Hanım Birlikten İhraç Edildi," *Milliyet*, 4 October 1927, 2. Muhiddin still stated that she was the president as law did not discharge her. See "Kadınlar Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 October 1927, 4.

242 In February 1928, Muhiddin applied to the governorate and demanded the change of the president and the administrative committee. "Nezihe Hanım Memur!," 2.

243 "Kadın Birliği Etrafında," 3. "Nezihe Hanım Birliğin Yeni İntihabatını," 1. "Nezihe Hanım," *Vakit*, 6 October 1927, 3. To see the copy of her protest: "Nezihe Hanım Kadınlık Namına Mücadeleden Vazgeçiyor," *Akşam*, 9 October 1927, 2.

244 She was criticized because of one of her expressions, that she later denied, in the press. "Kadınlar Birliği," *Milliyet*, 10 October 1927, 3. "Kadın Birliği'nin Hedefi Ne Olmalıdır?," *Vakit*, 10 October 1927, 1.

245 "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1928, 1.

was a "dreamer."[246] It declared that the association would give importance to economic activities such as raising interest in domestic goods and finding jobs for the women and children in need. It also declared that it would work to unite educated women of the country under its roof.[247]

The new administration of the association seemed to work in collaboration with the government. For example, the association supported the new alphabet reform and started courses to teach women the new alphabet.[248] One of the association's first activities was to send a telegram, written in the new Turkish alphabet, to present the new administrative committee to Mustafa Kemal, addressing him as "the big savior who became a guide in the advancement of womanhood."[249] Mustafa Kemal also "conveyed his gladness and thanks" to the new administration of the association.[250]

After her dismissal from the association, Muhiddin was appointed as a physic and animal teacher (*fizik ve hayvanat muallimesi*) to *Gazi Osman Paşa Erkek Orta Mektebi* (Gazi Osman Pasha Boy's Secondary School) by the Ministry of Education.[251] This was regarded as the first time that a woman was appointed to a school for boys.[252] Later on, Nezihe Muhiddin stayed in the opposition and supported the Liberal Republican Party (*Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, the SCF) in 1930. She even gave speeches to encourage people to vote for the party in 1930 in front of the RPP.[253] She

246 Ibid., 2.

247 Ibid.

248 "Kadın Birliğinde Yeni Heyet-i İdare İntihab Edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 August 1928, 2.

249 Ibid.

250 "Gâzimizin kadın birliğine İltifati," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 August 1928, 1.

251 Aslı Davaz states that a news in L'Egyptienne in 1930 stated that Muhiddin was appointed as a physic and geology teacher to a boys' school. Davaz, *Eşitsiz Kız Kardeşlik,* 212.

252 "Bir Yenilik Nezihe Muhiddin H. Gazi Osman Pş. Erkek orta mektebi muallimliğine tayin edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 November 1929, 2. In an interview, Muhiddin stated that she was interested in dance, hunting, winter sports and cooking like a housewife. "Nezihe Hanımda Terakki!," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 November 1927, 1-2. "Kadın Dedikoduları," 3.

253 "Nezihe H. Kimse gelmediğinden konferansını veremedi!," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 October 1930, 2.

also became an independent candidate in 1935 in the general elections after women gained full suffrage rights.[254] However, she did not win in either election.

Although not like before, Muhiddin continued to be involved in associational life. In 1930, Muhiddin decided to open a new women's association called Women's Existence (*Kadın Varlığı)* to show women's existence in the country. Interestingly, this time, she stated that equality between women and men was an outmoded topic, criticizing the activities of *TKB*.[255] Muhiddin did not establish the association but continued to work in "men's associations," according to a news report in *Cumhuriyet* in 1933.[256] No further information exists as to whether Muhiddin was involved in associational life during the 1930s. However, significantly, in 1938, Muhiddin became a member of the administration in *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği,*[257] the women's association in the establishment of which Muhiddin played a role in 1913 and worked as the general secretary for two years. This association aimed to produce national clothes and employ Turkish women as tailors. With this aim, *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* continued to work in the interwar period in Turkey. Nezihe Muhiddin, becoming a member of the administration in this association in 1938, demonstrated that her position against Western fashion did not change in this period.

It is noteworthy that the *TKB* had connections with the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* in Muhiddin's period and also afterward. During the period of Muhiddin, the periodical of the *TKB* published the advertisements of the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği,* encouraging women to consume domestic goods, in most of its issues. Another clue was that in a beauty pageant organized by the association in 1925, the *TKB* preferred to award the winner with

254 "Müstakil ve kadın namzedler," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 February 1935, 1.

255 Interestingly, in 1934, one of the members of the association, İffet Halim Hanım, proposed to change the name of the association to *Kadın Varlığı* in the annual congress but this proposal was rejected. "Nezihe H. Yeni bir cemiyet yapıyor!," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 October 1930, 2. "Kadınların Kongresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 August 1934, 3.

256 "Nezihe Muhiddin H. İle bir Hasbıhal," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 June 1933, 5.

257 "Esirgeme derneği idare heyeti," *Akşam*, 8 January 1938, 4.

one of the handicraft products of the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği.* Furthermore, the good relations between the two associations probably continued after Muhiddin's period. For example, the association gave its wares to *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* after its abolishment in 1935.[258] Besides, Lâtife Bekir and Hamiyet Hulusi, the president of *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği,* were cousins.[259]

§ 6.4 The Post-Muhiddin Administration of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*

The first president after Muhiddin's removal, Sadiye Hanım, defined the association as a philanthropic organization. She said that the association would no longer engage in politics but rather aim to provide jobs for women to earn a living.[260] In line with this purpose, the association sought to reach out to other organizations for collaboration. The new administration also established several commissions, such as a Commission for investigating the conditions of widow mothers (*Evlenmemiş dul annelerin vaziyetlerini tedkik komisyonu*),[261] a Commission for investigating women's employment in the police (*Kadınların polislikte istihdamlarını tedkik komisyonu*),[262] a Commission for preventing Turkish women from marrying foreigners (*Türk kadınlarının ecnebilerle evlenmemelerini temin komisyonu*),[263] a Commission preventing trafficking of women (*Kadın ticaretine mani*

258 "Kadın Birliği de dün maziye karıştı!," 9. "Kadın Birliği fesih kararını Vilayete bildirdi," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 May 1935, 2. See, also, "Kadınlar birliği," *Akşam*, 11 May 1935, 2.

259 Davaz, *Eşitsiz Kız Kardeşlik,* 363.

260 "Kadınlar Birliği," *Milliyet*, 10 October 1927, 3. "Kadın Birliği'nin Hedefi Ne Olmalıdır?," 1.

261 The members of this commission were the attorney Güzide ve Nebahat Hamit Hanım. "Kadın Birliğinde Dünkü Toplanma," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 April 1929, 3.

262 The members of this commission were Nebahat Hamit, Lamia Refik and Efzayiş Hanım. "Kadın Birliğinde Dünkü Toplanma," 3.

263 The members of this commission were Latife Bekir, attorney Suat Hanım, Efzayiş Suat and Aliye Halit Fahri Hanım. Ibid.

olacak komisyon),[264] a Commission for providing equality between men and women (*Kadın ve erkek arasındaki müsavatı temin için komisyon*),[265] a Commission for helping the children in need (*Fakir çocuklara yardım komisyonu*).[266] The Commission for investigating women's employment in the police was closed after a while.[267] The Commission for preventing Turkish women from marrying foreigners was also closed. Another one, the Commission preventing trafficking of women, changed its name to the Commission for woman trafficking and moral equality (*Kadın ticareti ve ahlak müsavatı*).[268] The association established two commissions: Commission for equality of woman and man at work (*İşte kadın ve erkek müsavatı*) and commission for equality of woman and man in front of law (*Kanun müvacehesinde kadın ve erkek müsavatı*).[269] A new commission was established to keep contact with the international women's movement, whose outstanding agenda was to provide world peace, and this commission was named the Commission for Peace and the League of Nations (*Sulh ve cemiyeti akvam*).[270]

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264 The members of this commission were Esma Zafir, Mediha Fazılı, Aliye Esat and İffet Halim Hanım. Ibid.

265 The members of this commission were Latife Bekir, Esma Zafir and Suat Derviş Hanım. The commission prepared a report on the payment of women and men in the workplace, with data collected on site in factories and companies. The reported stated that women and men were already paid equally. According to this report, women who did extra work, received more money than men. Ibid. "Kadın Birliğinde Muhtelif Faaliyetler," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 May 1929, 2.

266 The members of this commission were Gülsüm Niyazi, Saime Faik, Lamia Refik and Suat Derviş Hanım. "Kadın Birliğinde Dünkü Toplanma," 3.

267 "Kadın Birliğinde Faaliyet," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1930, 3.

268 "Kadın Birliğinde Yeni İşler, Yeni Komisyonlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 September 1930, 2.

269 Ibid.

270 In the following year, new commissions were established in the association. These were: Commission for helping the children of poor families (*Fakir ailelerin çocuklarına yardım*), Commission for equality of woman and man at work (*İşte kadın ve erkek müsavatı*), Commission for investigating unmarried mothers (*Evlenmemiş annelerin vaziyetini tetkik*), Commission for equality of woman and man before the law (*Kanun müvacehesinde kadın ve erkek müsavatı*), Commission for Peace and League of Nations (*Sulh ve cemiyeti akvam*), Commission for woman trafficking and moral equality (*Kadın ticareti ve ahlak müsavatı*). Ibid.

After Muhiddin's term ended, the association increased the number of philanthropic activities.[271] One major activity of the association was to help poor children. Working with the schools, the association provided textbooks and notepads for the poor students. Due to its limited budget, the association could only give gifts to needy children during religious festivals.[272]

6.4.1 Women on the Beat: *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*'s Campaign for Female Police Officers

The new administration initiated several campaigns, one of which was to lobby the government to employ women as police officers. The issue was flagged in 1927 when Nezihe Muhiddin was still the president. There were rumors that the association would lobby the government for women to be employed as police officers after the rebuff of its suffrage claims.[273] But the official application was lodged with the governorate only once Muhiddin left, in July 1929.[274] According to a news report in *Milliyet*, association members were very supportive of the move.[275]

While news on the application was not immediately forthcoming from the governorate, *Cumhuriyet* published an article stating that it was not appropriate to accept women into the existing police academy. According to the newspaper, the governorate would not prevent women

271 See, also, Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 249-250.

272 The association also delivered gifts to children in Darülazece on Children's Day in 1929. The association continued to help children in Darülaceze on national holidays in the following years. "Kadın Birliği," *Milliyet*, 5 December 1929, 3. "Kadın Birliğinde Dünkü Toplanma," 3. "Kadın Birliği Darülacezedeki Çocuklara Hediyeler Dağıttı," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 April 1929, 1. "Kadın Birliğinde Konferans," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 April 1929, 2. See "Kadın Birliğinin teşekkür telgrafları," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 November 1933, 2. See, also, "Kadın Birliğinin fakir çocuklara yardımları," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 March 1934, 2. "Kadın Birliği 250 Çocuğa elbise verdi," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 March 1934, 4. See, also, "Kadın Birliği," *Milliyet*, 2 April 1928, 4.

273 "Kadınların Polisliği," *Milliyet*, 25 July 1927, 3. See, also, "Bu da Bir Mesele," *Milliyet*, 24 July 1927, 1.

274 "Kadınlar da Polis Olmak İstiyorlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 July 1929, 2.

275 "Kadın Birliğinin raporu," *Milliyet*, 25 April 1929, 3.

from opening a women-only academy but did not guarantee graduates would find employment with the state.[276] In September 1929, Lâtife Bekir Hanım reported that the governorate had yet to respond. She further stated that the head of London's Metropolitan Police had enquired about the possibility of women being recruited into the Turkish force and expressed an interest in visiting Istanbul.[277] The TKB applied to the governorate for permission to invite a representative from the English police[278] to Istanbul to gather further information on women police officers in England. The association also studied the issue of women police officers in other parts of Europe. For example, Efzayiş Suat looked into women police in Germany, where she represented the association at the International Women's Congress in 1929.[279]

The governorate did not have the authority to decide on the opening of a police academy for women. *Milliyet* claimed that the TKB's demand would be forwarded to the Ministry of Education after the police directorate had undertaken a further investigation.[280]

The association insisted that women police officers would be usefully involved in addressing moral and social issues. The TKB also established that recruits should be above the age of 25, have graduated from a secondary school, and remain under the supervision of female officers.[281] The association stated that women police officers would be used to keep a close eye on girls in cinemas, dance halls, and parks, where in case of an accident or immoral conduct, the women police officers would bring them in for questioning.[282] The association stated that, in this way, women police officers could help prevent the trafficking and abduction

276 "Kadınlar Polisliğe Kabul Edilmiyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 August 1929, 2.

277 "Kadın Polisler," *Milliyet*, 2 September 1929, 1.

278 "Kadın Polis!," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1929, 2. "Kadın Birliğinin Bir Teşebbüsü Daha," *Milliyet*, 30 September 1929, 3.

279 "Kadınlar Kongresinde Murahhasımız," 3.

280 "Kadınların Polisliği," *Milliyet*, 23 September 1929, 3.

281 "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 October 1929, 2.

282 Ibid.

of young girls and control the spread of venereal disease.[283] Interestingly, Nezihe Muhiddin did not support the association's initiative for women's employment as police officers.[284] She suggested establishing institutions to provide women jobs or to provide philanthropy for women as the best way of preventing prostitution.[285]

Probably because of the pressure and the unwillingness of the government to accept their proposal, Lâtife Bekir Hanım declared on 21 December 1930 that the association was no longer supporting this policy.[286] However, almost two years later, the Internal Council (*Dahiliye Encümeni*) prepared a draft on the police organization and duty, which accepted women's working as police officers.[287] First, women police officers were employed in the vice squad (*zabıta-i ahlakiye*) and passport office in 1932.[288] In 1935, 23 women were working in the police force: One of them was an inspector and a central officer (*merkez memur*), two of them were vice commissars, four of them were third commissars, and five of them were police officers. In 1935, 18 women police officers were working in Istanbul.[289]

Lobbying for women police officers under the presidency of Lâtife Bekir demonstrates that the association continued to be keenly interested in the issue of morality. The association aimed to protect specifically young women from the "harmful" effects of Western lifestyle, and in this sense, the agenda of women's employment as police officers came to the fore. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the association after Nezihe Muhiddin continued to work to enlarge women's

283 Ibid. The press supported the employment of women in unarmed police branches. "Kadınların Polisliği," 3.

284 "Nezihe Muhiddin H. Kadın Birliğinin dudakları boyalı hanımları polislik yapamaz diyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 November 1929, 2.

285 Ibid.

286 "Kadın Birliğinde Faaliyet," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1930, 3.

287 "Kadın Polisler," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 May 1932, 1.

288 "Poliste Kadın Memurlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 August 1932, 2.

289 Out of 23 women police officers, one of them was in Seyhan, two of them were in Izmir, and two of them were in Ankara. "Kadın Polislerimiz Artıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 October 1935, 2.

employment opportunities and put pressure on the government for the betterment of women's status in society.

6.4.2 The Political Demands of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* After Muhiddin: Municipality Elections and Suffrage 1930

The TKB continued to campaign for women's political rights after the dismissal of Nezihe Muhiddin. The first campaign sought suffrage rights in municipal elections.

The government attempted to change the Municipality Law to provide women's suffrage rights in the municipal elections in 1929. This government's attempt excited activist women Istanbulites who considered this attempt as a prelude to winning the right to vote in National Assembly elections. On 25 March 1929, a group of women visited the rector of *Darülfünun*, Neşet Ömer Bey, regarding the attempts of the government to give women their right to stand for and vote in municipal elections.[290] These women proposed a demonstration in Istanbul made up of "young Turkish girls who had been educated at Darülfünun."[291] The TKB also directly petitioned the National Assembly to accept changes to the Municipality Law.[292] However, one day later, the Governor announced that the legal changes would not include extending suffrage to women in municipal elections.[293]

The members continued to campaign. On 1 December 1929, the membership met in a closed session to develop a new strategy. According to *Milliyet*, the association was not willing to release the decisions of the closed meeting.[294] As it turns out, the strategy included organizing conferences and publishing booklets to enlighten women on their suffrage rights in municipal elections not only in Istanbul but also across

290 "Kadınların İntihap Hakkı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 March 1929, 1.

291 Ibid.

292 Ibid.

293 "Kadınlar Beyhudemi Sevindiler," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 March 1929, 2.

294 According to the news in *Milliyet*, the association was reluctant to share the decisions in the meeting. "Kadın Birliğinin dün verdiği kararlar," *Milliyet*, 2 December 1929, 3.

Anatolia.[295] The meeting also pledged to be active in the village council elections that would take place in 1930 after asking for the single party regime's permission.[296] According to *Milliyet*, the *TKB* applied to the National Assembly demanding further political rights of women and considered sending booklets on women's suffrage to the deputies.[297] The TKB immediately denied these reports and the claim that the association was preparing candidates for the municipal elections.[298] However, it continued to work for the suffrage rights of women.

The association started to organize conferences for the public on the topic of suffrage rights. Nebahat Hanım spoke at the first of these, held at the TKB headquarters, and talked about how women members in the municipality should conduct themselves.[299] Another conference topic in 1930 was women and municipal services in 1930.[300] As mentioned above, the association also published a women's magazine from 1929, *Kadın Sesi* (Women's Voice), and used this magazine to petition for women's rights in municipal matters.[301]

Turkish women gained their suffrage rights in municipal elections on 20 March 1930.[302] Meanwhile, the TKB applied for the women to be

295 Ibid.

296 Ibid.

297 Ibid.

298 "Kadınlar Muhtar Olacak mı?," *Milliyet*, 3 December 1929, 3.

299 The TKB had already announced that it would organize public conferences for women related to topics like marriage, divorce, separation and alimony. "Kadın Birliğinde Dünkü Toplanma," 3. "Kadın Birliğinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 October 1929, 2.

300 Aliye Esat Hanım spoke at a conference on women and municipal services on 22 April 1930. Conferences were hosted at the TKB headquarters but also in other districts throughout the country. "Kadın Birliğinde Dünkü Konferans," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 April 1930, 2. For examples of some of the conferences organized, see "Kadın Birliğinde Bir Konferans," *Vakit*, 15 May 1927, 3. "Konferans," *Milliyet*, 1 May 1929, 3. "Kadın Birliğinde Belediye İntihabı İçin Faaliyet," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 July 1930, 2. "Kadın Birliğinde Konferans," *Akşam*, 28 May 1929, 2. The association also organized a conference on gynecology. "Kadınlar Birliğinde Konferans," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 February 1934, 2. "Kadınlar Birliğinin Dünkü Konferansı," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 March 1934, 2.

301 "Kadın Sesi," *Akşam*, 27 October 1929, 3.

302 TKB organized a public demonstration to celebrate the acquisition of suffrage rights, and to thank RPP and the government. See BCA 030.10.80.526.4, 80, 28 April 1930.

accepted as members of the RPP in Istanbul.[303] The party did not finalize the association's application but started to register women as party members in Ankara in 1930.[304]

Women gained their suffrage rights in general elections on 5 December 1934. That year, women celebrated suffrage rights in almost all the cities of Turkey.[305] Many people sent telegrams to thank and show their loyalty to Atatürk, the National Assembly, and the party.[306] Women in Istanbul marched in Taksim and Beyazıd and women from different cities joined in the celebrations.[307] The *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*, the Mother's Union (*Anneler Birliği*), the art-house of *Hilal-i Ahmer*, the Turkish Caregivers Institution (*Türk Hastabakıcılar Kurumu*), and the Izmir Girls' School alumni association (*İzmir Kız Lisesi Mezunları Kurumu*) participated in these marches.[308]

Undoubtedly, Nezihe Muhiddin's period in the TKB was more active and political, especially in 1927, compared to the period under the presidency of Lâtife Bekir. However, this does not mean that the TKB after Nezihe Muhiddin remained inactive and silent. On the contrary, the association pursued most of its previous political agenda, including demanding women's political rights.

303 "Muallim Afet H. in Konferansı," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 April 1930, 1-4.

304 Muallim Afet Hanım from the Ankara branch of the association was elected to be the first woman member of the RPP. From 6 April 1930, women could register as members of the party. Women's applications were scrutinized on the same basis as men's. Specifically, two current members of the party had to nominate and support the prospective member's bid to join. The first woman member in Istanbul was Resmiye Hakkı Şinasi, the daughter of Hakkı Şinasi Pasha, an inspector of the party. The RPP also started to register women members in Izmir. "Muallim Afet H. in Konferansı," 1-4. "Kadınlar ve Fırka," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 April 1930, 2. "Fırkada Kadın Aza Kaydı," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 April 1930, 1-4.

305 See, for example, the celebrations in Bursa, "Bursa Kadınları Büyük tezahürat yaptılar," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 December 1934, 2. For the celebrations in Çorlu, see "Çorluda kadınlarımızın yaptığı tezahürat," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 January 1935, 6.

306 "Kadınlığın Kutlu Sesi!," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 December 1934, 1-6.

307 Ibid.

308 Ibid.

6.4.3 Thrift and Fashion on the Agenda of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*

The new administration continued to provide jobs for women. Up until 1928, approximately 100 women had been sent to businesses in ready-wear production and manicure shops for training and wages.[309] The association also found jobs for women as secretaries, accountants, and typewriters in banks and other related institutions.[310] The association sent letters to famous families in Istanbul recommending women for jobs in 1928. Another attempt of the association was to employ women in the association's building in clothing manufacture.[311] This was in accordance with the policy of the new administration toward fashion. The association encouraged women to wear clothes made from domestic fabrics. The association collaborated in this regard with the Turkish Ladies Clothing Association (*Türk Hanımları Giyim Derneği*), which was established by Nakiye Hanım in 1928.[312] In 1929, to encourage domestic production, the TKB congress decided to open exhibitions for the protection of the domestic products.[313]

The Great Depression was a significant turning point in the association's policy, which later on initiated an active policy to propagate domestic clothing. Efzayiş Suat mentioned an association called the *Giyim Yurdu Cemiyeti* (Clothing House Association). This was probably the association established by Nakiye Hanım. Suat stated that when this association was closed down, it handed over its licenses to the TKB.[314]

The TKB then requested a couple of governors provide some of the domestic fabric samples from the cities they governed. Among them, the

309 "Kadın Birliği," *Milliyet*, 2 April 1928, 4.

310 Ibid.

311 Ibid.

312 Ibid. Davaz, *Eşitsiz Kız Kardeşlik,* 164-165. Nakiye Hanım was also the first member of *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* in Istanbul in 1929. See "'Millî Tasarruf Cemiyeti' Cemiyetin İstanbul şubesi teşekkür etti," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 December 1929, 1.

313 Efzaiş Suat, "Türk Kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti Kadın Birliği," *Muhit*, no. 7 (May 1929): 493- 494.

314 Ibid, 495.

Governor of Bursa sent a sample album.[315] One of the association members, Halide Nusret, talked about the activities of the association in 1929 and stated that one of the essential works of the association would be to deal with the issue of fashion under the theme of "the national economy."[316] She furthermore indicated that the association had "applied to all of the domestic factories inside the country."[317] She stated that the association decided that "the domestic fabrics could compete in elegance with foreign fabrics" in terms of durability, it would be preferable.[318] At the association's annual ball in 1929, the association announced that all administrative committee members and the central committee would wear ball dresses made from domestic fabric as a common decision.[319] Nusret explained the association aimed to discredit European fabric and prove that a ball dress could be made from domestic fabric as well.[320]

After the Great Depression in 1929, the emphasis on being thrifty and consuming only Turkish-made goods increased.[321] For example, in 1929, *Milliyet* wrote, "Citizen! Economic mobilization has begun. Don't forget your national duties! Wearing locally made clothes and preventing national income from flowing out of the country is the obligation of every

315 Ibid. Efzayiş Suat defined ideal Turkish woman in one of her books, titled as *Türk Kadını* (Turkish Women) published in 1932. Her ideal Turkish woman was a woman who prefered simple clothes and knew how to sew. She also criticized women who spent a lot of money on fashion. Efzayiş Suat, *Türk Kadını Müsbet Menfî* (İstanbul: Milliyet Matbaası, 1932), 19-21.

316 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Bir Kararı," 4.

317 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Bir Kararı," 4. See, also, Suat, "Türk Kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti Kadın Birliği," 495.

318 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Bir Kararı," 4. See, also, Suat, "Türk Kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti Kadın Birliği," 495.

319 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Bir Kararı," 4. See, also, Suat, "Türk Kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti Kadın Birliği," 495.

320 "Kadınlar Birliğinin Bir Kararı," 4. See, also, Suat, "Türk Kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti Kadın Birliği," 495.

321 The single-party regime initiated protectionist policies in the aftermath of the Great Depression. See Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*, 185-188. See, also, Ramazan Hakkı Öztan, "The Great Depression and the Making of Turkish-Syrian Border, 1921-1939," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 2 (2020): 311-326.

citizen."[322] The Great Depression saw rapid declines in the Turkish lira's value and the draining of foreign currency reserves. The paper noted that to assist in the government's efforts to control foreign exchange, buying locally made goods, even if they cost 10% more than foreign alternatives, was a national duty.[323] *Milliyet* reported that the 1929 national statistical data showed the main source of foreign exchange outflows was imports of drapery and fashion.[324] The newspaper deplored that many urban residents preferred to spend a lot of money on foreign goods rather than consuming domestic ones.[325] *Milliyet* announced that the Bank of Industry and Mines (*Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası)* would open a store to sell domestic goods.[326] In this mobilization, the newspaper stated that the TKB, along with many other institutions, had accepted its role in promoting domestic consumption.[327]

The TKB had contacts with *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*. Immediately after its foundation in 1929, the latter association invited delegates from women's organizations *Esirgeme Derneği*, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* and the TKB to discuss possible collaboration. The association was planning to ask the support of women's organizations in registering members from schools as well as from among the members of the organizations themselves.[328]

The TKB encouraged the consumption of domestic fashion as well. It organized conferences in order to increase awareness among women to be thrifty. For example, the wife of the general secretary of the Industry Union (*Sanayi Birliği*) made a speech in 1930 through the radio to explain

322 "İktisadi Seferberlik Başladı ve ilk feyyaz neticeler kendisini gösterdi. Türk vatandaşları için yeni bir vazife başlıyor," *Milliyet*, 8 December 1929, 3. See, also, "İş Bankasında tasarruf günü," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 December 1929, 1-5.

323 Ibid.

324 Ibid.

325 According to the news, women spent 370 liras for a foreign evening dress "due to ignorance, tradition and caprice." The average annual expenditure on clothes for a villager was 25 liras, 40 liras for a worker while 300 liras for a well-to-do man. Ibid.

326 Ibid.

327 Ibid.

328 "İktisadî seferberlik," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 December 1929, 3.

the necessity of women's avoidance of waste. The same year, the association issued a declaration imploring women to buy locally, be thrifty, and avoid unnecessary expenses on extravagances.[329] Nebahat Hanım, the president of the Girls' Teacher School (*Kız Muallim Mektebi*), gave a public speech on national saving (*milli tasarruf*) with the participation of students and female members of the association. She emphasized the significance of saving money and encouraging the purchase of locally made goods.[330]

The association also prepared publicity campaigns in support of domestic goods. In the tea party organized by the association on 26 December 1930 in Turkuaz Saloon, where the members of the association and the elite families were invited, one corner of the party was allocated for silk and evening dresses made from domestic goods.[331] Some of the members of the association and the secretary of the Industry Union made a speech on domestic goods.[332] On the association's request, Nüzhet İhsan, who came third in the beauty contest in 1930, presented some of the elected evening dresses made from domestic fabric in Cemal B.'s tailor house, one of the significant tailoring houses in Istanbul. The majority of women wore domestically made clothes in the party.[333]

TKB, especially under the presidency of Lâtife Bekir, encouraged women to consume domestic clothes in various ways. The association aimed to diminish clothing costs but not to struggle against Western

329 "Kadın Birliğinin tasarruf mücadelesi," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 November 1930, 2.

330 "Milli Tasarruf ve Kadınlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 February 1930, 1. The TKB organized many conferences and concerts in these years. See "Kadın Birliğinde Konferans ve Konser," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 July 1932, 5. "Kadın Birliği konferansı," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 February 1933, 2. "Kadın Birliğinde konferans ve konser," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 March 1933,2.

331 "Kadın Birliğinde Faaliyet," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1930, 3. "Kadın Birliği ve Yerli Kumaşlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 January 1930, 1. "Türk Kadın Birliği'nin Çay Ziyafeti," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 January 1930, 4.

332 "Kadın Birliğinde Faaliyet," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1930, 3. "Kadın Birliği ve Yerli Kumaşlar," 1. "Türk Kadın Birliği'nin Çay Ziyafeti," 4.

333 "Kadın Birliğinde Faaliyet," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1930, 3. "Kadın Birliği ve Yerli Kumaşlar," 1. "Türk Kadın Birliği'nin Çay Ziyafeti," 4.

fashion. The association members also did not propose a kind of uniform clothing, as Nezihe Muhiddin did in the past.

§ 6.5 The Closure of the *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*

Just after full suffrage rights were gained in December 1934, rumors began to circulate that the TKB would be closed down. It was also rumored that a new women's organization was to be established in Ankara in its place.[334] While this did not come to fruition, rumors of the TKB's impending demise continued. Aslı Davaz draws attention to an interview conducted with the eldest son of Lâtife Bekir in 1995. He claimed that Atatürk had ordered his mother to close the association in December 1934 on the grounds that women had received suffrage rights in Turkey.[335] Her son also stated that Lâtife Hanım had requested that this be delayed until after the 12th Congress of the International Alliance of Women in 1935, which took place in Istanbul and was hosted by the TKB.[336] According to the interview, Atatürk accepted the request and the association closed after the congress.[337] Davaz states that Atatürk was interested in the congress and even hosted a group of delegates in Çankaya.[338] It seems that the abolition of the association had been on the government's agenda in the lead up to the congress.

Scholars have also noted that the 1935 congress catalyzed criticism of the TKB.[339] Kathryn Libal contends that TKB members were actively courting international feminist delegates at the congress on "questions

334 "Kadın Birliğine ne lüzum var?," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 December 1934, 2. Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 257. Kathryn Libal analyzes a report of the association in 1934 and asserts that the report shows that the members of TKB felt the political pressure related to the closure of the association. Libal, "Staging Turkish Women's Emancipation," 45.

335 Davaz, *Eşitsiz Kız Kardeşlik,* 367-368.

336 Davaz, *Eşitsiz Kız Kardeşlik,* 367-368.

337 Ibid.

338 Ibid., p 368.

339 Zihnioğlu, *Kadınsız İnkılap*, 257. The TKB had attended the Congress of the International Alliance of Women from its foundation. For further details on the relationship between the TKB and the international women's movement, see Davaz, *Eşitsiz Kız Kardeşlik.*

of peace, disarmament, and Turkey's role in geopolitics."[340] According to Libal, the international congress raised concerns about the dissolution of traditional gender norms.[341] On the other hand, the ruling elite also felt threatened by women's involvement in issues related to state politics in the international sphere.[342] Therefore, the congress led to the shuttering of the association.[343]

The association convened an extraordinary meeting on 3 May 1935. Lâtife Bekir called on the association to disband since "the republican government has given women all their rights including suffrage."[344] The last congress took place a few days later. In the congress, Lâtife Bekir stated that "we have been working for 12 years. We have done so much to advance our womanhood in this period. Now, Turkish womanhood has acquired all its rights. The new constitution (*Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu*) leaves no reason for there to be an organization to pursue such rights. Therefore, I propose to close our association. For those members who wish to continue working for good causes, many charities need volunteers. Such friends can find work there."[345] A member from Manisa, Şükriye Abbas, proposed that the association instead be converted into a branch of the *Halkevi*, but this proposal was not accepted. The association unanimously agreed to abolish itself and transfer its assets to the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*. The organization's

340 Libal, "Staging Turkish Women's Emancipation," 34.

341 Ibid., 44.

342 Ibid.

343 See Ibid., 31-52.

344 See "Kadın Birliği feshediliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 May 1935, 11. "Kadın Birliği toplanamadı," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 May 1935, 2. "Kadınlar Birliği kongresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 May 1935, 8.

345 "12 seneden beri çalışıyoruz. Bu müddet zarfında kadınlığımızı yükseltecek birçok işler yaptık. Artık Türk kadınlığı bütün haklarına eksiksiz olarak kavuşmuştur. Yeni Teşkilatı Esasiye kanunumuz bir birlik yaparak bu uğurda çalışmamıza sebep bırakmamıştır. Bu münasebetle Birliğimizin kapatılmasını teklif ediyorum. Çalışmak isteyen arkadaşlar; birçok hayır kurumları vardır. Orada çalışabilirler." "Kadın Birliği de dün maziye karıştı!," 9.

remaining petty cash (184 lira 5 kuruş) was to be transferred to the RPP.[346]

§ 6.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to revisit the history and activism of the TKB, the most prominent women's association of the interwar years in Turkey. This chapter has analyzed the *TKB* in two periods—namely, before and after the dismissal of Nezihe Muhiddin as president.

The two periods of the *TKB* demonstrate that women struggled for their political rights but, apart from that, undertook various activities in the public sphere. In the period under Nezihe Muhiddin, the association was much more active in pursuing political rights for women. The year 1927 was the most active in this regard, but not only for political demands. Concerning the issue of morality, the association established commissions and specifically focused on the education of women. Furthermore, concerns for women's fashion consumption continued to occupy the association's agenda in the single party period. During Nezihe Muhiddin's presidency, the association adopted a kind of sartorial nationalism in clothing and even proposed a uniform clothing for women to diminish fashion costs. In this respect, the association's approach toward Western fashion was differentiated from the Kemalist regime's approach. This differentiation was probably one of the reasons Muhiddin was purged from the association.

In the second period, the *TKB* undertook philanthropic activities and worked for the betterment of women's conditions. This chapter shows that the association in the second period continued to demand social and

346 In the last congress, the association announced that it transfer all its assets to the RPP and the remaining cash to the Children's Protection Society (*Çocukları Esirgeme Kurumu*) and the Institution of Caregiver Nurses (*Hastabakıcı Hemşireler Kurumu*). However, this decision was changed a few days later, on May 16, when he association formally lodged its closure with the governate. In this filing, the assets were given to the Society while the cash reserve went to the party. "Kadın Birliği de dün maziye karıştı!," 9. "Kadın Birliği fesih kararını Vilayete bildirdi," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 May 1935, 2. See, also, "Kadınlar birliği," *Akşam*, 11 May 1935, 2.

political rights for women. The association also continued to be interested in the issue of fashion consumption, especially after the economic depression in 1929. In line with the Kemalist regime's policy, the association only made publicity campaigns supporting domestic goods consumption.

The closure of TKB in 1935 was a significant turning point for the women's movement. The TKB was the most prominent women's association, and its disbanding was considered to signal the end of the women's movement. The closure of the association ended women's suffrage and political claims. However, other women's organizations continued to do philanthropic works and employ women in handicrafts textile production in this period. Some of them continued their efforts to revive national embroidery while others aimed to educate Turkish women tailors. Although the single party regime oppressed the women's movement by forcing the TKB to close, women continued to be in public in the other active women's organizations even after 1935. The following chapters will focus on the aims and activities of these women's organizations in the interwar period in Turkey.

7

Women-run Institutions and the Fashion Question in the Interwar Period

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the origins, aims and activities of three women-run organizations in the interwar period that struggled against the dominance of Western fashion and had common goals in creating national clothing. In so doing, this chapter sheds light on women's activities and women's participation in the public sphere in the early republican era in Turkey. Furthermore, this chapter attempts to show how these voluntary organizations, as an integral part of the women's movement, approached women's social position and what they did to empower women in the society in this period. The chapter asks why these organizations adopted a policy against Western fashion.

The three organizations in question are the *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Heyeti* (Women's Branch of the Red Crescent), the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* (Organization for the Protection of Ottoman

(and) Turkish Women) and the *Türk Hanımları Biçki Yurdu* (Turkish Women's Tailoring School). The remainder of the chapter is devoted to detailing the activities and contributions of each organization one by one.

§ 7.1 The *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi* (Women's Branch of the Red Crescent)

The origins of the *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Red Crescent) in the date to the Ottoman Empire's signing of the first Geneva Convention on 5 July 1865. The forerunner to the *Hilal-i Ahmer* was the *Mecruhin ve Marda-yı Askeriyeye İmdad ve Muavenet Cemiyeti* (Society for the Assistance and Relief of Wounded and Sick Soldiers), established on the basis of the Convention in 1868.[1] This society did not actively work following the years of its establishment and was dissolved in 1874.[2] After a few years, in 1877, the successor, *Hilal-i Ahmer* was established during the Ottoman- Russian War in order to aid wounded Ottoman soldiers. The organization took on a permanent form in 1911.[3]

Women's participation had been encouraged from the establishment of the Society for the Assistance and Relief of Wounded and Sick Soldiers. Article 43 of its statute stated that it was possible to form branches consisting only of Ottoman women and dealing with "collecting donations and providing the necessities" in cities and provinces.[4] One reason to open a women's branch was to ensure a local representative of the international organization, the International Committee of the Red

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1 See Seçil Karal Akgün and Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I* (Ankara: TDV, 2000), 12-16. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 401.

2 See Akgün and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 12-22.

3 Mesut Çapa, *Kızılay [Hilal-i Ahmer] Cemiyeti (1914-1925)* (Ankara: Türk Kızılay Derneği, 2010), 11-12.

4 Besim Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer'e Dair Konferans,* eds. İsmail Hacıfettahoğlu (Ankara: Türk Kızılayı Derneği, 2007), 80. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Salnamesi 1329-1331 Senesi* (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası Matbaacılık Osmanlı şirketi, 1913), 69. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Nizamname-i Esasisi* (İstanbul: Fincancılar Yokuşunda Agob Matosyan Matbaası, 1328), 9.

Cross (ICRC) in 1863.[5] The first attempts to open a women's branch began in 1910 on the initiative of the wife of the Ottoman Foreign Minister, Rıfat Pasha and these attempts received support from press.[6] The CUP government was also supporting women's participation in the social and associational life. In one of his conferences organized later for the *Hanımlar Merkezi,*[7] Besim Ömer, one of the founders of *Hilal-i Ahmer,* pointed out the opposition of some of the male members of the association towards the idea of opening a women's branch and stated that he was not backed up while defending women's equal work with men in *Hilal-i Ahmer*.[8] Besim Ömer played a significant role in the opening of the women's branch.

A significant turning point in the opening of the women's branch occurred with the Balkan Wars and the influx of migration they triggered. This saw the need to establish women's associations. Against this backdrop, the women's branch of *Hilal-i Ahmer* (*Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyeti*) — which became a governmental agency accepting women volunteers to promote women's participation in working life — was established. Akgün and Uluğtekin underscore that the women's branch was an institution of the Second Constitutional Monarchy that strove to pioneer women's role in social life as well as to enable unity between women and men in the society.[9] *Hanımlar Merkezi* was established on 20 March 1912[10] on the initiative of Besim Ömer. The

5 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 402.

6 Akgün and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 147.

7 For all of his speeches, see Besim Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer'e Dair Konferans* (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve şükerası Matbaacılık Osmanlı şirketi, 1330). Besim Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer'e Dair*.

8 See Besim Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer'e Dair*, 21-22. Besim Ömer, "Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Kadınlar Heyeti'nin Kuruluşu," in *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer'e Dair Konferans*, eds. İsmail Hacıfettahoğlu (Ankara: Türkiye Kızılay Derneği Yayınları, 2007), 80.

9 Akgün and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 150-151.

10 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 1* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1915), 56. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1916), 141. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3* (İstanbul:

women's branch opened its first office on the second floor of the central building of *Hilal-i Ahmer* in Istanbul.[11]

Hanımlar Merkezi was opened with 100 founding members. The general administrative board of the women's branch consisted of 30 women members and a group of them formed an administrative committee at the beginning.[12] The honorary president of *Hanımlar Merkezi* was the Baş Kadın (first lady)[13] and the president was Nimet Mahmut Muhtar Hanım, the wife of the Minister of War, Mahmut Muhtar Pasha. Among the members of the women's branch, some of the wives of the founders of *Hilal-i Ahmer* and other statesmen.[14] High officials and their wives supported *Hanımlar Merkezi* either by joining, making donations or participating in organizational activities.[15] The Ottoman Sultan, the *Baş Kadın* and the court supported the activities of *Hanımlar Merkezi* and encouraged the participation of women in *Hilal-i Ahmer*. The first diplomas of the "honorable Muslim women nurses" (*muhadderat-ı İslamiye*) were delivered by the *Baş Kadın* in the central building of *Hilal-i Ahmer* on 13 July 1914.[16] The Ottoman Palace bestowed

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Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1917), 228. In the fourth calendar, the establishment day of *Hanımlar Merkezi* was 12 January 1912. See *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 4* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1918), 3.

11 Çapa, *Kızılay [Hilal-i Ahmer] Cemiyeti (1914-1925)*, 46.

12 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1329-1331 Salnamesi*, 36-37.

13 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 1*, 56. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 141. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 228.

14 For the names of the administrative committee and members, see *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1329-1331 Salnamesi,* 53-58; 264-268. Muzaffer Tepekaya and Leyla Kaplan, "Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri (1877-1923)," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 10 (2003): 150-153. Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 403.

15 For the names of the administrative committee and members, see *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti 1329-1331 Salnamesi,* 53-58; 264-268. Tepekaya and Kaplan, "Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi'nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri (1877-1923)," 150-153. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 403.

16 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 1*, 57. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 142. *Osmanlı Hilal-i*

industrial medals on the first women graduates from the nursing school of *Hilal-i Ahmer* one month later after the graduation ceremony.[17] The then heir to the Sultan, Yusuf İzzettin Pasha also honored *Hanımlar Merkezi* by visiting its place and attending one of their meetings.[18] After his death in 1916, Vahdettin became heir and he also honored the members of *Hanımlar Merkezi*, the branches and the art house (*Darüssınaa*) in his formal opening of the first exhibition of *Hilal-i Ahmer* in 1917.[19] The Ottoman Sultan, *Baş Kadın* and other chief ladies visited this exhibition and praised the work of *Hilal-i Ahmer*.[20] Members of *Hanımlar Merkezi* sometimes came before the court on certain occasions, such as for submitting a *Hilal-i Ahmer* medal for the Sultan in return of his support during the Balkan Wars[21] and presenting the invitation of the first exhibition.[22]

Hilal-i Ahmer enlarged the scope of its influence especially after the outbreak of World War I.[23] It also provided an opportunity for Ottoman

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Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3, 229. Refering to the page 142 of the second calendar of *Hanımlar Merkezi*, Akgün and Uluğtekin assert that the mother and wife of Enver Pasha supported the activities of *Hanımlar Merkezi* and participated to the diploma ceremonies of the nurse school. They further claim that Talat Pasha's wife supported *Hanımlar Merkezi* as well. Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 152. *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası: Eytam ve Eramil-i Şühedaya Muavenet* (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan ve Şukerası, 1339), 34.

17 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 1*, 58. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 142. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 229.

18 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 1*, 58. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 142. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 229.

19 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 233.

20 *Ibid.,* 233-234. *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 34.

21 A temporary committee for collecting donations was formed among women and had an audience with the Baş Kadın before the establishment of *Hanımlar Merkezi*. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 141; 144. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 228; 231-232.

22 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 233.

23 Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşrutiyet 1876-1914* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 2004), 318.

elite women and the women of lower ranks to become much more involved in the public sphere from this period onwards.

7.1.1 The Branches and Activities of *Hanımlar Merkezi*

The sphere of *Hanımlar Merkezi*'s influence and activities gradually started to reach a wider population during World War I. The number of *Hanımlar Merkezi*'s branches and members increased.[24] Encouraging women to serve in an association during the war time, *Hanımlar Merkezi* opened branches in Kadıköy, Göztepe and Beyoğlu in Istanbul. Elsewhere in the empire, *Hanımlar Merkezi* opened branches, in places such as Trabzon, Eskişehir,[25] Aydın and Aleppo. It even opened branches outside the country, in Vienna and Paris.[26] Van Os underscores how most branches in the provinces were established on the initiative of "the wives of the local governors or other high bureaucrats," many of whom would go on later to head these branches.[27]

The *Hanımlar Merkezi* drew most of its revenues from subscription fees paid by members and donations from all around the empire.[28] Another source of revenue was funds solicited abroad.[29] To raise funds,

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24 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 403.

25 *Hanımlar Merkezi* were opened in Muğla, Konya, Zonguldak, Erzurum, Bolu, Samsun, Halep, Bağdat, Sivas, Edirne, Yemen, Lübnan and Sofya. One branch was opened in Yanya in 1922. TKA. 165/5, 6 October 1922. *Hanımlar Merkezi* was opened in Eskişehir in 1915. TKA. 157/77, 21 August 1915. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 403.

26 The *Hanımlar Merkezi* branch in Vienna announced its opening date as 11 October 1916 to the center in Istanbul. See Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 152-153. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Hilal-i Ahmer İcraat Raporları 1914-1928*, eds. Murat Uluğtekin and M. Gül Uluğtekin (Ankara: Türk Kızılayı, 2013), 47-54. See, also, TKA, 161/93, 161/93-1, 27 November 1917.

27 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 403-404.

28 Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 152.

29 For example, in 1916, two thousand Swedish krona were collected for *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Darüssınaası*. TKA. 398/234, 22 October 1916. The Vienna branch of the *Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Merkezi* collected 130.000 Swedish krona and sent it to the *Hanımlar Merkezi* in Istanbul. TKA. 313/146, 3 May 1918. Viyana *Hanımlar Merkezi* had already collected 30.000 Swedish kron almost one year after its establishment. See, also, TKA.

Hanımlar Merkezi also organized shows, concerts,[30] tea parties and balls.[31] *Hanımlar Merkezi* also organized a special day, *Hilal-i Ahmer Çiçek Günü* (Red Crescent Flower Day) to solicit contributions. The event began in 1913, when the women's branch decided to sell flowers in the first day of Ramadan. It then became an annual event for the benefit of the association.[32] Lacking financial support from the official authority, the art house (*Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Darüssınaası / sanat evi*) which was established by *Hanımlar Merkezi* in 1913 also ran on member fees and donations.[33]

The first initiative of the *Hanımlar Merkezi* was to open a bazaar to sell souvenirs provided by diplomats' wives.[34] Later on, the *Hanımlar Merkezi* gradually enlarged the scope of its activities. It was active on the home front to assist in recruiting war-time supplies for the army and society during the decades of war that began with the Balkan Wars. *Hanımlar Merkezi* provided food, clothing and medical services for the people in need and the army, mainly following the mobilization after the outbreak of World War I. To provide basic necessities, it opened a school

161/93, 161/93-1, 27 November 1917. Shows and exhibitions were organized in foreign countries for the benefit of the art house. Among them, the show in Berlin was the prominent one to mention during the World War I. *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 28.

30 Organizing a concert, *Hanımlar Merkezi* also collected money for itself in 1915 mainly with the participation of its women members. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Hilal-i Ahmer İcraat Raporları 1914-1928*, 49.

31 For example, *Hanımlar Merkezi* collected ten thousand liras by organizing an entertainment and lottery for the orphans in Izmir after the occupation. In 1920, clothes were provided for the children who migrated from Yalova and Gemlik to Istanbul. Among the refugees, three hundred women who knew sewing were employed on piece work. Ibid., 202.

32 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 1*, 57. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 142. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 229.

33 The art house was supported by other organizations such as Eygptian Muslims, *Bikes Asker Ailelerine Yardım Cemiyeti* (Association for Supporting Indigent Soldier's Families) and *Halep Hilal-i Ahmer Darüssınaası* (The Art House of Aleppo Red Crescent). See *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası,* 27-28.

34 Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 152.

for nursing and organized public meetings as well as conferences on specific topics for Ottoman women such as nursing. In 1914, on the initiative of *Hanımlar Merkezi* Besim Ömer gave courses in nursing to 300 women in *Darülfünun* and many of them later worked in the hospitals of *Hilal-i Ahmer* during the war.[35] *Hanımlar Merkezi* also opened an art house and employed migrant women and children with the aim of providing basic necessities.

Despite its limited budget, *Hanımlar Merkezi* took refugees under its protection after the Balkan Wars. It provided medical care and clothes for the refugees. It provided every kind of necessities for pregnant women, and milk and pacifiers for the children. However, the continuous rise in the number of refugees no longer allowed *Hanımlar Merkezi* to afford the basic necessities of the refugees. The center thus decided to open an art house to give close attention to migrant women's and their children's education and morality as well as to teach them a craft for a living.[36] The idea of opening an art house was approved by *Hilal-i Ahmer*'s general directorate, which agreed to give the center 500 liras for a year's expenditures.[37] The directorate delegated the eligibility to administer the art house to a committee on the condition that the art house would be under the supervision of *Hanımlar Merkezi*, and the budget would be examined by the four members of *Hanımlar Merkezi* once in a month. [38] *Hanımlar Merkezi* opened the art house on 7 August 1913[39] to employ

35 *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Hilal-i Ahmer İcraat Raporları 1914-1928*, 49.

36 Selmi Hanım, "Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Darüssınaası," *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1916), 99-100.

37 Besim Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer'e Dair Konferans*, 134.

38 Selmi Hanım, "Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Darüssınaası," 101.

39 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 1*, 57. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 142. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 229. See, also, "Harb-i Umumide Hilal-i Ahmer Hanımlar Darüssınaası Sanat ve İnsaniyete Hidmet," in *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1919), 138. Selmi Hanım stated the opening date of *Darüssınaa* as 11 August 1913. See *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 104. Besim Ömer stated the opening date of *Darüssınaa* as 2 August 1913. Besim

orphan women and children who migrated during the Balkan Wars. From the administrative committee of *Hanımlar Merkezi*, Sadiye Halil, Leyla Vahid, Nezihe Veli and Macide Besim Hanım were selected to work for the house.[40]

7.1.2 *Darüssınaa / Sanatevi* (Art House)

In 1923, the art house published a booklet, which contained information on the association's history and functioning. The booklet defined the art house as "a national institution… for charity and good will."[41] It was at the same time an orphanage where orphans could earn a living, learn to read and write, and lead a healthy life.[42]

The art house found jobs for orphan children, organized exhibitions of handicrafts made with Turkish national motifs, and transferred revenues from concerts and exhibitions that it organized to *Hilal-i Ahmer*.[43] From its opening to the onset of the Great War, the art house occupied itself with embroidering and cotton silk weaving for fourteen months.[44] During these months, the institution sewed more than three thousand cotton clothes.[45]

The Great War transformed the art house to an institution fully dedicated to the national military mobilization. First, it shifted its production to preparing winter clothes, gloves, pairs of socks and underwear for the army.[46] Part of the house's manufacture went to about four hundred soldier's families. The women's branch also made a call to mobilize women to "national service" (*vazife-i vataniye*), which meant

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Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Ahmer'e Dair Konferans,* 134. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 405.

40 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 5.

41 Ibid., 2.

42 Ibid.

43 Çapa, Kızılay [Hilal-i Ahmer] Cemiyeti (1914-1925), 47; 50.

44 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi* (İstanbul: Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1330), 96.

45 Ibid. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 405-407.

46 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 22.

sewing clothes for the soldiers and the people in need.[47] The volunteer women could apply to the branch to get fabric to sew clothes at home in accordance with the samples they received from the art house.[48] It also served as a center of training nurse.[49] During the war the institution started to employ women in significant numbers. Soldiers' families in need applied to the art house to do piecework twice a week.[50]

The art house educated young girls and prepared them to urban social life; taught them to read and write; and provided them education in a schoolroom.[51] The art house also paid attention to the health of its workers, especially the embroiderers. A doctor occasionally examined all women and cured those who were ill.[52] In 1925, Macide Besim Hanım, an executive board member, informed that the working conditions in the association. She stated that the art house employed orphan and widow women who received daily wages and were taken care of when they were sick. The House sent a doctor to the employees' houses and provided them medication.[53] It also provided food for the needy under its roof. Food provisioning for the employees was always a problem, but the art

47 *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Hilal-i Ahmer İcraat Raporları 1914-1928*, 47-49. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 2*, 143. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 3*, 230.

48 See the announcement prepared for publication in the newspapers: TKA. 193/54, 9 February 1915; TKA. 193/55, 30 November 1914; TKA. 193/60, 9 December 1914. TKA. 193/147, 22 January 1915. In the same document, *Hanımlar Merkezi* thanked each donator for the donations in kind and in cash, stating the donator's name and what was donated. By the end of the war, the branch had produced 100.000 clothes for the army. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Hilal-i Ahmer İcraat Raporları 1914-1928*, 50.

49 In 1914, more than 10.000 members of the art house had been assigned as nurses. Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 72-74. See, also, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Hilal-i Ahmer İcraat Raporları 1914-1928*, 47-49.

50 This increased the number of women who earned their living from the art house to 1500. *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 5* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şükerası, 1919), 138-139. *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 17-18.

51 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 24.

52 Ibid.

53 "Hanımlar Darüssınaası Sergisi," *Akşam*, 15 April 1925.

house was able to overcome it thanks to the people's donations.[54] In 1920, in accordance with *Hilal-i Ahmer*'s decision, the House started to serve lunch for poor single women as well.[55]

The printed press encouraged the art house's activities. On 19 April 1914, *İkdam* published an article on the importance of the house for Ottoman and Turkish women. The author, who had just visited the institution's center in Istanbul, praised the women's handicrafts and tapestries as a unique examples of Turkish arts, national designs that improved from the rare belongings of esteemed families.[56] According to the article, many foreigners in Beyoğlu were purchasing the house's products such as serviettes, towels, blouses, bags, and handkerchiefs, all decorated with Eastern motifs.[57] The newspaper heralded that the traditional style in textile was revived in the skillful hands of the art house's Turkish women, who had worked in one room with four wooden looms during the house's first years.[58] In his conference in *Darülfünun* for *Hilal-i Ahmer*'s women members, Besim Ömer similarly emphasized foreigners' interest in the house's "respectful and acceptable needlework" as well as its "small tea towels, table sheets and shirts with delicate and charming embroideries."[59] In this sense, the art house was not only employing women in need, but also reviving a forgotten fine arts, thereby improving the country's industries.[60]

An article published in the fifth calendar[61] of *Hanımlar Merkezi* stated that the art house was not an enterprise but a "benevolent society".

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54 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 5*, 139.

55 The lunch consisted of goods such as bean, black-eyed peas, lentil, bulgur, rice, onion, green vegetables, compote and bread. See for further details: TKA. 645/322, 19 July 1920. See, also, *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 15.

56 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 8.

57 Ibid., 10.

58 The article also elaborated on economic difficulties that the Art House faced during its first year and how it was able to overcome these difficulties. Ibid., 10.

59 Besim Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer'e Dair Konferans*, 134-135.

60 Ibid., 134-135. For a similar point of view, see "Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi'nin Taht-ı İdare himayesinde," 95-96.

61 The association published calenders, which gave information about the association and included various topics such as health, fashion, practical knowledge for housework and

Despite the fact that the art house was criticized because of its occupation with embroidery during the war years, the main aim of the house was to employ orphans and widows to make them earn a living.[62]

The house's statute declared reviving the hitherto neglected traditional Turkish embroidery as one of its objectives.[63] The use of traditional motifs in artefacts manufactured in the house was one way to accomplish this mission. To that end the art house collected weaves, towels, covers or Turkish ceramics, vases, engravings and gildings from museums.[64] The designs to be copied were chosen under the supervision of Ulviye Hanım,[65] who was considered the only expert on national embroideries.[66] One complaint that the elites of the time frequently raised was Turkish women's reluctance to wear old handkerchiefs and underwear. To overcome this, the art house tried to modernize the traditional Turkish embroideries. For instance, Leyla Vahid Hanım used antique engravings in adornments of blouses, coats, handkerchiefs and even house accessories.[67] The booklet published by the house asserted that national embroidery, previously regarded too rough and insufficient for the modern necessities of the day, had now proven its supremacy over European fine arts.[68] The booklet further stated that national embroidery was almost reborn thanks to the efforts of the art house and *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*.[69] In brief, reviving the traditional

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everyday life for five years from 1914. The calendar gradually became closer to the European calendar formats as the annual report stated. See *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Hilal-i Ahmer İcraat Raporları 1914-1928*, 49.

62 *Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Heyet-i Merkeziyesi Takvim 5*, 139-142.

63 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 18.

64 Ibid., 18-19.

65 Ulviye Hanım had been the house's sewing expert since its foundation. Ibid., 5.

66 Ibid., 19.

67 Ibid., 19-20.

68 The booklet asserted that especially the blouses with old Turkish embroideries on them gained a reputation and became fashionable not only in Istanbul but also in foreign countries. Ibid., 20.

69 Ibid. See, also, Besim Ömer, "Türk Kadınlığı İçin Elim Bir Ziya,'" *Türk Yurdu*, no. 28-28 /221-222 (March April 1930): 70. "Kaybettiğimiz çok kıymetli ve Halkcı bir Türk Kadını Hamiyet Hulusi hanım," *Muhit*, no. 17 (March 1930): 1293.

embroidery was an objective that the art house embraced, and the press praised these efforts.

7.1.3 *Hanımlar Merkezi* after the Establishment of the Republic

After the Great War, *Hanımlar Merkezi* continued to work in various places in Anatolia.[70] Halide Edip, who became the center's president during the War of Independence stated that the center continued its activities in *Kız Muallim Mektebi* (Girls' Teacher School) and helped the people in need in Ankara in this period.[71] After the foundation of the republic in 1923, *Hilal-i Ahmer* underwent several structural changes. The institution's general assembly announced its new name as *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* in 1923. In 1935, the institution's name was converted into *Türkiye Kızılay Cemiyeti* in accordance with language simplification policies of the time.[72] The same year Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who had proposed the name change, became the honorary president of the association.[73]

Influential figures of the women's movement continued to undertake administrative role in the *Hilal-i Ahmer* in the republican period. In the general assembly of 1925, Nakiye Hanım (Elgün) was elected vice-president, while both she and Rana Yaver Hanım were elected to the association's finance commission (*Maliye Komisyonu*).[74] Rana Yaver Hanım, the president of *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*,

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70 Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 178-179.

71 Halide Edip, *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı İstiklal Savaşı Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2014), 205-207. See, also, Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 178-179.

72 Both *Hilal-i Ahmer* and *Kızılay* meant Red Crescent in English. The former was a noun phrase consisting of Arabic words. *Kızılay* was adopted in line with simplification of Turkish language in the 1930s and was regarded as a pure Turkic origined word. *Türkiye Kızılay Derneği 73 Yıllık Hayatı 1877-1949* (Ankara: 1950), 62; 83. Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 310.

73 See 7-10. Seçil Karal Akgün and Murat Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a II* (Ankara: TDV, 2001), 7-10.

74 THAM, no. 48 (15 August 1925): 2-3.

was also elected to the administration commission (*İdare Komisyonu*) of *Hilal-i Ahmer*.[75]

Significant changes were made in the statute of *Hilal-i Ahmer* in the general assembly of 1925. The center of *Hilal-i Ahmer* was moved to Ankara, the capital of the new republic.[76] The storehouse was also transferred to another city, Eskişehir.[77] *Hanımlar Merkezi* was abolished and brought under *Hilal-i Ahmer*, which appropriated the center's budget as well.[78] The number of central committee members increased from 12 to 15 in cities, and from 5 to 8 in provinces to include some of the women members of the abolished *Hanımlar Merkezi*.[79] The motive behind the abolition was probably not to exclude women from *Hilal-i Ahmer*, but bring men and women together in a public space. Increasing visibility of women in gender-mixed public places would reinforce the modern look of the republic.[80]

The discussions in the general assembly of 1925 reflected the desire to integrate women to working places alongside men. Rana Sani Yaver proposed adding an article to the statute about opening a women's branch. Some of the delegates supported Rana Hanım;[81] but others objected, pointing the necessity for women and men to work together in the new republic.[82] A similar emphasis is visible in Mustafa Kemal's speech in the tea party of the Konya branch of *Hanımlar Merkezi* in 21 March 1923, where he deplored the perception that women and men were separated in social life in Turkey. According to Mustafa Kemal, "the main reason for the perception that Turkish women remained to be idle, that

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75 Ibid.

76 Ibid., 14. *Türkiye Kızılay Derneği 73 Yıllık Hayatı 1877-1949*, 67.

77 THAM, no. 48 (15 August 1925): 65. *Türkiye Kızılay Derneği 73 Yıllık Hayatı 1877-1949*, 67.

78 *Türkiye Kızılay Derneği 73 Yıllık Hayatı 1877-1949*, 68.

79 Ibid.

80 Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 179-182.

81 Proponents of the proposal emphasized the art house's past successes sewing and nursing; but Rana Hanım rejected the labelling of sewing and nursing as women's work. THAM, no. 48 (15 August 1925): 60-62.

82 Ibid.

they were not associated with science and knowledge, that they were not related to modern and social life, that they were devoid of everything," was all because contemporary women dressed either too covered and dark, or too immodest.[83] He argued that what most people thought, Anatolian women had been working side by side with men for centuries. What the new regime should do was likewise to encourage women's participation in social life; to make Turkish woman a partner and a helper of men in "scientific, moral, social and economic life."[84] The abolition of *Hanımlar Merkezi* was thus probably related to the new regime's desire to end the separation between the sexes and encourage women to work alongside men in public.[85] The new republic saw the traditional separation between women and men as an obstacle to the construction of a modern public sphere.

Hanımlar Merkezi remained closed for a long time. The new republic reopened the women's branch in 1931 in Ankara. Nüber Kâzım Hanım was elected president of the new women's branch.[86] *Akşam* listed the aims of branch's objectives as "protecting young girls and finding them jobs as much as possible", teaching women "voluntary nursing", teaching women to take care of mothers and children in need, instructing cleanliness, placing martyrs' children in school, and feeding them at least once a day.[87] No further information exists on the activities of *Hanımlar Merkezi* in the interwar period.

7.1.4 The Art House after the Foundation of the Republic

The art house was not closed after the abolition of *Hanımlar Merkezi*. The institution continued its activities not only during the early republican

83 "Konya Kadınları İle Konuşma" in *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* 153,

84 Ibid, 154-155.

85 See, also, Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a I*, 179-182.

86 Nüber Kâzım Hanım was the wife of Kâzım Özalp, who was the president of the assembly. "Hilâliahmer Ankarada bir kadınlar merkezi teşekkül etti," *Akşam*, 7 December 1931, 1.

87 Ibid.

period but also until recently.[88] As the general directorate of *Hilal-i Ahmer* moved to Ankara, the house was brought under first the center in Istanbul until 1935,[89] and then under *İstanbul Mümessilliği* (Istanbul Agency of the Red Crescent). When the Agency was abolished, the art house continued its activities under the directorship of an officer of *Kızılay Cemiyeti* until recently.[90] Despite its ongoing activities, few studies looked at the history of the art house during the early republican period.[91]

In the beginning, the art house had settled in a few rooms in the upstairs of the General Directorate of *Hilal-i Ahmer* on Mahmudiye Street at Cağaloğlu.[92] As the number of workers increased and the field of activity expanded with the war this early location became insufficient; and the house eventually moved to a mansion (*Doktor Nafiz Paşa Konağı*) in 1916/1917 (1332).[93] No information is available on how long the House used this mansion, which was previously used by *Hanımlar Merkezi*.[94] On the other hand, the art house provided accommodation in big mansions in Beyazıd and Sultanahmet for its deserted women workers. The mansion in Sultanahmet was open at least until 1923.[95]

The annual production of the art house was approximately between 800 to 1000 pieces of textile artefacts. In 1925, *Kızılay*'s magazine was complaining that the house's finances had become precarious because of low demand for its products and insufficient support by the general directorate.[96] During the discussions on the financial administration of

88 See Akgül and Uluğtekin, *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kızılay'a II*, 167.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.

91 Akgül and Uluğtekin's book on the history of *Kızılay* includes a short history of the art house in the republican period. Ibid., 166-167.

92 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 15-16.

93 Ibid., 13-14;15.

94 The annual rent of the building was 1200 liras, from out of 200 liras were granted by the building's owner. See the short informative text in the August 1925 issue of *Kızılay*'s monthly magazine. THAM, no. 48 (15 August 1925): 72.

95 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 14-15.

96 THAM, no. 48 (15 August 1925): 73.

the association in the general assembly of 1925, a topic that came up was the need to ensure the subsistence of women employees, whose health was on decay due to malnutrition.[97] The participants unanimously agreed to send the general directorate of *Kızılay* a petition demanding financial support. This demand seems justified considering that in the two years after the foundation of the republic the art house had received only 1500 liras in total from the directorate, other than free lunch for the employees.[98] We learn from a 1933 issue of *Kızılay*'s magazine that with the financial support of *Kızılay*, the art house's budget deficit was sometimes recovered.[99] The house even enjoyed an increase in its equity: Between 1925 and 1933, the institution's total assets increased from 10.732 to 16.444 liras. The general directorate of *Kızılay* provided financial aid to the art house and prevented the art house to suffer a loss.[100]

Both job applications to the house and the number of workers increased after 1913. In one of his conferences in 1914, Besim Ömer acquainted that the number of workers had reached 100.[101] The house had started with 15 employees in August 1913, which rose to 75 in 1914, 117 in 1915 and 125 in 1916.[102] The number of women working in the art house was approximately between 90 and 100 in 1923, and between 50 and 60 in 1924. In addition, the house employed about 30 to 40 domestic workers in 1923, 15 and 20 in 1924.[103] *Cumhuriyet* stated the number of women

97 Ibid., 155.

98 Ibid., 73.

99 THAM, no. 132 (15 October 1933): 719.

100 Ibid. See, also, THAM, no. 106 (June 1930): 1007.

101 Besim Ömer, *Hanımefendilere Hilal-i Ahmer'e Dair Konferans*, 134.

102 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 17.

103 THAM, no. 48 (15 August 1925): 73. In 1917, the institution employed one hundred and fifty full-time women workers. The number of total employees was more than that with the inclusion of the five hundred women workers, in which three hundred were soldier's families in need. They got paid on a piecework basis and visited the institution every week to deliver their work and receive new orders. See *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 32.

employees in 1926 as 80.[104] According to *Muhit*, the art house employed 300 women in 1929.[105]

We have rough estimations of the daily wage of an employee in the art house during the interwar years. According to *Kızılay*''s magazine, the weekly wage of working women varied from 100 to 300 piasters until July 1924, whereafter women employees received 15 kuruş per day in 1925.[106] The annual amount of salary that the house delivered to its employees was 3767 liras 30 piasters in total in 1930. At this time, the institution could meet its expenditures and even increase its capital stock.[107] Another data was that the total amount of salary was 20.000 liras from 1926 until 1933.[108]

Kızılay "decided to make some improvements in the art house to give significance to embroidery and sewing works" in 1930.[109] The central committee of *Kızılay* decided to prepare a project and determined what kind of domestic artefacts could be produced for this aim. In this direction, one decision was to increase the income of the art house.[110] No further information exists if the income of the art house increased. However, it can be said that the art house gradually gained importance especially through the end of the 1930s.

The art house continued to employ women in need, refugees, and orphan girls in handicraft in the interwar period.[111] The institution does not seem to have experienced serious financial difficulties after 1925: The periodical *Muhit* informed in 1929 that the house bought its materials for handicraft production by itself, paid its debts by itself and created income for itself by selling its products in exhibitions and voyage ships.[112] The

104 "Hilal-i Ahmer El İşleri Sergisi," Cumhuriyet, 29 Mart 1926.

105 "Türk kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti," *Muhit*, no. 4 (1929): 254.

106 The fabric of the products was imported from foreign countries. The sales revenue was 1060000 kuruş in 1923 and 660000 kuruş in 1924. THAM, no. 48 (15 August 1925): 73.

107 THAM, no. 106 (June 1930): 1007.

108 THAM, no. 132 (15 October 1933): 719.

109 "Hilâliahmer San'at Evi ıslah ediliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 January 1930, 4.

110 Ibid.

111 THAM, no. 106 (June 1930): 1007. *Türkiye Kızılay Derneği 73 Yıllık Hayatı 1877-1949*, 95.

112 "Türk kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti," *Muhit*, no. 4 (1929): 254.

main source of income was sales of the art house's products. The art house sold its products both to foreign travelers who came to Istanbul with voyage ships and to the Istanbul elite. It also continued to sell its handicraft products in its shop and its store in Istanbul.[113] The press praised the art house's products. In an article in 1929, *Muhit* told its readers that these products were "carefully selected like beautiful art objects," and that foreigners who visited the art house's exhibitions found a "quite beautiful and matured form of Turkish art" in display.[114] The periodical also encouraged the well-to-do to buy the products of the art house, as it was the least they could do to help poor families.[115]

Another income source for the art house was lottery organizations [116] and balls. In 1936, the institution's annual ball was announced in *Cumhuriyet.* The newspaper presented the art house as "a benevolent society" which had been working to teach an art to the daughters and wives of martyrs and war veterans.[117] The newspaper invited donators to attend the event to support the "national delicate arts."[118] Lotteries were also a way to raise money that the art house members came up with during the republican period. We learn from a correspondence between the accounting department of *Hilal-i Ahmer* that the art house asked permission to organize an exhibition in 1923. The art house members apparently tried to legitimize this unusual practice by saying that they expected some 5 thousand liras from it. The directorate accepted the request.[119]

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113 THAM, no. 106 (June 1930): 1007.

114 "Türk kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti," 254.

115 Ibid.

116 For example, see THAM, no. 106 (June 1930): 1007.

117 "Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 February 1936, 6.

118 *Cumhuriyet* mentioned the name of the art house as *Kızılay Türk Kadınları Çalıştırma Derneği* in 1936 and 1938. In 1939, the name this time appeared as *Kızılay Kadınları Esirgeme Cemiyeti* in *Cumhuriyet* in 1939. "Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti Balosu," 6. "El İşleri Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 August 1936, 5. "Türk-Rumen Elişleri sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 August 1938, 2. See "Nev York sergisindeki pavyonumuzun vaziyeti," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 June 1939, 7.

119 TKA. 170/5, 5 April 1923.

The exhibitions were another source of income. The art house had been organizing exhibitions of women's handmade products since its foundation.[120] In these exhibitions, the art house displayed handicraft products with motifs borrowed from historical art objects, which they believed to be "brilliant works of art in handicraft."[121] The exhibited products were later sold in bazaars. Another women's association, *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*, accompanied the art house in some of these exhibitions.[122]

Invoices in *Kızılay*'s archive illustrate the variety of products that the art house sold in 1936. These included handkerchiefs, napkins, kerchiefs (*çember*), scarfs, coverings, child clothes, tray sets, tray coverings and tea sets blouses with various embroidering such as point laces, *hesap işi* (a type of Turkish handicraft embroidery), Antep work, ciğerdeldi işi (a type of embroidering small holes on the fabric's surface). *Hesap işi* was the most used embroidery model in the products, while handkerchiefs were the most sold item.[123]

The prices varied according to the material and the labor devoted. For example, the price of handkerchief sets varied from 50 to 170 kuruş. Similarly, a seven-piece set of napkins embroidered with *hesap işi* cost 80 to 220 kuruş, while two-piece napkins costed 230 to 250 kuruş, and an eight-piece set of napkins 170 kuruş. One of the most used women's accessories, the kerchief with point laces, was 200 kuruş. The prices of scarfs varied between 400 and 1500 kuruş. There were more expensive products such as the three-piece tray set embroidered with *hesap işi,* whose price could be as high as 1300 kuruş. One of the most expansive products was seven-piece tea set with *hesap işi*, sold at 3500, 3800 and 4500 kuruş.

Apart from accessories and home artefacts, the art house produced clothes for women and children. The price of child dresses varied

120 The exhibitions of the art house will the topic of the following chapter.

121 For example, see THAM, no. 132 (15 October 1933): 719.

122 See Chapter 8 in this dissertation.

123 For the invoices, see TKA. 1282/2, 1936.

between 500 and 900 kuruş. The prices of blouses embroidered with *hesap işi* and *ciğerdeldi* varied between 700 and 1700 kuruş.[124]



Figure 7.1 An invoice of one of the products of the art house in 1936. SOURCE: TKA. 1282/2, 1936.

It is worth noting that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was interested in the products of the art house. A draft paper in the archive shows that the art house sent products to the Ministry in 1936.[125] It also sold a kerchief, a covering, and two tray sets to Celal Bayar. The total price of the goods Bayar bought was 3260 kuruş.[126]

Founded in 1913, the art house continued its activities during the early republican period. As a philanthropic organization administered by elite women, it employed poor women in handicraft production. Besides, it contributed to attempts at reviving the old embroidery in accordance with the long-lasting agenda of the women's movement. This aspect of its program was going to bring the art house to the government's attention in the second half of the 1930s.[127]

124 For the invoices, see Ibid.

125 Another draft paper related to the institution's sales to the Ministry is in the archive of *Kızılay*. In this paper, the price of the product sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs appears to be 40 liras. There is a note in the draft paper stating that the cost was to be received in the exhibition in 1936. TKA. 1282/14.14, 1936.

126 TKA. 1282/24, 1936.

127 See Chapter 8 in this dissertation.

§ 7.2 The *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* (Organization for the Protection of Ottoman [and] Turkish Women)

The *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* was founded just before the end of Balkan Wars[128] on the initiatives of Sabiha Sultan, the daughter of Süleyman Pasha, Hamiyet Hulusi, the daughter of Moralı Suphi Pasha, Nezihe Naciye Hurşit, Saniye Muhtar, Behire Hakkı, Saniye Muhtar Hanımefendi and Settare Ahmet, the wife of Ahmet Ağaoğlu.[129] The association started its activities in *Gedikpaşa Hayat Mektebi* (Gedikpaşa School of Life),[130] but moved to its permanent building in Yusufpaşa a year later. The association's first president was Sabiha Sultan, who held the position at least until October 1917.[131] Her successor was Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım,[132] the daughter of Abdullah Suphi Pasha, a former Ottoman minister of education and sister of Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, the president of the *Türk Ocağı,* continued her duty until her

128 The precise day the association was founded is not known. A document from the Ottoman archive states the founding date as 25 March 1913. See ŞD. 56/24. 11 Rabiülahir 1340 (12 December 1921). See, also, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler*, 126. Other sources give 1912 as the founding date of the association. Van Os argues that the association may have been informally founded in 1912 but not officially registered until 25 March 1913. See the footnote 64 in Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 259.

129 See Güldane Çolak and Lale Uçan, *II. Meşrutiyet'ten Cumhuriyet'e Basında Kadın Öncüler* (İstanbul: Heyemola Yayınları, 2008), 123-136. Quoted in Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 259-260. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Cemiyetler*, 126. See, also, Baykan and Ötüş-Baskett eds. *Nezihe Muhiddin ve Türk Kadını 1931*, 137. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 259-261.

130 For the opening, the members collected 100 gold coins. MEB., "Esirgeme Derneğinde Gördüklerim," *Muhit*, no. 33 (July 1931): 14.

131 "Bizde Hareket-i Nisvan," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 140, 25 April 1330 (8 May 1914): 5. See Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 260. MEB., "Esirgeme Derneğinde Gördüklerim," 14.

132 ŞD. 56/24. 21 Recep 1340, 20 March 1922. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 260.

death in February 1930.[133] In addition to her presidency, she was affiliated to *Himaye-i Etfal* (Children's Protection Society), *Türk Ocağı*, *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* and *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*.[134] According to the author of her obituary, she worked hard for *Esirgeme Derneği* day and night.[135] In 1930, Râna Yaver Hanım, the previous secretary of the administrative committee, was elected by a large majority of votes as the new president.[136] Râna Yaver remained in this position throughout the 1930s. It is worth noting that Nezihe Muhittin was also among the founders of the association[137] and conducted the association's general secretariat for two years.[138]

It seems that after *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* had close relations with Nezihe Muhiddin's *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* after 1923. The latter published advertisements of *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* and encouraged women to use the association's handicrafts. Good relations continued under Latife Bekir's presidency in *Türk Kadınlar Birliği*.[139] Nezihe Muhiddin was also

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133 The March-April 1930 issue of *Türk Yurdu* published an obituary by Besim Ömer. See Ömer, "Türk Kadınlığı İçin Elim Bir Ziya," 69. See, also, "Kaybettiğimiz çok kıymetli ve Halkcı bir Türk Kadını Hamiyet Hulusi hanım," 1293. Born in 1877, Hamiyet Hulusi was a graduate of one of girls' industry schools. On this, see "Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 January 1927. "Esirgeme Derneği'nde Diploma Tevzii," *Milliyet*, 31 January 1927. "Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği'nde Dünkü Merasim," *Vakit*, 31 January 1927.

134 In answer to a survey by the Women's Union in New York, Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım was elected "Tukey's most virtuous mother" in 1926. See Ömer, "Türk Kadınlığı İçin Elim Bir Ziya," 69-71.

135 Ibid., 70.

136 "Esirgeme derneği reisliği," *Akşam*, 28 March 1930, 3.

137 In her book, Nezihe Muhiddin claimed that she was the first founder of the association. See Baykan and Ötüş-Baskett eds, *Nezihe Muhiddin ve Türk Kadını 1931*, 137.

138 See "Bizde Hareket-i Nisvan," 5. Kadınlar Dünyası, "Meserretlerimiz," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 15, 18 Nisan 1329 (1 May 1913): 1. In one of her articles, Nezihe Muhiddin wrote about her connection with the association. See Nezihe Muhlis, "Mektup," *Kadınlar Dünyası,* no. 6, 9 Nisan 1329 (19 April 1913): 2-3. Elsewhere she said that she worked as general secretary in the association's first two years. Baykan and Ötüş-Baskett eds, *Nezihe Muhiddin ve Türk Kadını 1931*, 105.

139 See Chapter 6 in this dissertation.

affiliated with *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* during the 1930s. In 1938, she became a member of the administrative committee (*idare azası*).[140]

In an announcement of a ball the association held in Suadiye Beach Casino in 21 August 1938, *Cumhuriyet* described *Esirgeme Derneği* as an organization dedicated to the advance of Turkish handicraft.[141] Indeed, creating a Turkish national handicraft continued to be one of the association's primary objectives in the republican era.

7.2.1 Aim of the *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*

Van Os draws attention to the fact that at its foundation, *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* released its statute in two different versions, one as a booklet and the other published in *Kadınlar Dünyası*. The former has no date, whereas the latter is published on 18 April 1913.[142] An interesting difference between the two statutes is the use of the conjunction *'ve'* (and): whereas in the booklet the association's name appears as *Osmanlı ve Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*, in the version published in the magazine it is *Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği*.[143] Based on a critical reading of the documents, Van Os concludes that the booklet was prepared before the version published in

140 The administrative committee of the association in 1938 as published in *Akşam* was as follows: Râna Sani Yaver (president), Matlube Ömer Sömerk (vice president), Ulviye Ziya Kutnak (secretary), Naciye Dalkılıç (cashier), Osman Münür Kutnak (accountant), Kerime Salahor, Nüzhet Uras, Seyide Olagay, Ayşe Kurtaran, Nezihe Muhiddin, Meziyet Vâ-Nû, Saip Şevket (administrative members), Feriha Özberki and Şefika Halid (expert members). "Esirgeme derneği idare heyeti," *Akşam*, 8 January 1938, 4.

141 "Balo," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 August 1938, 5.

142 As Van Os takes attention to the fact that the original booklet is in the Ottoman Archive. No date is written on the booklet, which is found in a folder dated to July/August 1915. See BOA. DH.İ.UM. 89-2/1-23, 15 Ramazan 1333 (27 July 1915). See the footnote in Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 260. For the second version, see "Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği Nizamnamesi," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 2, 5 Nisan 1329 (18 April 1913).

143 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 258.

the magazine,[144] and goes on to speculate about why this name change may have occurred. The scholar is of the opinion that in the assumably short period of time between the preparation of the booklet and the publication of the magazine version, the association's founders must have come under the influence of the current wave of Turkism even more than they already had.[145] For the former name preserves a difference between being Ottoman and being Turkish, while the latter implies an identity between the two concepts.[146] It is beyond doubt that *Esirgeme Derneği* was one of the more nationalistically inclined associations at the time; contemporary observers noted that the association, unlike many others, chose not use Arabic or Persian words in its name.[147] Considering the pervasive ideological spell of nationalism on Turkish intellectuals at this crucial stage in the disasters of the Balkan Wars, Van Os' remarks appear compelling. If this name change is indeed a reflection of increasing feelings of Turkism, it seems also safe to say that the association exclusively addressed Ottoman-Turkish women using a nationalist discourse. This is indeed what happened under Nezihe Muhiddin's leadership.[148]

The name of the association changed again after the foundation of the republic, although no information exists on its date. According to *Cumhuriyet*, the name of the association was *Türk Kadınları Esirgeme*

144 The author counts three reasons for her conviction that the booklet preceded the periodical version. First is the name change discussed below. Second, she refers to a complaint by Nezihe Muhiddin the removal of an article on the conservation of national handicrafts. The booklet includes an article on that topic, whereas the version in *Kadınlar Dünyası* does not. Third, the version published in *Kadınlar Dünyası* is more detailed than the booklet. See the footnote 72 in Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 260. See, also, *Osmanlı ve Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneğinin Nizamnamesi* (İstanbul: Nefaset Matbaası), 1-2. See BOA. DH.İ.UM. 89-2/1-23, 15 Ramazan 1333 (27 July 1915). See "Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği Nizamnamesi," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 2, 5 Nisan 1329 (18 April 1913): 4.

145 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 258.

146 Ibid.

147 Besim Ömer, "Türk Kadınlığı İçin Elim Bir Ziya,'" 70.

148 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 259.

Kurumu (Institution for the Protection of Turkish Women) until 1937.[149] In its annual meeting in this year, the association changed its name this time into *Esirgeme Kurumu* (Institution for Protection).[150] The former name suggests that the association was still under the influence of Turkism in the 1930s.

The association's ideology manifested itself in its statute. The booklet defined the institution's primary mission in its very first article as "bringing together the working power of all Muslim and Turkish women to find a remedy to the real requirements of the nation" and "opening the minds of Muslim Turkish women to handicraft and trade."[151] To achieve these aims, the association was to open art houses, handicraft companies and vocational schools all over the Ottoman Empire. In this way, the founders of the association thought that "the national handicrafts (*sanayi-i milliye*), which had been in decay for some time, could progress."[152] The association was planning to provide vocational education and employment not only for women but also for poor children.[153]

149 "Esirgeme Kurumunun Senelik Kongresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 December 1937, 2. See, also, "El ve Ev İşleri Sergisine Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği de İştirak Edecek," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 September 1936.

150 "Esirgeme Kurumunun Senelik Kongresi," 2.

151 *Osmanlı ve Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneğinin Nizamnamesi* 1. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri*, 293.

152 *Osmanlı ve Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneğinin Nizamnamesi* 1*; Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri,* 293. Article 2, which stated the aim to develop national handicrafts, was absent in the statute in *Kadınlar Dünyası*. According to Van Os, this was the article whose removal Nezihe Muhiddin complained about its removal from the statute *Türk Kadını*. See Baykan and Ötüş-Baskett eds. *Nezihe Muhiddin ve Türk Kadını 1931*, 105-106. Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 260; 262.

153 See the article three, four and five: *Osmanlı ve Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneğinin Nizamnamesi*, 1-2; *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri*, 293.



Figure 7.2 Photograph from the annual meeting of *Osmanlı (ve) Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği* in 1937. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (December 28, 1937).

The second version published in *Kadınlar Dünyası* contained some changes, although the essence remained roughly the same. The first article now defined the association's objective as "financially and mentally assisting the Girls' Art School of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Kız Sanayi Mektebi*)."[154] To that end, the association was to educate women in handicrafts and work for the progress of Ottoman economy. The association would open an art house an art house for martyrs' and immigrants' daughters,[155] organize conferences[156], publish

154 "Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği Nizamnamesi," 4.

155 Ibid. Nezihe Muhiddin wrote that the aim of the association was to work for the development of national economic life which was considered to be the most urgent need of the country. Nezihe Muhiddin, "Mektup," 2-3.

156 See one of them: "Konferans," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 3, 6 Nisan 1329 (19 April 1913): 3-4. For example, *Esirgeme Derneği* announced that it would organize a conference on patriotic desires for the women who lived around Kasımpaşa on 19 May 1913. Nezihe Muhlis (Muhiddin) was the speaker of the conference which would be held in *İttihad-i Anasır İnas Mektebi* (Unity of the Elements Girls' School). "Konferans," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 14, 17 Nisan 1329 (30 April 1913): 4.

books to increase women's interest in handicraft production and their attachment to Turkish customs, and open new branches.[157] The second statute also declared that the association was not affiliated with CUP and had no political targets.[158] The aim of employment of orphaned girls and women in need in Turkish handicraft production did not change in both of the statutes.

In accordance with the objectives announced in the statutes, the association quickly went on to open an art house for training women and children in handicrafts. The art house's products were sold in *Şefkat Pazarı* (Compassion Bazaar) in Şişli; and the revenue was transferred to *Şişli İnas Mektebi* (Şişli Girl's School).[159] The association also opened a vocational school in Aksaray.[160] To these, branches in Kasımpaşa, Kanlıca and other districts of Istanbul were soon to be added until May 1914.[161]

On March 1922, in accordance with the seventeenth article of the Law of Associations (*Cemiyetler Kanunu*), the association's status was redefined as a "society for the public good" (*menafii-i umumiyeye hadim dernek*). We learn from a report of the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) that the association's contribution to the improvement of handicrafts and its employment of a considerable amount of widows and orphaned girls brought it under this category. The Council's decision mentioned the association's efforts to prevent large amounts of money from leaving the country by discouraging the consumption of high-priced European import goods also as a contribution to common good. The decision also praised the association's policy of reviving the old national embroidery – "the most precious adornment of Turkish women" and "the good taste of our nationality" on the threshold of disappearance.[162]

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157 "Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği Nizamnamesi,"4.

158 See the article three, four, five, six and seven in the statute: Ibid.

159 Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 48-49.

160 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 262. "Bizde Hareket-i Nisvan," 5.

161 "Bizde Hareket-i Nisvan,"4-6. See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 263.

162 The Council's decision draft was written in answer to a memorandum from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. See BOA. ŞD. 56/24, 11 Rabiülahir 1340 (12 December 1921); BOA. BEO.

The association applied to the Ministry of Interior to become a society for the public good again in 1929. No exact information exists if the application process was completed.[163] The main reason for this application was that the association were in a bad economic situation. With this application, the association desired to have the right to sell rosettes, the right which only the associations in the status of working for public good could obtain. Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım also demanded financial aid from the ministry. She stated that the association had more than 2.000 liras dept. The undersecretary of İsmet İnönü stated that due to the financial limits, *Esirgeme Derneği* received only 800 liras.[164]

4708/353039, 21 Receb 1340 (20 March 1922); BOA. BEO. 4709/353155, 14 Şaban 1340 (12 April 1922); BOA. İ.DUİT. 116/32, Şaban 1340 (March 1922).

163 Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım openly stated the association's desire to be accepted as a society for public good in petitions sent to Kemal Bey, the undersecretary of İsmet İnönü in September 1929. However, in the decision of the council of state in October 1929, it was stated that the association applied to the Ministry of Interior to obtain permission for selling rosettes and the association did not directly request to be accepted as a society for public good. Therefore, the council of state did not consider the association's application in terms of its acceptance as a society for public good. The first application of the association was rejected due to a bureaucratic technicality. It is understood that Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım later contacted with İsmet İnönü regarding this rejection and applied for a second time. She wrote another petition to Kemal Bey in December 1929, informing him that she had sent a second petition to the council of state as İsmet İnönü had asked her to do. There was also a note at the end of the petition stating that the document was sent to be conserved. No further information exists on whether the association was accepted as a society for public good. I could not find any evidence on what change in the association's status after 1922 required this second application either. BCA 030.10.80.526.3, 80, 9.10.1929; 31.12.1929; 7.11.1929. See, also, "Esirgeme Derneği" *Milliyet*, 25 April 1929, 3.

164 Kemal Bey first wrote to Muhiddin Bey, the mayor of Istanbul Municipality, and asked him to give the desired amount of money to *Esirgeme Derneği*. In another petition, Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım wrote that she had informed İsmet İnönü that the association had not received the money. İsmet İnönü asked Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım to write this situation to Kemal Bey. Then Kemal Bey wrote to the General Directorate of Foundations, which provided 800 liras financial aid to *Esirgeme Derneği*. BCA 030.10.80.526.3, 80, 9.10.1929; 4.11.1919; 7.11.1929.

The previous discussion shows that *Esirgeme Derneği* and the art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi* were similar in both how they defined their mission, and how the government elites perceived them.[165]

7.2.2 Income Sources of the *Esirgeme Derneği*

One source of income for the association was the financial contributions of the members.[166] Another source of income came mainly from the various charity activities for the association's benefit. One of the activities of the association was selling flowers. Contributing to its income, the first president of the association, Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım wrote a petition to the Department of Interior nearly 10 years after its foundation, to be allowed to sell flowers on the 15th day of Ramadan in 1923 just as *Hilal-i Ahmer* did, according to the 25th article of the Decree on Collecting Donations (*Cem'-i İanat Nizamnamesi*).[167] *Esirgeme Derneği* also received money from selling rosettes[168] and organizing shows[169] to collect donations, one of which was in August 1921, in the conference room of *Galatasaray Sultanisi* (Galatasaray High School) with the permission of the government.[170] Some other income source activities,

165 Van Os argues that *Esirgeme Derneği*'s founders were probably inspired by the activities of the art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi*. Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 264.

166 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 263.

167 BOA. DH.İ.UM. 11-4/6-80, 5 Şaban 1339 (14 February 1921).

168 Only the associations defined as a society for the public good were allowed to do fund-raising activities such as collecting money and selling rosettes. From the correspondences between the Ministry of Interior and the Istanbul police in 1921, it is understood that *Esirgeme Derneği* were already doing both of these activities *de facto* before it was accepted as a society for public good. The association employed 12-year-old girls to collect money with boxes and sell rosettes in public places. For that, the association and its president Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım received warnings that they were acting against the law. However, the association continued to do fund raising activities in public. The police even started a legal investigation about Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım in 1921. BOA. DH.İ.UM. 11-4/6-86; BOA. MV. 221/203, 7 Temmuz 1337 (7 July 1921). See, also, Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 263.

169 "Esirgeme Derneği Menfaatine Müsamere" *Vakit*, 6 August 1927, 4.

170 BOA. MF.MKT. 1243/14, 14 Zilhicce 1339 (19 August 1921).

such as lotteries, exhibitions[171] and entertainment that the association had organized since its establishment continued to be organized throughout the early republican period.



Figure 7.3 Photograph from the annual ball of *Esirgeme Derneği* in 1933. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (December 28, 1936).

One of the main activities of the association was the lotteries, towards which well-to-do women were encouraged to participate.[172] Lottery organizations of the association continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s.[173] Another major activity of the association was balls, the number of which especially increased during 1930s. The association held the balls at Turkuaz Saloon[174], Pera Palace, Eden Saloon and Tokatlıyan Saloon in

171 Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 263.

172 For example, see "Konferans," *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 3, 6 Nisan 1329 (19 April 1913): 3-4.

173 For example, one of the lotteries of the association took place in *Türk Ocağı* on 20 April 1928. See "Esirgeme Derneğinin Piyangosu," *Milliyet*, 5 April 1928, 3. "Yetimlerin Emeği," *Vakit*, 10 March 1928, 2. "Esirgeme Derneği'nin Piyangosu Dün Çekildi," *Vakit*, 21 April 1928, 1. See, also, "Esirgeme Derneği Piyangosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 April 1932. "Esirgeme Derneği Piyangosu Çekildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 April 1932, 2.

174 "Esirgeme Derneği Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 February 1928, 3.

Beyoğlu[175] or Park Hotel Saloon in Ayaspaşa.[176] Addressing the new elite of the republic, the print-media emphasized that participation at the ball would be a philanthropic activity. For example, for the ball in 1927, *Vakit* stated that participants would have fun and do charity work, informing that the revenue of the ball would be allocated for "the orphan girls and widows" as well as for the "reclamation of national embroideries."[177] The balls of *Esirgeme Derneği* seemed to be one of the significant entertainment activities for the new elite. The news introduced the balls of the association as "the intimate and vivacious ball of the season"[178] or "the most courteous ball of the ball season",[179] which took place with the participation of prestigious guests. For example, to its annual ball in 1933 in Tokatlıyan[180], the beauty queen of 1933, Nazire Hanım participated.[181] The association also organized countryside balls (*kır balosu*) at Suadiye

175 "Esirgeme Derneği," *Vakit*, 10 February 1927, 2. "Esirgeme Derneği'nin Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 March 1932, 2; "Esirgeme derneği balosu," *Akşam*, 6 March 1932, 4. "Esirgeme Derneği Balosu," *Akşam*, 13 March 1932, 4. "Esirgeme Derneği salonu," *Akşam*, 4 March 1933, 2. See, also, "Esirgeme Derneği'nin Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 March 1934, 5; "Türk hanımları esirgeme derneği balosu," *Akşam*, 9 March 1934, 9; "Türk kadınları esirgeme derneğinin müsameresi," *Akşam*, 12 August 1935, 4; "Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 March 1936, 2; "Türk kadınları esirgeme derneği balosu," *Akşam*, 25 February 1936, 3; "Kadınlar Esirgeme Derneğinin Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 February 1937, 5; "Kadınları Esirgeme Derneğinin Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 March 1937, 7; "Balo," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 March 1938, 5; "Esirgeme Derneğinin Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 March 1939, 2. "Esirgeme Derneği Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 March 1939, 6.

176 "Esirgeme Derneği Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1935, 4; "Balo," *Akşam*, 26 February 1935, 4; "Balo," *Akşam*, 27 February 1935, 4.

177 "Esirgeme Derneği," *Vakit*, 10 February 1927, 2.

178 "Esirgeme Derneği'nin Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 March 1934, 5.

179 "Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneğinin Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 February 1936, 6.

180 Due to the beauty pageant organized by *Cumhuriyet*, the association had to postpone the date of the ball to 9 March and the newspaper thanked *Esirgeme Derneği*. "Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği'ne Teşekkürümüz," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 February 1933. See, also, "Esirgeme Derneği Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 February 1933, 4.

181 At this ball, various kinds of entertaining dance competitions such as carrying eggs without dropping them, and tying balloons to men's legs and dancing without pucnturing them were organized. "Esirgeme Derneği Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 March 1933, 2. See, also, "Esirgeme Derneği Balosu," *Akşam*, 4 March 1933, 2. "Esirgeme Derneği balosunda…," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 March 1933, 4. See, also, *Akşam*, 11 March 1933, 4.

beach and prepared different kinds of entertainment, dance competitions and surprises.[182] The association also organized different kinds of entertainment activities, such as a night show for the benefit of the association[183] and sea tour along the coast of the Bosphorus.[184] The association conducted these kinds of activities for the benefit of other associations as well. For example, it held a ball at Tokatlıyan Saloon and donated one fifth of its revenue to *Veremle Mücadele Derneği* (The Tuberculosis Association) in 1938.[185]

7.2.3 The *Esirgeme Derneği* in the Early Republican Period

The *Esirgeme Derneği* continued these activities during the early republican period. It seems that the association was active from 1913 to at least until the end of 1942, which was the last year that any reports could be found on the association in the newspapers. However, no information is available with regards to the exact day of its closure.

The center of the association in Istanbul was located in Yusufpaşa in Aksaray[186] from its establishment until 1932, when it moved to a building

182 "Suadiye Esirgeme Derneği Balosu," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 September 1934, 5. "Türk kadınları esirgeme derneği Suadiyede bir müsamere veriyor," *Akşam*, 16 August 1936, 3.

183 "Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği Müsameresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 August 1936, 2.

184 The advertisement stated that the ferry would stop by Boğaz, Üsküdar, Kadıköy and Adalar. The ferry provided music by a jazz band and *İnce Saz*, a contemporary band in Turkey, along with a cheap buffet. The price of the tickets was 2 liras. "Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği'nin Deniz Tenezzühü," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 August 1929. See, also, "Hanımlar Esirgeme Derneği'nin Deniz Tenezzühü," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 August 1929; "Esirgeme Derneğinin tenezzühü," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 August 1929, 4; "Deniz Tenezzühü," *Akşam*, 13 August 1929, 4.

185 "Esirgeme derneğinin bir teberrü," *Akşam*, 12 March 1938, 2.

186 *Kadın Yolu,* in 1925, published an announcement related to the *Esirgeme Derneği*. The magazine recommended that women should see the clothes that the orphans produced with the delicate good taste of old Turkish fancyworks. This announcement was published until the end of 1925 in almost every issue of the magazine. "Esirgeme Derneği," *Kadın Yolu*, no. 1, 16 Temmuz 1341 (16 July 1925). An article in *Muhit* in 1931 asserted that the building of the association belonged to *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü* (General Director of Foundations) and that the association paid 28 liras for the rent. MEB., "Esirgeme Derneğinde Gördüklerim," 15.

in front of Kapalı Fırın in Cağaloğlu.[187] The *Cumhuriyet* stated that the center was in front of *Divanyolu Sıhhiye Müzesi* (Divanyolu Health Museum) in 1937, which is where the *Esirgeme Derneği* conducted its annual meeting on 27 December 1937. In this meeting, the executive board of the association was elected, a new statute was determined and the name of the association was changed.[188]

The *Esirgeme Derneği* also opened a central building in the Saffetpaşa Apartment in Ankara. Although no information exists on the opening date of this building, one of the annual handicraft exhibitions of the association took place there in 1935.[189]

The association opened a tailoring school in the same building around Tevekkül Bathhouse in Yusufpaşa, Aksaray in June 1930.[190] In 1929, it also opened a store in Sandal Bedesteni and in the passenger lounge of the Administration of Navigation (*Seyr-i Sefain İdaresi*) to sell its products to the travelers who came into the city.[191]

This association was active until at least the end of 1942, when the center of the association was in Divanyolu in front of *Divanyolu Sıhhiye Müzesi*, serving as a store where the "delicate handicrafts" of women were on sale.[192]

The association had an art house that continued to produce women's handicraft goods during the interwar period. The art house was also a school from which 12 female teachers had graduated from in 1922.[193] For years in its center in Yusufpaşa, the *Esirgeme Derneği* continued to

187 "Esirgeme derneği" *Akşam*, 5 June 1932, p 3.

188 *Cumhuriyet* published a picture of the members who participated to the annual meeting. "Esirgeme Kurumunun Senelik Kongresi," 2.

189 "Esirgeme Derneğinin Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 December 1935, 6.

190 Applicants had been accepted at the central building of the association since September 1930. The association would also open a typewriter course and tailoring course. "Esirgeme Derneği'nde Dikiş Kursu Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 June 1930. "Esirgeme Derneği'ne Talebe Alınıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 October 1930.

191 "Fakir Türk Kızlarının El İşleri Sergisi Ocakta Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 February 1929.

192 "Esirgeme Derneğinin hazırladığı hediyelikler," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 December 1942, 2.

193 ŞD. 56/24, 21 Recep 1340, 20 March 1922.

present diplomas at graduation ceremonies.[194] In 1927, 6 women had graduated from the association. A show was organized and the association invited the esteemed elite of Istanbul. Hamiyet Hulusi Hanım gave a speech on the history of the association at this graduation ceremony. She stated that the association was established with 150 liras in capital and that Shaykh al-islam Hayri Efendi provided the central building in Yusufpaşa for free. She also stated that the association had worked without any help for 14 years to raise "children who could craft successfully all kinds of delicate works of Turkish women."[195] She informed everyone that 4 branches of the association continued to work and in total the number of students was close to 60 in 1927. She appreciated "the Turkish girls" of the association for their proper behavior and efforts. It is understood that small children worked in the association due to their difficult economic conditions. She gave an example of a 10-year-old child who had to take care of her old mother and

194 See for the announcement of the graduation ceremony: "Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği'nde," *Vakit*, 28 January 1927, 4.

195 "Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği".

earned a living by embroidering under the roof of the association in 1927.[196] At the end of her speech, the 6 graduates received their



Figure 7.4 Newspaper article related to the graduation ceremony by the *Esirgeme Derneği* in 1927. SOURCE: *Milliyet* (January 31, 1927).

diplomas along with a wristwatch as a gift. The guests visited the exhibition in which the students' annual handicraft and embroidery work were presented. As a part of the annual graduation ceremony, the association "offered tea and cake for the guests at a very elegantly adorned buffet."[197] The print-media appreciated the work of the association. For example, *Milliyet* recommended that people should see the beauty of the women's work in the association's building to

196 Ibid.

197 *Cumhuriyet* appreciated the association and announced that the association would organize a ball in the near future. According to *Vakit*, the number of graduates was 5 in 1927. Ibid. See "Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği'nde Dünkü Merasim," 1.

understand the amount of labor spent in producing these items.[198] *Vakit* considered the *Esirgeme Derneği* to be a philanthropist organization that provided the opportunity for poor young girls to earn a living by teaching them sewing and embroidery.[199] At the end of the same year, the association announced 5 more graduates on 6 October 1927, and organized a graduation ceremony. The graduates were again rewarded with gifts such as a golden bracelet and a watch. The wives of the deputies participated to the graduation ceremonies. For example, at this graduation ceremony, the wife of Tevfik Kamil, the deputy of Istanbul participated. After the ceremony, the students presented their annual work in the exhibition as usual.[200]

Only limited information exists on the number of students and graduates. In 1927, *Vakit* stated that more than 60 orphan girls were employed in the association.[201] In 1928, the same newspaper reported that the association employed 90 women at that time and that 6 women had graduated.[202] In 1929, *Milliyet* stated that the *Esirgeme Derneği* was working to expand their activities. In that year, the association had 50 students and found jobs for 60 women.[203] In 1931, *Muhit* reported that the number of working women was between 60 and 100, most of whom were working at home and received their payment weekly from the association. The association also gave lunch to the young working girls. According to the information in *Muhit*, the expenditure of the association for salary payment and rent was between 200 and 300 liras.[204] In 1935, *Cumhuriyet* stated that "50 poor and orphaned women" were employed

198 "Esirgeme Derneği'nde Diploma Tevzii". See, also, "Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği".

199 "Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği'nde Dünkü Merasim," 1.

200 "Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği Mezunları," *Milliyet*, 7 October 1927, 2.

201 "Esirgeme Derneği," *Vakit*, 19 March 1927.

202 "Yetimlerin Emeği," 2.

203 For the same year, *Cumhuriyet* stated that the association employed 75 women. "Esirgeme Derneğinde," *Milliyet*, 11 October 1929, 3. "Fakir Türk Kızlarının El İşleri Sergisi Ocakta Açıldı".

204 The author gave information about the employees in the association. MEB., "Esirgeme Derneğinde Gördüklerim,".

in the association.[205] In 1936, *Cumhuriyet* stated that the *Esirgeme Derneği* employed 150 Turkish women.[206] It is clear that the association employed approximately 50 to 150 students every year.

In the early republican period, the association continued its aim of creating national handicrafts and promoting domestic goods. For example, the association had contacts with *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* in 1929.[207] Rana Sani Yaver also defended this policy in an interview. In 1930, Mustafa Ragıp conducted an interview with Rana Sani Yaver Hanım about thrift for *Akşam*.[208] She complained that every one blamed the reason for such extravagance on the women and stated that "men are equally as responsible as women."[209] In this interview, Yaver encouraged everyone to wear domestic goods.[210] She also encouraged women to use the same evening dress for the balls more than once.[211]

The *Esirgeme Derneği* aimed to revive old Turkish handicrafts and produce national clothes. In this production, the association employed orphaned girls and widows throughout its active period. In this way, women earned a living and became involved in the public sphere by tailoring and embroidering.

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205 "Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneğinin Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 December 1935, 2.

206 "El ve Ev İşleri Sergisine Türk Kadınları".

207 See the subsection "Thrift and Fashion on the Agenda of the Türk Kadınlar Birliği" in this dissertation. See, also, "İktisadî seferberlik," 3.

208 Mustafa Ragıp, "Tasarruf ve hanımlarımız: Rana Sani Yaver hanım efendinin fikirleri," *Akşam*, 16 January 1930, 1-2. For her views on family and housewifery, see, also, H. "Erkek kalbine mutfak yolundan girilebilir mi?," *Akşam*, 1 July 1935, 5.

209 Ragıp, "Tasarruf ve hanımlarımız: Rana Sani Yaver hanım efendinin fikirleri," 1-2.

210 Ibid.

211 Ibid.

§ 7.3 The *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* (Turkish Women's Tailoring School)

The *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was founded on 23 July 1913[212] and continued to work actively during the early republican period. It was a tailoring school, founded on the initiative of Behire Hakkı (Cendey) Hanım, a member of the Paris Tailor Academy, and a former member of the *Esirgeme Derneği* and the *Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti-i İslamiyesi*.[213] Behire Hakkı Hanım was also the daughter of Mahmud Cemal Bey, an investigating judge in the court of first instance (*Adliye Bidayet Mahkemesi Müstantık azası*).[214]

İsmail Hakkı (Cendey), the husband of Behire Hakkı, was both the cofounder and president of the school. He continued to be the president of the school until maximum September 1932. In a newspaper article about the annual exhibition of the school in September 1932, *Cumhuriyet* stated that the school's president was Fazıl Bey.[215] The institution, "the oldest cutting and sewing house of the new republic" closed in 1937, just after the death of İsmail Hakkı Bey. Behire Hakkı Hanım published a farewell letter to the graduates and students of the institution in *Cumhuriyet* after her husband's death. She stated that she could not

212 Van Os brought attention to the fact that Behire Hakkı stated in the statute her happiness for the coincidence of the opening date of the school, as the opening date of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* coincided with the 5th anniversary of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. See Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 265. For the history of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, see Mine Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Kadın Eğitiminde Biçki Dikişin Yeri (1908-1952)* (İstanbul: Libra Kitapçılık, 2019).

213 Behire Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şükerası, 1913), 1. See Baykan and Ötüş-Baskett eds. *Nezihe Muhiddin ve Türk Kadını 1931*, 106. Efzayiş Suat stated that Behire Hakkı was awarded the golden medal by H. Ef. Paris and Liepzig Art Institutes. Suat, "Türk Kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti Kadın Birliği," 496.

214 "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," *Resimli Ay*, no. 45 (November 1927): 27.

215 "Biçki Yurdunun Senelik Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1932, 2.

maintain the working of the institution both due to her husband's death and her old age.[216]

The government presented *Cevriye Hatun Mektebi* (later named as the *Cevri Kalfa Sıbyan Mektebi*- Cevri Kalfa Primary School) in Sultanahmet to the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* after the first year of its establishment.[217] In 1916, the Ministry of Education, Şükrü Bey took the school building back and the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* rented a building in Çarşıkapı, a place close to *Cevri Kalfa Sıbyan Mektebi*, for its activities.[218] The school was free of charge when it was first opened in 1913. After moving to the new building in 1916, a monthly fee was imposed of, 1 lira, to cover the expenditures of the school.[219] In an interview in 1927 in *Resimli Ay*, Behire Hakkı also stated that she had difficult times and faced economic problems after the government reclaimed the building from the school. She stated that the school then started to charge a registration fee during the Great War, due to the increasing number of students and high cost of living.[220]

In the republican period, the school was in a building close to a tomb in Binbirdirek, Divanyolu.[221] In 1927, Behire Hakkı stated that apart from

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216 In her farewell, Behire Hakkı Hanım also acknowledged the interests of the Ministry of Culture on the activities of the institution. Different from the other women's organizations, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was always supported and appreciated by the government throughout the period it continued its activities. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 April 1937, 4.

217 "Biçki Yurdunda," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1924, 2.

218 Ibid. See "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26.

219 "Biçki Yurdunda," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1924, 2.

220 "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 153.

221 Some of the news on the activities of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* at its location in Divanyolu: The thirteenth anniversary of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*'s foundation was celebrated at its location in Divanyolu in October 1926. In September 1927, the exhibition of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* took place at its location in Divanyolu. In 1932, the annual exhibition of the institution took place at its location in Divanyolu. "Biçki Yurdunda Merasim," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 October 1926, 2; "Biçki Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1927, 2. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Sergisi," *Milliyet*, 29 September 1932, 3. See, also, "Biçki Yurdunun Yeni Sergisi," *Vakit*, 6 October 1924, 1.

the central building, the school opened 4 branches in Istanbul, which were located in Üsküdar, Fatih, Beşiktaş, and Beyazıd.[222]

The central building probably moved to a new building in 1933. The *Cumhuriyet* announced that the annual exhibition of the school took place in the new building of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* in 1933.[223] It is understood that the school moved to a nearby building on the other side of Divanyolu Street, which is today, a street called *Biçki Yurdu,* which is situated behind the Health Museum on one of the side streets off of Divanyolu. The *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* probably remained there until the end of the 1930s, with the republic renaming the street after its closure. Likewise, Malik Aksel described the location of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* in an article on Divanyolu that he wrote in 1958, in which he stated that *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was situated on the right side while walking towards Köprülü Library. It was also on the side street of Divanyolu, in the direction of Bab-ı Ali, and on the street just behind the Health Museum in Divanyolu.[224]

7.3.1 Aim of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*

In the first statute of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* published in 1913, Behire Hakkı stated that the reason for the opening of the school was to educate female Turkish tailors entirely without the influence of "ignorant tailors", here referring to the tailors in Beyoğlu. In her explanation, she deplored the absence of professional tailors and a scientific approach towards tailoring in the country.[225] On the other hand, she saw women's relationship with fashion as a social disease and blamed Western fashion for removing women from one of their duties, which was stitching.[226]

222 "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26.

223 See "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Dün Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 September 1933, 2.

224 Malik Aksel, "Divanyolu Konakları," *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu*, February 1958, 3.

225 Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı*, 3-5.

226 Behire Hakkı, *Biçki Nazariyat ve Kavaid-i Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kısmı* (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1913), 3.

Similar to the aforementioned women-run organizations, this school also struggled to diminish women's fashion consumption and the dominance of non-Muslims in fashion business. Women's struggles against fashion and educating female Turkish tailors were in line with the national economy policy of the CUP from 1913 onwards. It was also compatible with the policy of the early republican period, especially during the 1930s. For this reason, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* came to the forefront as one of the most significant women-run organizations in the interwar period in Turkey.[227]

The first statute of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* defined the school as a scientific tailoring school, which aimed to teach both the theory and practice of tailoring, and prepare female teachers for the Girls' Industrial Schools. It also stated that the school would teach tailoring free of charge to martyr's wives, orphans and women in need. While helping these women to earn a living, the school aimed to contribute to the progress of the national economy.[228]

As stated above, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was free of charge in the beginning. From 1916 onwards, however, it became a fee-paying school, in the amount of 3000 kuruş in cash and 3250 on installment in 1926. In addition, the students had to pay a registration fee, which was 500 kuruş. Students also had to pay 500 kuruş for the certificate of glory (*berat-ı iftihar*) and 1000 kuruş for their diploma.[229] As it was a fee-paying school,

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227 In an interview in *Resimli Ay* in 1927, Behire Hakkı expressed similar concerns with regard to the opening of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*. She saw the main reason for the opening of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* to be fighting against the dominance of foreigners in all kinds of economic activities in the country. She also deplored the absence of domestic tailors, which caused the flow of money to foreigners and caused people to be captured by foreign art and taste. "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 24.

228 See the article 1 in the statute: Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı*, 6.

229 In the statute of the school in 1924, the annual fee was 32 liras. The registration fee was 5 liras. In the statute of the school in 1925, the annual fee was 2400 kuruş in cash and 2600 kuruş on installment. The registration fee was 500 kuruş in this statute. The prices for diploma and certificate were the same as the prices in the statute of 1926. See the articles 7 and 9 in the statute of 1924. See articles 15, 16 and 17 in the statutes of 1925 and 1926. BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 23; 35; 50-51. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 152.

mostly children of the middle classes, who desired to have a qualified education on tailoring and gain tailoring-related jobs, were registered to the school. Even after it became a fee-paying school, it continued to be free for the martyrs' children and wives.[230]

As mentioned, the school's policy was to educate female Turkish tailors as opposed to the dominance of non-Muslims in the fashion sector. Therefore, the school specifically targeted Turkish Muslim women. İsmail Hakkı once explicitly declared this aim of the school. In 1927, he defined *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* as the first art school based on Turkish nationality. He also stated that the school did not accept non-Muslim women as a principle despite hundreds of applications.[231]

In the statute of the school in 1925 and 1926,[232] the aim of the school was similarly defined as "to contribute to the family economy by providing education on practical and theoretical tailoring, open national tailoring houses, and educate competent tailoring teachers."[233]

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230 See article 15 in the statutes of 1925 and 1926. BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 35; 50-51. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 153.

231 İsmail Hakkı wrote this information in a petition to the Ministry of Education in 1927. BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-8, 22 January 1927.

232 In the Republican Archives, 3 statutes of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* exist together in a file. The first statute was a hand-written copy of the statute in 1924. The first article of this statute stated that it was presented to the Istanbul Provincial Directory of Education (*İstanbul Vilayeti Maarif Müdüriyeti*) in August 1924. The statute of 1925 was in booklet form. The seals of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* were on a couple of the pages. It was presented to the Istanbul Provincial Directory of Education in April 1925. There were many scratches and hand-written marginalia on it, which overlap with the new version of the statute in 1926. Therefore, the school administration probably worked on the statute of 1925 while preparing the new one. The statute of 1926 was the last version of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*'s statute that I can find in the archives. It was also a hand-written copy and no information exists about when this statute was presented to the Istanbul Provincial Directory of Education. The seals of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* were visible on its pages. See BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 23-26; 33-39; 45-60.

233 See article 1 in the statutes of 1925 and 1926. BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 33; 47.

Significantly, the statutes of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* also defined the school as "a separate, private, and commercial school."[234]

The founders of the school saw fashion consumption as an economic problem for the country. Their solution to this problem was to educate female Turkish tailors. More significantly, many of the women who graduated from this school entered into the work life in tailoring-related jobs. Especially during the 1930s, a considerable number of tailoring workshops were opened, some of which were opened by the graduates of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*. The aim and education program of the tailoring workshops resembled each other, and in a way, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* became a model school for all of the workshops during that period.[235] In the interwar period, the Kemalist regime supported the school and encouraged women to be in the public sphere through tailoring-related jobs.

7.3.2 Status of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*

Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu was a private school (*mekteb-i hususiye*). In 1913, it was accepted as an elementary school (*mekteb-i ibtidaiyye*) according to the Temporary Law on Primary Education (*Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kanunu-ı Muvakkati*).[236] The government approved the statute of the school and the diplomas had the certification of the Ministry of Education.[237] Considering the contributions of the school, the Ministry of Trade and Agriculture took *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* under its protection in 1922.[238]

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234 See article 3 in the statutes of 1925 and 1926. Ibid. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 134-136.

235 See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 144.

236 The private school status of the *Türk Kadınlar Biçki Yurdu* was also determined under the Ordinance of Private Schools (*Mekatib-i Hususiye Talimatnamesi*) in 1915. BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-8, 22 January 1927. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 136.

237 BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-9; 14; 18; 20; 22. See, also, Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı*, 7.

238 Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e*, 139. See, also, "Biçki Yurdunda," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1924, 2.

The *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* applied to the Ministry of Education to be accepted as an official school in 1922. However, the ministry rejected its application.[239] In 1926, the Ministry of Education notified *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* that it was not a school but a private teaching institution. After this change, İsmail Hakkı requested reconsideration of the status of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* and applied to the Ministry of Education in 1927.[240] No further information exists whether its status as a private teaching institution changed after this application by İsmail Hakkı. In the beginning of the 1930s, probably as a result of the increasing interest of the government towards the tailoring schools, the school was accepted as a vocational school— and it was supported by the government. *Milliyet* asserted that *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was the only private tailoring school that was financially supported by the Ministry of Trade in 1931.[241] It was later accepted as a primary "vocational school (*sanat mektebi*)" in 1932.[242]

In 1933, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* also applied to the government on its own behalf and that of the tailoring schools opened by the graduates of the school to be exempted from taxes. *Akşam* did not report on the decision of the council in charge with regards to the application of the school. However, it reported that the council only accepted private schools that followed the regulations and curriculum of the Ministry of Education for the tax exemption. The schools considered as girls' institutes would naturally be exempted. The tailoring businesses were not included in the list of tax exemptions.[243] According to this definition, the application of the school was probably accepted in 1933.

The education program of the school and its aim to educate female Turkish tailors were compatible with the policy of the Kemalist regime.

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239 For further information, see Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 141-144.

240 BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-8, 22 January 1927.

241 "Biçki ve Dikiş," *Milliyet*, 26 September 1931, 5.

242 *Milliyet* stated that the Ministry of Education accepted the school as an official vocational school in 1932. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Sergisi," 3. "Biçki Yurdu Yirminci sene mezunlarına diplomalar verildi," *Vakit*, 29 September 1932, 3.

243 "Yeni kazanç vergisi lâyihası," *Akşam*, 24 February 1933, 2.

Specifically, from the 1930s, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* came to the forefront and was supported by the regime.

7.3.3 Education Program in the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*

The education period of the school was 6 months in the beginning.[244] Then, it was extended to 1 year and continued to be so until the term in 1921-1922, after which the statute of the school changed and the education period extended into 2 stages. With the change, the first stage was 1 year and the second stage had 2 branches of tailoring, separately for women and men. The education period was 2 years in the second stage. New courses, such as embroidery (*hesap*), geometry (*hendese*), notebook of style (*usul-i defteri*), paint and decoration were included.[245]

In the first stage of the education, students would learn how to practice theoretical knowledge on lining fabric. The second stage only consisted of practical education. The cost of the fabric and other expenses belonged to the owner. The students had to cut and sew every costume on the companion or mannequins that were determined by the directory.[246] At the end of the second stage, students would have an exam in front of a committee which consisted of 3 experts from the Ministry of Education and Trade along with 3 appointed members of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*.[247]

The Ministry of Education supported and benefitted from the education program and materials of the school. For example, Behire Hakkı published a tailoring book based on the method books of Paris tailors Manuel Ladeveze-Darroux and his son Alfred Darroux.[248] This

244 "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 25.

245 BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-8, 22 January 1927. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 155-160.

246 See article 8 of the statute: Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı*, 8.

247 The further details of grading and graduation was described in the statute. See the article 9 of the statute: Ibid.

248 Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı*, 4-5. For the continuation of the house and covering the expenses, all rights of the house's

book was used in the education of tailors in the school. Behire Hakkı also published text books related to tailoring education. The first book was on stitching theory and rules for higher education.[249] She published the second and the third books on tailoring methods for children, women and men in 1913. All rights of the books were reserved to the school. The second and third books were approved by the Ministry of Education to be used in all girls' education in all primary and secondary schools.[250]

The education process in the school changed over the years. In the statute of the school in 1925 and 1926, the education programme was divided into 4 branches, which comprised family class (primary education), tailoring of women's clothing (secondary education), tailoring of men's clothing (secondary education) and tailoring houses and workshops (practice branch).[251] According to the statute, the education period was 1 year in the first branch and the aim of this branch was to teach students basically how to sew clothes for themselves and their families. In the second and third branches, the education period was 2 years. These branches provided vocational education in tailoring. No education period was determined for the fourth branch which operated like a tailoring store and was only for the students and graduates of the school.[252]

According to the newspapers in 1932, the education process in the school was 1 year in family class and 2 years in vocational class. In 1932, the practice (*tatbikat*) and designing (*modelcilik*) classes were added to

publications on tailoring were reserved by the school. See article 6 of the statute: Ibid., 7.

249 In Behire Hakkı's text book, the significance of health and having a healthy look was emphasized. The author shared healthier methods of sewing for women. She gave the ideal sizes of a women's body starting with a warning in the beginning of the book that the clothing measurements were estimated on "natural and improved bodies." According to the book, for "body flaws and non-natural bodies", it was necessary to make alterations and adjustments. Hakkı, *Biçki Nazariyat ve Kavaid-i Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kısmı*, 4.

250 The second book presented *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* as an institution assisting for the progress of Muslim ladies. Ibid., 3.

251 See articles 6, 7, 8 and 9 in of the statutes in 1925 and 1926. BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 48-49.

252 Ibid.

the curriculum. In the practice class, students sewed the latest fashion clothes. In the design class, students were asked to make designs that would be presented after being selected by a committee that consisted of well-groomed and courteous women. In this way, *Vakit* stated that the institution determined "an Istanbul fashion for every season."[253] *Milliyet* stated that the institution took an initiative for the national duty, working for the women who desired to dress entirely in accordance with the "national taste" (*milli zevk*) due to the fact that European taste was not compatible with Turkish taste.[254] The school produced newly styled clothes for a long period of time and even received the copyright for its clothes. For the new sewing styles and patterns, the Ministry of Education gave copyright to the directress, Behire Hakkı in 1929.[255]

The education system in the school had strict rules. Students could not see their parents during school days. It was only possible for students to see their parents in the room of the school director with permission if an extraordinary situation took place. Students could not bring guests to the school during school days. It was also forbidden to leave the school during school time.[256]

The school stated 3 preconditions for registration in its statute of 1913, comprising knowledge of cutting and sewing to the degree of stitching underwear; knowledge of how to read and write, knowledge of 4 operations, and French numbers; and finally, being at the age of maturity and not having any epidemic diseases.[257] In the school statutes in 1925 and 1926, further details about the preconditions were included, wherein the school stated that they did not accept students below 13 years of age,

253 "Biçki Yurdu Yirminci sene mezunlarına diplomalar verildi," 3. See, also, "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Sergisi," 3.

254 "Biçki Yurdunun Senelik Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1932, 2. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Sergisi," 3.

255 "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 26 September 1929, 3.

256 See the articles 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 and 43 in the statute of 1925. See the articles 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 in the statute of 1926. BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 39.

257 See the article 15 in the statute: Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı*, 9-10. See the articles 16, 17, 18 and 19 in the statute: Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı*, 10-11.

and students below 16 years of age had have attended primary education and present their primary education diploma to the school. Only students who had graduated from the primary branch or were qualified enough would be accepted for the second branch.[258]

7.3.4 Graduates of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*

The exact number of students and graduates was ambiguous for the first years of the institution.[259] It is not possible to give the exact number of graduates, as the ambiguity in numbers continued into the republican period. Depending on the information in the newspapers and archival sources, the total number of graduates was probably more than 4000 throughout the years that the institution continued its work.[260] It seems

258 Ibid.

259 According to Hakkı, the number of students in the first year was close to 160. Sabiha Sertel stated that the number of students for the 5 years of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was 900. The number of graduates was 600 graduates in total in 1919. Sabiha Sertel also stated that the school established a handicrafts institution, from which 20 students graduated. This institution did not continue due to the economic problems. Sabiha Zekeriya, "Kadın Müesseselerimizi Ziyaret," *İnci*, no. 1 (1 February 1919): 11. See Behire Hakkı, *Biçki Nazariyat ve Kavaid-i Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kısmı*, 4. Van Os unveils the ambiguity related to the number of graduate students before 1920. See Van Os, "Feminism, Philanthropy and Patriotism," 267.

260 The *Cumhuriyet* newspaper stated the total number of graduates for almost every year. The total number of graduates was declared as 133 in 1914, 255 in 1915, 184 in 1916, 55 in 1917, 34 in 1918, 15 in 1919, 23 in 1920, 37 in 1921, 59 in 1922, 38 in 1923, 551 in 1924, 1104 in 1925, 1145 in 1926, 1425 in 1927, 2391 in 1929, 2470 in 1930 and 2725 in 1932. The total number of graduates that İsmai Hakkı stated for 1927 was 1425, which matched with that of the *Cumhuriyet*. To illustrate the ambiguity in numbers, the total number of graduates was 1794 according to other news in 1927 in the *Cumhuriyet*. Behire Hakkı stated in an interview in *Resimli Ay* that the total number of graduates was 1794 in 1927. According to news in *Vakit*, Behire Hakkı stated that the number of students who registered at the school was 1001, and among them, a total of 928 students had graduated by 1924. In the *Milliyet*, the total number of graduates reported was 2306 in 1929. For 1927, the *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Vakit* all reported the total number of graduates as 1425. According to the *Cumhuriyet* and *Vakit*, in the 1928 exhibition, İsmail Hakkı Bey stated that the institution had accepted 3000 students from its establishment. For the same year, the *Vakit* also stated that more than 2000 of the 3000 students had received their

safe to say that the number of yearly graduates fluctuated between 85 and 236 during the republican period.[261] On the other hand, limited

diploma. For 1932, the *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet,* and *Vakit* all reported the total number of graduates as 2725, which seems to be more accurate than the other numbers. In 1933, the *Milliyet* stated the total number of graduates was 2710. The *Milliyet* and *Vakit* both stated that the total number of graduates was 3560 in 1934. The *Cumhuriyet* and *Akşam* both reported the total number of graduates as 3647 in 1935. For the number that İsmail Hakkı gave in 1927, see BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-8, 22 January 1927. For the numbers of graduates, see, also, BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 7. "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26. "Biçki Yurdunda," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1924, 2. "Biçki Yurdu'nun 13üncü Sergisi," 1. "Biçki Yurdunda Merasim," 2. "Biçki Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1927, 2. Sabiha Zekeriya, "Türk Kadını Niçin Yeise Düşüyor!," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1927, 3. "Biçki Yurdu Mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 October 1927, 4. "Biçki Yurdunun 1928 Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 September 1928, 3. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1929, 1-3. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1930, 3. "Biçki Yurdunun Senelik Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1932, 2. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdunun Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 October 1935, 7. "Biçki Yurdunun Mezunları," *Milliyet*, 1 October 1927, 2. "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 26 September 1929, 3. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Sergisi," 3. *Milliyet*, 25 September 1933, 1. "Biçki Yurdunun 21nci Sergisi," *Milliyet*, 30 September 1934, 3. "Biçki Yurdunun Yeni Sergisi," 1. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdunda," *Vakit*, 30 September 1927, 1. "Biçki Yurdunun 16ıncı Sergisi," *Vakit*, 21 September 1928, 1. "Biçki Yurdu," *Vakit*, 29 September 1932, 3. "Yirmibir Senede 3560 Sanatkar Yetiştiren Müessese," *Vakit*, 30 September 1934, 3. *Akşam*, 6 October 1935, 5.

261 According to the *Cumhuriyet*, the number of graduates for 1924 was 94. The *Milliyet* stated that the number of graduates was 101 for 1927. Similarly, the *Vakit* stated that the number of graduates from the family branch was 369 and the vocational branch was 101. In 1928, the *Vakit* stated that the number of graduates was 271. According to the *Milliyet*, İsmail Hakkı Bey stated that 236 women graduated in 1929. The number of graduates was reported as 140 in 1930 and 85 in 1932 in the *Cumhuriyet*. In 1933, both the *Cumhuriyet* and *Vakit* stated that 98 students had graduated. In 1934, the *Milliyet* and *Vakit* reported that the number of graduates was 115. The *Cumhuriyet* and *Tan* stated that the number of graduates was 30 in 1936. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1929, 1-3. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1930, 3. "Biçki Yurdunun Senelik Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1932, 2. "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 30 September 1927, 4. "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 26 September 1929, 3. "Biçki Yurdunun Senelik Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1932, 2. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 October 1936, 6. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdunda," 1. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Dün Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 September 1933, 2. "Biçki Yurdunun 16ıncı Sergisi," 1. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Vakit*, 25 September 1933, 4. "Yirmibir

information exists on the number of teachers. In 1927, the institution employed 7 cutting and sewing teachers, each of whom had 1 assistant who also had a servitor.[262]

The school gave awards, such as golden medals or certificates of merit (*takdirname*) to the graduates according to the degree of their success.[263] Sabiha Sertel stated that the school employed its graduates as teachers under own roof. She also noted that this school's graduates became school teachers and were appointed to work in rural schools by the Ministry of Education in 1919.[264] The employment of the graduates as teachers in schools continued during the republican period. Furthermore, the graduates opened tailoring houses in Istanbul and various places in Anatolia.[265] For example, one of the graduates of the

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Senede 3560 Sanatkar Yetiştiren Müessese," 3. "Biçki Yurdunun 21nci Sergisi," 3. "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdunda," *Tan*, 2 October 1936. See, also, "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26.

262 According to the news, the school gave 2 courses in one week. "Biçki Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1927, 2.

263 For example, see "Biçki Yurdu Mezunları," 4.

264 Zekeriya, "Kadın Müesseselerimizi Ziyaret,"11.

265 See "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26. About why the number of graduates who opened tailoring houses was also ambiguous. The *Cumhuriyet* stated that 50 women graduated from the school and opened tailoring houses in Turkey in 1926. In other news, the same newspaper stated that 32 graduates had opened tailoring houses and educated many students in different areas of Turkey in 1930. In 1928, İsmail Hakkı stated that 15 sewing houses had been opened by the graduates of the institution. In 1929 and 1932, the *Milliyet* and *Vakit* stated that 28 graduates from the institution had opened cutting and sewing schools in various areas of Turkey. In 1934, the *Milliyet* stated that 32 women, who had graduated from the institution, had opened tailoring houses in different areas of Turkey and from the 1934 graduates, 15 women would likewise open tailoring houses. In the petition that İsmail Hakkı wrote to the Ministry of Education in 1927, he stated that 9 female graduates had opened tailoring houses, and among them, 2 were in Istanbul, 3 were in Izmir, 1 was in Sivas, 1 was in Amasya, 1 was in Adana and 1 was in Kilis. In an interview in 1927, Behire Hakkı gave different numbers related to the tailoring houses opened by the graduates. Behire Hakkı stated that the number of tailoring houses opened by the graduates was 4 in Istanbul, 4 in Izmir, 1 in Ankara, 3 in Konya, 1 in Gaziantep and 1 in Kilis. BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-8, 22 January 1927. "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26. "Biçki Yurdu'nun 13üncü Sergisi," 1. "Biçki Yurdunda Merasim," 2. "Biçki Yurdunun 1928 Sergisi Açıldı," 3. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı,"

school was Ruhsar Hanım who attended the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* for 2 years and returned to Izmir in the mid-1920s.[266] She opened a tailoring school with her husband who was a painter.[267]

Behire Hakkı stated, in her speech in the annual exhibition of the institution in 1924, that some of the graduates were in the administration of the existing tailoring houses and some of them worked as employers to earn a living in tailoring houses.[268] In an interview in 1926, she gave the names of some of the tailoring workshops that had been opened by the graduates of the school in Istanbul. The owners names and the places of the workshops were as follows: Güzide Hanım in Beyoğlu, Azize Hanım in Ertuğrul, İkbal Hanım in Laleli, Zuhal Hanım in Kadıköy, Refika Hanım in Kadıköy, Fahrunnisa Hanım in Moda and Memduha Hanım.[269] In 1927, İsmail Hakkı stated that close to 50 female graduates of the school had opened tailor shops all across Turkey.[270] Many of the graduates gave courses in their homes and some were employed as teachers in state schools.[271] According to other news in the *Cumhuriyet*, 34 tailoring houses existed all across Turkey in 1935 and the administration, as well as teachers, comprised female tailors who had graduated from the first sewing institution of the republic, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*.[272] In

Cumhuriyet, 26 September 1930, 3. "Biçki Yurdunun Senelik Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1932, 2. "Biçki Yurdunun Senelik Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1932, 2. "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 26 September 1929, 3. "Biçki Yurdunun 21nci Sergisi," 3. "Biçki Yurdu," *Vakit*, 29 September 1932, 3. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 186-190.

266 No information exists on the exact date of the school's opening— but based on the article of Celal Enver, the opening year of the school was probably 1925 or 1926. In 1931, the school was still open and continued its work. Celal Enver, "İzmir de Kîymetli Bir Müessese," *Muhit*, no. 36 (October 1931): 46.

267 Ibid.

268 "Biçki Yurdunun Yeni Sergisi," 1.

269 "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26.

270 BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-8, 22 January 1927. "Hayatta Muvaffak Olmuş Türk Kadınları," 26.

271 BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 3-8, 22 January 1927.

272 "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdunun Sergisi," 7.

these initiations, İsmail Hakkı stated that the graduates implemented *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*'s curriculum and education program.[273]

Efzayiş Suat visited the school in 1929. She stated that in a short period of time, the school proved that Turkish needlecraft art (*Türk dikişçilik sanatı*) existed. As Suat stated, from the beginning of its establishment, an increasing number of graduates had opened houses, workshops, and tailoring businesses not only in Istanbul, but also in various places in Anatolia. The owners of almost all of the well-known tailoring businesses in many districts of Istanbul were graduates of this school.[274]

In an article in 1927, Sabiha Zekeriya stated that founding on the purpose of protecting women's rights, many women's organizations had faded away, but some of them, like the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu,* continued their work to educate women for the purpose of having a profession. She stated that the progress of Turkish women should be found in the growing number of handicraft and vocational graduates. *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was possibly the first among other similar institutions working for the needs of women.[275]

Sewing was considered as a women's responsibility. As Çakır states, sewing houses (*dikiş evleri*) were the primary attempts of the associations to employ women[276] and continued to be so during the early republican period. Sewing workshops and schools were opened for employing and training women in tailoring. They were also opened with the aim of contributing to the progress of the national economy. In this sense, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was a private vocational school where women could specialize in tailoring and it also had a family branch that provided a basic education about cutting for housewives[277] to meet the needs of the family during the early republican period.

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273 "Biçki Yurdunun 1928 Sergisi Açıldı," 3.

274 Suat, "Türk Kadınlarının İçtimai Faaliyeti Kadın Birliği," 496.

275 Sabiha Zekeriya, "Türk Kadını Niçin Yeise Düşüyor!," 3.

276 Non-Muslim women associations also made similar activities to employ women. See Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 49-50.

277 See article 2 in the statute: Behire Hakkı, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu Nizamname ve Ders Programı*, 6. See, also, "Biçki Yurdu Mezunları," 4. See article 7 in the statutes of 1925 and 1926: BCA 180.9.75.372.11, 48.

§ 7.4 Conclusion

This chapter specifically focuses on three women-run institutions, which were established in 1913 and continued to be active during the interwar period in Turkey. All of these organizations aimed to eliminate the influence of Western fashion. For this aim, women actively promoted domestic consumption specifically addressing well-to-do women. Furthermore, these organizations addressed only Muslim Turkish women, in the aim of training them as tailors and embroiderers. In this sense, they carried out the two prominent aims of the women's movement against Western fashion from 1913 onwards: to promote domestic goods and educate Muslim Turkish women as tailors.

It seems that the art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi* and *Esirgeme Derneği* shared similar aims. Both of the organizations employed women who were in need to provide them with a living. These organizations also aimed to revive old Turkish motives and handicrafts as a part of the project of creating a national fashion.

The *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, on the other hand was a private tailoring school that mostly targeted the children of the middle class. This school did not specifically declare an aim to revive old Turkish embroidery. It mainly aimed to provide tailoring education for Muslim Turkish women. In this sense, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*'s aim overlapped with that of the republic, specifically in the 1930s.

The question of fashion continued to occupy a central place in the agenda of women's organizations during the interwar years in Turkey. Women publicized the issue of domestically produced goods as both consumers and producers. They also worked to revive old national embroidery designs, which were considered to be art in this period. Tailoring provided opportunities for women in work life and even in the arts. It also functioned as a means for women to enter into the public sphere.

Exhibitions became one of the significant public venues where women could present the handicrafts and fashionable goods they produced. In addition to women's organizations, an increasing number

of tailoring schools and enterprises run by women also prepared exhibitions. The following chapter focuses on these exhibitions and shows that these exhibitions played a significant role in the construction of women's public identity and image in the interwar period.

8

Women's Handicraft and Exhibitions in the Interwar Period

Textile handicrafts such as sewing, knitting, embroidery and lace-making has always been associated with women throughout history. However rarely did it provide employment opportunities for women in public as much it did during the interwar period. This was the case in Turkey as well, where during the interwar years, the sewing craze pervaded nationwide. Women engaged in tailoring, embroidering or knitting to earn a living. Furthermore, establishing and operating tailoring schools became a common enterprise for women all across the country. It was a period when women gained public recognition as artisans, and their textile handicrafts were viewed as objects of art to be displayed in exhibitions in Turkey.

In the aim of scrutinizing women's activities in the public sphere in the interwar period, this chapter focuses on the increasing number of women's handicraft products and exhibitions. The first part of this chapter explores the exhibitions of women's organizations such as the art house of the *Hanımlar Merkezi*, the *Esirgeme Derneği* and the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*. The aim of this chapter is also to demonstrate the

change in the cultural policies of the Kemalist regime and in what ways, women's organizations gained importance since the mid-1930s in Turkey. The second part of this chapter examines the tailoring schools opened by women entrepreneurs.

§ 8.1 Exhibitions of the Art House of *Hanımlar Merkezi* in the Interwar Period

The art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi* began to organize exhibitions to present the handicraft and embroidery products of its women employees from 1917. It hosted an exhibition in the same year as a part of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* exhibition in Galata Palace in which red cross societies from the allied nations were participated. According to the press, the art house exhibition drew much interest and was admired for its products, which were adorned with delicate embroideries[1] that represented "national" motifs. The *Vatan* published an article about the exhibition and described the items on display, such as blouses, curtains, hand-sacs and handkerchiefs as the new forms of national art.[2] The newspaper reported that the exhibition presented old crafts, which had begun to vanish, but were now being revived "with a new soul and good taste." These new products were considered to belong to Eastern culture, which comprised the core of the "national identity." The art house products exhibited various elements from the past, which refashioned their contemporary elegance. The newspaper expressed appreciation for the "national embroideries" which were renewed and improved on, in line with the taste and necessities of the period.[3] Emphasizing the role of women in the creation of "the new crafts", the newspaper stated that the main difference between the old and new was "the national good taste of the renascent women."[4] The newspaper considered the use of old crafts in

1 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 28.

2 *Vatan* published an article about this exhibition on 14 February 1917. Ibid., 29.

3 Ibid., 32.

4 Ibid., 29-30.

the artefacts as "a national movement" in which Turkish women became the pioneers.[5]

Not surprisingly, the print media appreciated the attempt made by the art house to protect Eastern motifs through embroidery and stitching. It is not possible to know if foreigners were interested in the handicraft textiles of the women; however, there were reports that claimed that the products of the art house were the preference of the elites in Europe and that they filled the most elegant galleries in Vienna and Berlin.[6] It was also reported that, in the 1917 *Hilal-i Ahmer* exhibition at *Galatasaray Sultanisi* (Galatasaray High School), the art house, among other associations, was appreciated by both the foreign and domestic public for its local products and fabrics, which embodied Eastern oriented motifs and good taste.[7] However, it is obvious that this kind of audience appreciated both the art house and its women employees for their involvement in embroidery and stitching with the aim of preserving authentic Turkish motifs in clothes.

Through exhibitions that had been organized during Ramadan, the art house presented its "national embroidery"[8] for display and sale. The fourth art house exhibition was on 3 May 1923, which displayed the embroidery and handicraft goods that had been produced by orphan women workers.[9] The exhibition took place in the art house around Sultan Mahmut Türbesi in Istanbul.[10] The art house exhibition was also visited by the state officials. The governor, some of the government officers and the ministers, Besim Ömer Pasha, one of the founders of *Hilal-i Ahmer* and some of the representatives of foreign red cross organizations were among the attendees at the exhibition. Besim Ömer Pasha made a speech, in which he expressed appreciation of the art house for helping the families of orphans, widows and martyrs by teaching

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., 30.

7 *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Hilal-i Ahmer İcraat Raporları 1914-1928*, 39-41; 50.

8 See, also, the report of *Hilal-i Ahmer* for the years between 1919 and 1922: Ibid., 201-202.

9 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 36.

10 TKA. 1282/1, 30 April 1923.



Hilâliahmerin el işleri sergisi

Hilâliahmer Cemiyeti İstanbul şubesi Cağaloğlunda çok güzel bir sergi açtı

Hilâliahmer sergisinde çalışan bir hanımla en kıymetli el işlerinden biri

Hilâliahmer Cemiyeti İstanbul şubesinin Cağaloğlundaki merkezinde dünden itibaren çok güzel bir sergi açılmıştır. Sergide; Hilâliahmer San'at Evinde çalışan fakir harp öksüz ve yetimleri tarafından yapılan çok güzel el işleri teşhir edilmektedir. Bu eşya meyanında bilhassa ağır işlemeli masa örtüleri, çay takımları, gecelik, kadın ve çocuk elbiseleri ve daha birçok şeyler nazara çarpmaktadır. Hilâliahmer bu fakir ve öksüz kızları çalıştırmakla bir taraftan bunların geçinmelerini temin, bir taraftan da san'atkâr yetişmesine yardım etmektedir. İşlemeli masa örtüleri-

Lûtfen sahifeyi çeviriniz

Figure 8.1 Newspaper article about the art house exhibition in 1933. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (December 20, 1933).

them a craft while at the same time modernizing Turkish embroidery. On display at the exhibition were a number of artefacts, such as blouses, children's articles, tea set covers, pillows, long coat-type garments (*maşlah*), underwear, chemises, night robes, veils, scarfs, and sofa covers, all of which had Turkish motifs embroidered on them.[11] Specifically, appreciating the initiators and employees of the art house, the print-media reported that the costume, which had heavy embroidery and had been manufactured by Ulviye Hanım at the request of an Egyptian princess, won general approval.[12]

The art house continued to host exhibitions in the center of *Hilal-i Ahmer* in Istanbul throughout the 1930s as well. For example, in 1933, according to a report in the *Cumhuriyet*, "very beautiful handicrafts," comprising embroidered table cloths, tea sets, nightgowns, and clothes

11 There were also products that had been by children from *Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti* (The Turkish Children Protection Society). *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 38.

12 Ibid.

for women and children were on display. One of the table cloths was presented to Mustafa Kemal, who stated his appreciation of the work.[13]

The aim of the art house remained the same in the 1930s. The newspaper presented the art house as working to "employ poor and orphan girls" and educate them as "artists" in handicraft textiles. Likewise, the philanthropic character of the art house was emphasized and the press encouraged "benevolent women" to visit the exhibition as a contribution to the consumption of "domestic products" and *Hilal-i Ahmer* in 1933.[14] "Precious artefacts and handicrafts" of the women were displayed in the exhibition in 1937. According to the information given by an Istanbul representative of *Kızılay*, Doktor Neşet Osman, 70 women worked nonstop in the preparation and presentation of the art exhibition in *Kızılay*. Apart from that, many orphan girls and women prepared embroideries for the exhibition and some of the artefacts in the exhibition had been valued at hundreds of liras. These artefacts were presented at various exhibitions, both within and inside and outside of Turkey. For example, thousands of liras worth of artefacts was sold in international exhibitions in London and Salonica. The sales continued in the center of *Kızılay*, at the building in front of *Yeni Postahane* (Post Office) in Sirkeci.[15] The newspaper acknowledged *Kızılay* for this beautiful presentation, and for providing "employment for many unemployed family women."[16] *Akşam* defined the handicrafts on display as "masterpieces" and found "delicate good taste" in the harmony of the colors. The art house presented *maşlah*, blouses, tea sets, table covers, and children's clothes, all of which had been were weaved in handlooms with Bursa silk and had the edges that were embroidered.[17]

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13 One of the table cloths had been made over a period of one and half years and had a value of 200 golden liras. "Hilâliahmerin el işleri sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 December 1933, 1-2.

14 Ibid., 1-2.

15 "Kızılay san'at sergisi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 November 1937, 2. "Kızılay sanat yurdu güzel bir sergi açtı," *Akşam*, 19 November 1937, 6.

16 "Kızılay san'at sergisi açıldı," 2.

17 "Kızılay sanat yurdu güzel bir sergi açtı," 6.

The art house aimed at reviving vanishing old Turkish embroidery in a modernized way and continued to work in line with this purpose throughout the interwar period. Furthermore, the press encouraged women to be involved in handicraft textile production, as women's handicraft products were considered to be art with the women as the artists.

§ 8.2 Exhibitions of the *Esirgeme Derneği* in the Interwar Period

With a similar political agenda, the *Esirgeme Derneği* hosted a considerable number of exhibitions during the early republican period in Turkey. One longtime exhibition of *Esirgeme Derneği* was in the National Industry Exhibition (*Milli Sanayi Meşheri*), opened in 1925. The location of exhibit at one part of Sandal Bedesteni in Eminönü and according to the news reports, the exhibition would continue throughout the following five years. This exhibition was opened by the Istanbul municipality with the aim of presenting Turkish national manufactures. The municipality put a variety of domestic handmade products on display, such as Kütahya ceramics, amber stone works, cigarette holders, rosaries, plates, perfumes, Bursa works, candies and carpets, with which the products of the *Esirgeme Derneği* were included, among the others representing Turkish national art. The products of the *Esirgeme Derneği* were noted with appreciation by the newspaper.[18] At the opening of the exhibition, the mayor stated that the aim was to expose Turkish national industry to foreign visitors of Turkey. According to the mayor, this exhibition would ensure the survival and prestige of fine arts, which continued to exist, despite the tendency towards the production of imitations at that time. This opening of this exhibition was also perceived to be a revival of the handicrafts in the country after the almost disappearance of such fine works as a result of the indifference of the

18 The newspaper stated that the works of one of the "national artisans", who was in the jury of Paris and London exhibitions, were presented in one of the showcases. "Milli Mamulat ve Sanayi Meşheri Yarın Açılıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 August 1925.

Ottoman Empire towards the foreign capital penetration and taking control of all Turkish crafts in the past.[19] The main target group of the exhibition was foreigner travelers, for whom a French and English speaking cashier would make the sale along accompanied by the president of the exhibition.[20] According to the newspapers, people showed great interest in the exhibition. The *Cumhuriyet* reported that hundreds of foreign and local people visited the exhibition hourly and purchased goods.[21] Another newspaper stated the increasing demand for the handicrafts and the mayor's consideration in expanding the exhibition.[22]

Starting in the mid-1920s, the *Esirgeme Derneği* began to host its exhibitions at *Türk Ocağı*. The exhibitions of the association continued to receive the support of top officials, including the governor, mayor and the chief of police.[23] In 1928, the *Vakit* described the association as "working silently since 1913 (1328) in a corner of Aksaray" for the well-being of orphaned women and reviving the demand for domestic goods in the country.[24] As a part of the mobilization of consuming domestic goods after 1929, the association participated to one of the Domestic Products Exhibition (*Yerli Malları Sergisi*) that took place in Galatasaray in 1929. Handicraft products of the association on display at the exhibition were also on sale in the central building of the *Esirgeme Derneği* in Yusufpaşa.[25] No further information exists as to whether the association participated in the ongoing Domestic Products Exhibitions during the 1930s.

One of the association's annual handicraft exhibitions took place in its central building, Saffetpaşa Apartment, in Ankara in 1935. The *Cumhuriyet* reported that the exhibition that year would present

19 "Milli Sanayi Meşheri Dün Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 August 1925.

20 "Meşher-i Nefais," *Akşam*, 5 August 1925.

21 "Sanayi Meşheri," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 August 1925.

22 "Milli Sanayi Sergisinin Tevsi," *Akşam*, 21 August 1925.

23 "Esirgeme Derneği" *Vakit*, 19 March 1927. "Esirgeme Derneği Sergisi," *Akşam*, 10 March 1928, 1. "Fakir Türk Kızlarının El İşleri Sergisi Ocakta Açıldı".

24 "Yetimlerin Emeği" 2.

25 "Esirgeme Derneği Mamulatı," *Milliyet*, 29 August 1929, 3.

"Turkish woman's quite artistic handicrafts", which had previously been presented in European exhibitions and were "said to be superior than the European nations' handwork products." The press considered women's work as art and encouraged women to do handicraft work. The *Cumhuriyet* emphasized that this exhibition would bring benefit to realms of benevolence and national arts (*milli sanat*).[26] The *Akşam* stated that "this exhibition consisted of the most delicate handicrafts of Turkish women, which were appreciated even at the exhibition in Europe." It also stated that opening this kind of an exhibition at the same time that people bought gifts for the new year and religious festivals was a contribution to "the economy of the country and the promotion of national arts."[27] For this exhibition, the presidency of the association issued an announcement asking "the benevolent citizens to see this beautiful exhibition", and to buy their Ramadan and new year gifts from the *Esirgeme Derneği*. In the announcement, the presidency noted that by buying at the exhibition, people would be helping to support the widowed and orphaned women of the country and easily attain and elegant handicraft gifts as well.[28] Apparently, regarding itself as a philanthropic organization was a significant strategy that the *Esirgeme Derneği* employed in, trying to influence the elite of the time into benevolent contributions toward the association. For almost every exhibition, the newspapers emphasized the philanthropic character of the association. For this exhibition, for example, the *Cumhuriyet* stated that buying festival and new year gifts from this exhibition meant "making 50 poor and orphaned women happy." It also noted that the exhibition was visited by many people and quite a number of products had been sold.[29]

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26 "Esirgeme Derneği Eşya Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 December 1935, 2. See, also, "Kadınları esirgeme derneğinin sergisi," *Akşam*, 3 December 1935, 5. "Türk kadınları esirgeme derneğinin el işleri sergisi," *Akşam*, 12 December 1935, 3.

27 "Türk kadınları esirgeme derneğinin el işleri sergisi," 3.

28 "Esirgeme Derneğinin Sergisi," 6.

29 "Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneğinin Sergisi," 2.

One of the significant public events hosted by the *Esirgeme Derneği* was its annual exhibitions in the interwar period, wherein the association presented women's handicraft textile products that were adorned with authentic Turkish national embroideries. Similar to the approach shown to the women's products at the art house, the print-media expressed great appreciation towards the women for these products, which they considered to be objects of art, with the women as the artists. The print-media also addressed the middle-class of the period, encouraging them to buy the association's products as a philanthropic activity.

§ 8.3 Joint Exhibitions of Women's Organizations in the Interwar Period

The art house and the *Esirgeme Derneği* had similar goals in reviving national embroidery. Obviously, both of the women's organizations were aware of each other's endeavors toward that aim and held joint exhibitions until the mid-1920s. The art house opened an exhibition in Cağaloğlu in 1925, which displayed approximately 1000 handicrafts, some of which were produced by the orphans of the *Esirgeme Derneği*. The print-press stated that handkerchiefs adorned with Antep embroidery, cotton, blouses embroidered with Trabzon and silk cotton, electric lampshade, tea set covers, jersey children's garments, mercerized wool and silk underwear sets, and especially, scarves, embroidered with silk aroused significant interest. The Turkish handicrafts, that would be presented in the upcoming international exhibition in Paris were also on display in this exhibition, but had not been put on sale.[30]

In this exhibition, the room of the *Esirgeme Derneği* included pieces of embroidery on cloth and silk[31], as well as underwear, chemises, Antep work handkerchiefs and pillow cases.[32] Emphasizing the labor-intensive

30 "Yeni Açılan Sergi" *Cumhuriyet*, 12 April 1925. To the Paris Exhibition in 1925, approximately 30 and 40 pieces of artefacts would be sent selecting from the handicrafts of the women. "Paris Sergisi'ne Gönderilecek El İşleri," *Vakit*, 23 April 1925.

31 "Esirgeme Derneği," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 April 1925.

32 "Hanımlar Darüssınaası Sergisi".

work in the production of the artefacts, the *Cumhuriyet* informed its readers that although it took a great deal of time and required a hard work to produce these artefacts, if the demand arose, the *Esirgeme Derneği* would produce them for sale. For example, one of the precious covers, which had been produced by 8 women and had taken over 1 year to complete, was sold for 1.500 liras to the woman who had previously ordered it.[33] For the association, the primary purpose of hosting an exhibition was to sell the handicrafts. The newspapers of the period, in



Figure 8.2 A newspaper article about the joint exhibition of the art house and *Esirgeme Derneği* in 1925. Some of the pieces on display at this exhibition were sent to the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes. SOURCE: *Vakit* (April 23, 1925).

[33] "Esirgeme Derneği," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 April 1925. See, also, "Hanımlar Darüssınaası Sergisi," *Akşam*, 15 April 1925.

supporting women's aim of creating a national norm in clothing, occasionally published news about the exhibitions and specifically addressed the well-to-do, to encourage them to buy the products of the women.

In their search for authenticity, the embroidery designs presented at the exhibition were taken from the museums. The majority of the embroidery designs were derived from Eastern designs. It seems that the association accepted Eastern motifs as central in the identity of Turkishness. According to the *Akşam*, women employees in the art house examined the delicacy and beauty of the designs, which dated back 200 or 300 years before.[34] Some of the designs were decorated by copying the design on Sèvres bowls and the other pieces were made using only Eastern embroideries.[35] It is striking to see that the *Esirgeme Derneği* used motifs of Sèvres porcelain, which emerged in the mid-18th century in France, as one of the leading European product favored by royalty. Tülay Artan states that Ottoman royal women preferred Sèvres porcelain in the 18th century.[36] Most likely, the fashion of Sèvres porcelain had not been outmoded at the beginning of the 1920s and the association desired to raise the interest of the elite towards its products by using the motifs on the Sèvres bowls. On the other hand, surprisingly, Sèvres porcelain became the subject of some of the caricatures of the 1920s, as the Treaty of Sèvres was signed in an exhibition room of the Manufacture nationale de Sèvres porcelain factory in 1920. Yasemin Gencer shows that a Sèvres vase was used "as a symbol of the Treaty of Sèvres" in the caricatures in the 1920s.[37] It is interesting to see that an association like the *Esirgeme*

34 "Hanımlar Darüssınaası Sergisi".

35 "Paris Sergisi'ne Gönderilecek El İşleri".

36 For further information, see Tülay Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," in Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century (2011), Ars Orientalis 39, 113-147.

37 Yasemin Gencer, "Pushing Out Islam: Cartoons of the Reform Period in Turkey (1923-1928)," in *Visual Culture in the Modern Middle East Rhetoric of the Image*, eds. Christiane

Derneği, attempting to revive the national embroidery from 1913, preferred to use the designs of Sèvres porcelain which represented the occupation period, foreign forces, and everything related to the Treaty of Sèvres at that time in the press. It is not possible to know if the administrative committee of the association was aware of the symbolic meaning of the porcelain. However, it was obvious that by the choice of using the design on Sèvres porcelain, the *Esirgeme Derneği* addressed the elite of the time, seeking the fashionable taste of the French, regardless of the symbolic meaning of the porcelain.

Both of these women's organizations shared similar goals in preserving national norms in clothing. Toward this aim, they discovered old motifs from the museums and modernized them to use on women's clothes and then presented and sold them at their exhibitions in the interwar period.

8.3.1.1 Joint Exhibitions of Women's Organizations on Voyage Ships (*Seyyah Vapuru*)

A significant location for the exhibitions place of the women's organizations was voyage ships which periodically brought foreign visitors to Istanbul.[38] Exhibitions on the voyage ships were one of the income sources in this period. With the Great Depression in 1929, the number of foreign visitors and money that they brought, spent, decreased dramatically, and in line with that, so did the income of the women's organizations.[39]

Sales were not always sufficient during the 1920s on the voyage ships. For example, for the art house exhibition in 1925 on a voyage ship, the proceeds received was not as good as expected. The *Vakit* reported that

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Gruber and Sune Haugbolle (Bloomington&Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 193-196; 209-210.

38 A significant amount of foreign visitors came to Istanbul in various traveler ships periodically every year. See "Seyyahlar Geliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 February 1926, 3.

39 It seems that the sale was better in the 1920s however, decreased in line with the decreasing number of foreign visitors in the 1930s. "Seyyahlar da muktesit oldu," *Akşam*, 8 March 1930, 1. "Seyyahlar," *Akşam*, 20 March 1930, 5. See, also, "Seyyah Vapurları," *Akşam*, 19 December 1931, 3.



Figure 8.3 An exhibition of the art house in 1926. SOURCE: *Akşam* (March 30, 1926).

due to the low demand at the exhibition, sales were not good for this year, as especially travelers did not prefer to buy artefacts from the exhibition. The total sale was only 100 Turkish liras.[40] However, the total sales the following year was 1500 liras at their exhibition hosted on a voyage ship.[41] Explaining the reason behind the increase in the sales of the products of that year, the *Akşam* stated that the products appealed to the tastes of foreigners when compared to the products of the previous year.[42] The *Cumhuriyet* stated that especially the designs this year were renewal styles of old Turkish monuments taken from the museum.[43] Showing appreciation of the women's artefacts, the *Akşam* stated that some of the works were beautiful enough to revive Turkish art.[44]

In 1926, the press encouraged people to visit the exhibition, regarding it as a philanthropy. Visiting the exhibition and purchasing women's

40 "Paris Sergisi'ne Gönderilecek El İşleri".

41 *Akşam* reported that the art house made 200 liras sale in February 1926. "Hilal-i Ahmer El İşleri Sergisi". "Seyyah Vapurlarında," *Akşam*, 20 February 1926, 1.

42 "Seyyah Vapurlarında," *Akşam*, 1. See, also, "Hilal-i Ahmer'in Sergileri," *Milliyet*, 20 February 1926, 3.

43 "Hilal-i Ahmer El İşleri Sergisi".

44 "Seksen Yetimin Vücuda Getirdiği Sergi," *Akşam*, 30 Mart 1926.

artefacts were considered to be a philanthropic activity according to the *Cumhuriyet*, which encouraged people to attend the exhibition to assist in supporting the children of martyr. The newspaper stated that the aim of the exhibition commission was to employ orphan girls rather than making profit.[45] Likewise, for the exhibitions of the *Esirgeme Derneği*, the press emphasized that the revenue of the exhibition was for the benefit of its women employees as well.[46] For example, in 1927, the *Esirgeme Derneği* presented various handicrafts, such as "national embroideries, white laces, cloths stitched in embroidery frames, garments, blouses, children's clothes, living room adornments, tea sets, table cloths and handkerchiefs",[47] all of which cost 2000 liras. The *Vakit* informed its readers that all of the proceeds yielded at the exhibition would be spent on the orphan girls working under the roof of the association.[48]

Voyage ships periodically came to Istanbul and brought Western travelers, who desired of discovering the city and the local culture. Hence, the *Esirgeme Derneği* and the art house opened exhibitions on the voyage ships and placed the women's handicraft products on display there for sale. Through these exhibitions, the women's organizations earned income and could reach to a wider spectrum of people.

As the Kemalist regime did not aim to preserve national norms in clothing, the art house and the *Esirgeme Derneği* did not receive governmental support for the greater part of the single party period. It was only from the mid-1930s onwards that these women's organizations gained importance as a result of the change in the government's policy.

45 "Hilal-i Ahmer El İşleri Sergisi".

46 "Esirgeme Derneği," *Vakit*, 19 March 1927.

47 "Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneğinin Sergisi," *Vakit*, 21 March 1927, 4.

48 "Esirgeme Derneği," *Vakit*, 19 March 1927. "Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneğinin Sergisi," 4.

§ 8.4 'Hand and Home Craft Exhibition' (*El ve Ev Sanayi Sergisi*) in 1936

In 1936, the government decided to encourage handicraft production in general and revive the obsolescent handicrafts of Turkish women by hosting an exhibition at the National Exhibition House (*Milli Sergi Evi*) in Ankara. The idea was to present all kinds of carvings, and handmade silver and copper engravings, carpets, and textile products, such as women's and children's clothes, table cloths, accessories, and rosaries at the exhibition.[49] Towards this aim, the ministry encouraged small handicraft producers all across the country with an announcement that it would meet the transportation, insurance and protection and stand expenditures of the participants. The government also informed the public that at the end of the exhibition, money and medal awards would be given to the elected successful producers.[50] The ministry gave importance to the exhibition; one of the reasons for which was to understand the trade value of handicrafts and put in place precautions for the development of this production.[51]

The exhibition opened on 28 October 1936, with 4.000 pieces on display including a museum and a store for shopping.[52] Yugoslavian prime minister, M. Stoyadinoviç, and his wife, in addition to İsmet İnönü, Celal Bayar, diplomats, deputies and journalists all attended the opening of the exhibition.[53] Atatürk visited all areas of the exhibition, remarking the significance of the exhibition for the new republic.[54]

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49 For a list of goods that were presented at the exhibition, see "Küçük Sanatlar Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 August 1936, 4.

50 "Elişleri Sergisi'nde Mükafatlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 October 1936, 5. For an article on the Hand and Home Craft Exhibition in 1936, see Serkan Tuna, "Birinci El İşleri Sergisi ve Küçük Sanatlar Kongresi," *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, no. 5, (2004): 177- 227.

51 "Küçük Sanatlar Sergisi," 1;4.

52 "Küçük Sanatlar Sergisi Dün Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 October 1936, 1. "Küçük Sanatlar Sergisi'ni Yugoslavya Başvekili Açacak," Cumhuriyet, 26 October 1936, 3.

53 "Atatürk Sergi Evini Teşrif Ettiler," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 November 1936, 3.

54 Ibid.

With this exhibition, the Kemalist regime aimed to present "authentic" pieces that were considered to represent the Turkish national identity. Towards this aim, the *Cumhuriyet* offered to include a section entitled "our grandmothers' and grandfathers' embroidery" at the exhibition. This suggestion aroused the interest of the Ministry of Economy, which then ordered the commission to conduct a search on the subject.[55] The ministry decided to present contemporary embroideries along with the embroideries produced by the "grandmothers and grandfathers" to demonstrate the difference between the old and new.[56]

The general secretary of the exhibition went to the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (*Türk İslam Eserleri Müzesi*) and Topkapı Museum (*Topkapı Müzesi*) in order to select some of the precious works.[57] The samples from the Topkapı Palace Museum would be displayed at the "Works of Our Grandfathers and Grandmothers" (*Dedelerimizin ve Ninelerimizin Eserleri*) section as well.[58] The general director of the Museums stated that the pieces from the museums, such as silk fabrics, laceworks, and needlepoints, along with many others that displayed the aesthetic taste of Turkish art, were carefully selected so as to be national pieces.[59]

Women's handicrafts were also selected for the exhibition as representations of the national identity. Girls' art schools and women's associations also participated at this exhibition. The Ministry of Economy requested that the art schools' products, such as hats and clothes, also be presented in the exhibition.[60] The Ministry of Education also sent general

55 "Elişleri Sergisine Hazırlık," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 August 1936, 2.

56 A separate corner for the grandmothers' and grandfathers' works was prepared in the exhibition. "El İşleri Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 August 1936, 5.

57 "Elişleri Sergisine Hazırlık," 2.

58 The value of these works was estimated to be 400.000 lira and due to the high value, all of these works were insured. The total value of the other works that were sent from all across the country was estimated as a half million lira. See, also, "Ankara Sergisi'ne Götürülecek Eşya," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 October 1936, 2. "El ve Ev İşleri Sergisi İçin," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 October 1936, 5.

59 "Ankara Sergisi'ne Götürülecek Eşya," 2.

60 "Elişleri Sergisine Gönderilecek Eşyalar," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 September 1936, 2.

instructions to every province for the participation of all art schools, from which the best pieces of work would be selected and sent to the exhibition.[61] The *İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü* and three girls' art schools, which were *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Okulu*, *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü*, and *Selçuk Kız Enstitüsü* were selected from Istanbul for the exhibition.[62] *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, *Esirgeme Derneği* and the art house were the women's organizations that participated in the exhibition.[63]

Women's organizations, specifically the art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi* and the *Esirgeme Derneği* were active in the preparation of the exhibition. For example, a permanent commission was established for the exhibition, which occasionally gathered with the handicraft producers. One of the meetings was conducted in the participation with the art house.[64] The art house prepared to present "a delicate piece of art blouses, peignoirs, table cloths, women and children's garments", all of which were products that would present the delicacy and talent that Turkish women had in handicrafts. The two members of the exhibition commission visited the art house to analyze the products and provide the necessary encouragement. [65]

For the exhibition, the significance of the *Esirgeme Derneği* was emphasized in the press. An article in the *Cumhuriyet* deplored that Turkish women's delicate handcrafts that had been created over the centuries, at that time then only decorated the museums in Europe and the USA or the special collections of antiquarians. However, the author indicated that handicrafts occupied a considerable place in Turkish art

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61 Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul would also participate in the exhibition. "Elişleri Sergisi için Hazırlıklar," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 September 1936, 2.

62 "El ve Ev İşleri Sergisi İçin Hazırlıklar," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 September 1936, 6. See, also, *Birinci El işleri ve küçük sanatlar sergisi klavuz, 29.10.1936-3-13.11.1936*. Quoted in Tuna, "Birinci El İşleri Sergisi ve Küçük Sanatlar Kongresi," 194.

63 Birinci El işleri ve küçük sanatlar sergisi klavuzu. Quoted in Tuna, "Birinci El İşleri Sergisi ve Küçük Sanatlar Kongresi," 194.

64 The name of the association was *Kızılay Türk Kadınları Çalıştırma Derneği*. "El ve Ev İşleri Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 August 1936, 5. See, also, Tuna, "Birinci El İşleri Sergisi ve Küçük Sanatlar Kongresi," 186.

65 "El İşleri Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 August 1936, 5.

history and one might say that Turkish women were the most eligible women in the world in the usage of the needle. At this point, the newspaper reminded their audience of *Esirgeme Derneği*'s silent attempts at the revival of Turkish women's handicrafts for many years. The *Cumhuriyet* introduced *Esirgeme Derneği*[66] as an association working to create jobs for Turkish women and revive obsolescent Turkish handicraft art under the presidency of Rana Sani Yaver, along with 5 or 6 educated women in 1936. The *Cumhuriyet* noted that this association had operated for 25 years without requiring any financial support. According to the news reports, the association aroused attention of the Ministry of Trade, which decided to open the Hand and Home Craft Exhibition (*El ve Ev Sanayi Sergisi*) in the same year. The ministry contacted the executive board in order to gather handicraft samples of the association.[67] At the end of the exhibition, the *Esirgeme Derneği* was the only women's association to receive 100 liras monetary award from the Ministry of Trade for a hand-embroidered blouse (*el işlemeleri işlemeli bluz*).[68] From the beginning, the *Esirgeme Derneği* aimed to adorn all of its products with the "Turkish national design," which were created as the renewed forms of the pieces from museums. In other words, it pursued the aim of preserving national norms in culture. On the contrary, Kemalist nationalism did not attempt to preserve traditional or indigenous norms in the national identity in the single party period. When the republican policy gradually shifted towards looking for a national core in the country's new identity from the mid-1930s, *Esirgeme Derneği*'s works gained importance at least for the exhibition in 1936.

One committee gave awards after an election process at the end of the exhibition. One of the awards had been given to Bayan Madelet, who was an honors graduate of *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi*, which was

66 The newspaper stated the year of the association's establishment as 1912. "El ve Ev İşleri Sergisine Türk Kadınları".

67 Ibid.

68 *Kurun*, "El İşleri ve Küçük Sanatlar Sergisinde," 21 November 1936, 2. Quoted in Tuna, "Birinci El İşleri Sergisi ve Küçük Sanatlar Kongresi," 227.

encouraging to the women in the handicraft production. Bayan Madelet became successful in hat making and received first prize in the woman's hat series along with 100 liras and a medal. The *Cumhuriyet* acknowledged appreciation of Bayan Madelet for proving the high qualifications of Turkish women in hat making, as in many other fields, by receiving first place at an exhibition in which many old hat makers from Beyoğlu also took part. Bayan Madelet previously received awards in the exhibitions of the school and opened a workshop in Güneypalas in Beyoğlu after developing her expertise while on a trip to Europe for research.[69] Obviously, Bayan Madelet was one of examples for women's involvement in tailoring job in Beyoğlu. Giving a medal to Bayan


El ve ev işleri sergisine Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği de iştirak edecek

Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği idare heyeti

Figure 8.4 Photograph of the administrative committee of *Esirgeme Derneği* in 1936. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (September 18, 1936).

Madelet reflected the government's aspiration to encourage Turkish women as tailors instead of non-Muslim tailors in the interwar period.

Handicraft production in general was perceived to be a national art and was associated with being economically self-sufficient for the nation. The Minister of Economy, Celal Bayar, explained well the policy of the regime towards handicraft production. He made a speech at the conference on handicraft production, which was organized after the exhibition in November in Ankara, and included the participation of the delegates, deputies and handicraft producers. At this conference, Bayar

69 "Elişleri Sergisinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 November 1936.

stated that the exhibition in 1936 confirmed the delicate taste and talent that Turkish people had, as well as the significance of this issue for the national economy.[70] In his speech, Bayar blamed the Ottoman Empire for the retreat in handicraft production, underscoring that the duty of the Republican generation was to repair and reform handicraft from the adverse effects of the capitulations and the ignorance of the Ottoman period. Bayar declared that the aim was to make handicraft production a valuable source for the national source and national welfare in both the domestic and international markets.[71] The ministry also promised to host new exhibitions in order to present handicraft productions and give awards the best designs at the exhibitions.[72] Only one further exhibition took place in 1937, which this was a small exhibition in comparison to the previous one and had been organized by the small handicraft producers, not by the government. Moreover, no information exists as to whether the women's organizations participated in this exhibition. Probably, the upcoming world war was a big obstacle in the Kemalist regime's focus on handicraft production.

8.4.1 Debates on the Exhibition in *Cumhuriyet*

The Ministry of Economy prepared a report concerning handicraft production in 1936, in which they stated the significant economic role of handicrafts, and explained the relationship between big and small industry.[73] The *Cumhuriyet* further announced that the ministry was planning to prepare a law concerning the protection of handicraft production in the country.[74] The new republic put the recovery of handicraft production on its agenda in 1936.

Specifically, the *Cumhuriyet* encouraged Ankara's aim to revive handicraft production. In appreciation of the initiation of the Ministry of Economy and the Minister, Celal Bayar, on a number of occasions, in his

70 "Küçük Sanatlar Kongresi Dün Ankarada Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 November 1936, 7.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 "Elişleri Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 October 1936, 2.

articles, Yunus Nadi wrote about this subject and supported the protection of the handicrafts as an authentic Turkish core. For example, Nadi stated the difference between mass production and handicrafts, which he referred as fine arts and "modern beauty" (*medeni güzellik*).[75] He saw handicraft products as a kind of fine arts which reflected a person's talent, like sculpturing, painting or writing a poem. Furthermore, Nadi asserted that handicrafts constituted a sample for the civilization of a nation.[76] In this respect, in one of his articles, Nadi considered the exhibition in 1936 as an exhibition of Turkish civilized talent (*medeni kabiliyeti*) and an event that provided the possibility to display various evidence of "the highest talent of the Turkish race." In this article, he stated that Turkey used to be one of the richest countries in the world in handicraft production and that this exhibition would be an opportunity to see this richness.[77] Nadi stated the necessity of preserving the national norms while becoming modern and European with an emphasis on the difference between mass production and handicrafts. He also placed emphasis on accepting handicrafts as a sort of national art to represent Turkey, to which Turkish women's handicraft production was also included. For the revival of handicrafts, Nadi considered Turkish women's embroideries, some of which had been produced in girls' institutes and girls' industry schools, as handicraft production that should be paid attention to.[78]

Handicrafts were considered to be a significant national art that had been in decline since the economic recession of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. Nadi expressed his sorrow about the disappearance of Turkish handicrafts in Turkey, placing blame for that on mass production and capitulations. Nadi saw two main reasons for the disappearance of old Turkish handicraft production—comprising European mass

75 Yunus Nadi, "Çok Güzel Bir Teşebbüs: El ve Ev Sanayii Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 August 1936, 1-2.

76 Yunus Nadi, "Elişlerinin ve Küçük Sanatların Büyük Sergisi" *Cumhuriyet*, 23 September 1936, 1.

77 Ibid.

78 Yunus Nadi, "El ve Ev İşleri Sergisine Aid Bir Temenni," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 August 1936, 1; 4.

production and capitulations, along with "the indifferent and ignorant" Ottoman rulers towards the capitulations.[79] Nadi stated that "these artistic talents still existed in the nature of Turks", in the "national will of the republic."[80] Reminding the audience of the discussions in the previous decade of the Ottoman Empire, Nadi blamed the influx of European goods into the country and poor Ottoman rulership for demolishing small handicraft production. The revival of Turkish handicraft was equalized with economic and cultural emancipation from European influence in his approach, which reflected the changing attitude of the new republic in 1936.

One criticism was that the new republic did not pay sufficient attention to handicraft production. As a deputy, Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç considered the exhibition as the first real exhibition of the republican period, deploring that all of the exhibitions had presented a mixture of some of the parts of the national art and "strange objects" before then. He further asserted that the pieces in the previous exhibitions were like "a lot of foreign enemies that could reduce the value and dignity of each other."[81] The "strange objects" and "foreign enemies" that Aykaç referred to was direct criticism about the cultural policy of the new republic, which adopted Western norms through a top-down reform process in the interwar period. His criticism, in a way, epitomized the changing attitude of the republic as a view inside of the ruling party in 1936. Searching for a "national essence" in the identity in the process, Aykaç seemed to reject any kind of synthesis under the influence of Europe. Aykaç also stated that the exhibition in 1936 wiped out the idea that handicraft production would be dissolved under the influence of mass production.[82] He emphasized that encouragement in handicraft production could go hand-in-hand with big industrial developments and this could contribute to the

79 Nadi, "Elişlerinin ve Küçük Sanatların Büyük Sergisi," 1-2.

80 Ibid., 2. See, also, Yunus Nadi, "Ankara'da Kurulacak El ve Ev İşleri Sergisi'ne Hazırlanıyor muyuz?," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 September 1936, 1.

81 Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç, "Sergi Etrafında," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 November 1936, 3.

82 Ibid.

national economy.[83] The attention given to handicrafts was not a change in economic policy, but in the cultural policy of the early republican period.

As a final remark, Peyami Safa asserted the change in the policy of the republic with a reference to Gökalp's separation between civilization and culture. Safa wrote in one of his columns in the *Cumhuriyet* that "European technology did not only progress with mathematics and machinery, but also with the aesthetics and taste of European nations, especially the French."[84] In this sense, he opposed Ziya Gökalp's approach and stated that being European in technology went hand-in-hand with being European in taste and to separate the two-fold characteristics of change was not as easy as Ziya Gökalp had proposed. He noted that "machines created a common aesthetic and taste standard all around the world."[85] According to Safa, not only Turkey, but each modern state adopted the international standards determined by Europe for decoration. For him, while doing this, the one mistake of the new republic was to not protect the products of national culture and art in addition to the common aesthetic and taste standards.[86] Safa noted that Turkey almost forgot its domestic taste. Returning to the significance of the exhibition, Safa emphasized that the exhibition not only prevented the dissolution of national art, but also strengthened the national identity, which had been shattered under the dominance of European culture, proposing to disseminate this exhibition in various places in Turkey.[87] Safa explicitly made an analysis of the cultural policy of the early republican period and defined the new route from then onwards. The criticisms in general indicated a change in the policy towards cultural conservatism and nationalism, which would be at its zenith with the 1940s.

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83 Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç, "El İşleri ve Küçük Sanatlar Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 November 1936, 3.

84 Peyami Safa, "Ankarada Bir Sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 November 1936, 3.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

§ 8.5 International Exhibitions and Women's Handicraft

Exhibitions became significant cultural venues for women in the construction of their identity and representing the nation, while reaching a great spectrum of people in the interwar period. For the new Kemalist regime, holding exhibitions never fell off the agenda. The new regime held exhibitions on a variety of subjects. Among them, the ongoing Domestic Products Exhibitions in the etatist 1930s were the well-known exhibitions in line with the policy of encouraging the consumption of domestic goods, exemplifying how exhibitions were at the center of politics. As a way of representing the country's new image in the eyes of Europe, Turkey also participated in some of these prestigious international exhibitions.

During the interwar period, Turkey participated in a total of 28 international exhibitions.[88] In the 1920s, Turkey participated in the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes (*Beynelmilel Sanayi-i Tezyiniye Sergisi*) in Paris in 1925 and the international exhibition in London in the same year. During the 1930s, Turkey participated in an increasing number of international exhibitions, some of which were among the leading exhibitions, such as the Chicago Exhibition in 1933 and New York Exhibition in 1939. A great majority of these international exhibitions that Turkey participated in were either in Europe or America. Turkey only participated in the exhibitions of two Eastern countries, which were Syria and Egypt, in 1936.[89]

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88 This number did not include the exhibitions that Turkey opened in foreign countries during this period. I found a total of 28 international exhibitions that Turkey participated in during the interwar period through research of the newspapers of the period.

89 "Beynelmilel Şam sergisinde Türk mamulatı," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 March 1936, 6. "Tel Aviv sergisinde Türk paviyonu," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 March 1936, 6. Turkey's interest in international exhibitions increased towards the end of the 1930s. The Ministry of Economy allocated a great number of grants to display its products in Europe in 1938. "Haricî sergi ve panayırlara iştirakimiz," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 April 1938, 5. Turkey's exhibitions in the Middle East were significant venues for the modern image of the country. These exhibitions should be considered as a manifestation of Turkey's efforts

During this period, women's organizations participated in a certain number of the international exhibitions representing Turkish national culture. The art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi* was the first women's organization to participate in an international exhibition, in 1918, in Budapest.[90] In 1921, the art house participated in the 10th International Red Cross Organization in Geneva and demonstrated various documents about its activities.[91]

Exhibitions were considered to be necessary for the development of economic relations during the interwar years. Aiming to present manufactural and artisanal products, Turkey opened temporary and permanent exhibitions in foreign countries.[92] In fact, some countries also opened exhibitions in Turkey with the same aim.[93] Turkey also opened joint exhibitions, such as the Turkish-Poland Exhibition which took place in Istanbul, in 1924, and the Turkish-Romania exhibition in Istanbul, in 1938.[94] Women's organizations also took part in these joint exhibitions. For example, for the Turkish-Romania exhibition, one of the delegates of the Romanian Women's Handicraft Association (*Rumen Kadın Elişleri Cemiyeti*) came to Istanbul to be present at the opening of the exhibition, where handicrafts of the art house would be on display.[95] These kinds of

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to build itself as a model country in the region. See Bein, *Kemalist Turkey and the Middle East*, 139-178.

90 *Türkiye Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Hanımlar Merkezi Darüssınaası*, 35.

91 Ibid. See, also, Doktor Besim Ömer, *1921 Senesinde Cenevre'de İnikad Eden Beynelmilel Salib-i Ahmer Konferansı'na Dair Rapor* (İstanbul: Ahmet İhsan ve Şukerası, 1922), 80-82.

92 "Tokyo'da bir Türk sergisi açılacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 August 1929, 2. "Tel Aviv sergisinde Türk paviyonu," 6.

93 "Japon Sergisi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 2 September 1929, 1. For example, see "Şehrimizde Japon Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 January 1926, 2. "Japon Sergisi Açılıyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 February 1928, 1. "Japon Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 September 1929, 1-2. "Daimi bir Rus sergisi açılacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 October 1933, 3. "Almanlar, Ankarada bir sergi açacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 February 1936, 3. "Letonyanın seyyar sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 May 1939, 2. "Fransız kültür sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 August 1939, 2.

94 "Türk Rumen Elişleri Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 August 1938, 2.

95 "Türk-Rumen Elişleri sergisi," 2. "Türk-Rumen el işleri sergisi," *Akşam*, 7 August 1938, 3. "El işleri sergileri," *Akşam*, 19 August 1938, 3.

public organizations were also significant in bringing together and establishing a connection between the women's handicraft associations from the two different countries.

The Turkish-Poland Exhibition was significant as it was one of the first joint exhibitions of Turkey with a foreign country and the first exhibition that the *Esirgeme Derneği* participated in represent Turkey with its artefacts. In 1924, the new republic organized an exhibition in cooperation with one of the new independent countries, Poland. As a part of the policy of rapprochement with neighboring countries after the war, both Turkey and Poland signed an agreement of friendship in Lausanne, and later trade agreements were drawn up and signed to develop their economic relations.[96] Following these treaties, a trade and industry exhibition, named the Poland Industrial Exhibition, was organized between the two countries. The formal opening of the exhibition was on 12 September 1924 and as the *Cumhuriyet* announced, was the first exhibition of the new republic, which had opened in one of the significant transit centers of the country, Istanbul, in participation with foreign traders and businessmen.[97] The preparations to open the exhibition which would be remain for one month in Tophane Square, took several months.[98] Close to 1000 people came from Poland including deputies, university students, civil officers, craftsmen, factory owners and land owners.[99] The interest towards the exhibition seemed to be high. According to the *Vakit*, the number of viewers reached 10,000 people within the first couple of days.[100]

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96 Ludwik Lydko and Joseph Stanach eds. *Resimli Mecmua, Lehistan (Polonya) Sanayi ve Türkiye* (Ankara: Buluş Matbaacılık, 2016), 64. See all of the agreements between Poland and Turkey in 1923: *TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi*, 12 December 1923, 177-202. See, also, *Resmi Gazete*, 14 February 1924.

97 "Leh Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 September 1924. According to the exhibition book, it could also be regarded as the first industrial exhibition of the new republic. Lydko and Stanach eds. *Resimli Mecmua*, 66.

98 "Leh Sergisi Dün Merasimle Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 September 1924.

99 "Bine Yakın Lehli İstanbul'a geldi," *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 11 September 1924.

100 "Lehistan Sergisi," *Vakit*, 16 September 1924.

For the economy of the early republican period, one of the prevalent complaints was the country's lengthy dependence on the import of basic necessities and the absence of factories. These kinds of exhibitions were perceived to be chances to establish good economic relations with foreign countries without intermediaries and learn from the economic development of other countries.[101] In the Polish exhibition, Polish artistry, industrial products, as well as national clothes were presented. Turkey had opened a pavilion to present its industrial products such as tobacco, carpets, and sugar, and the *Esirgeme Derneği* along with the art house presented their "national products" as well. One criticism with regards to the exhibition was about the poor appearance of the Turkish pavilion, but with a wish that it would be better at future exhibitions.[102] Economic gain was the main reason in opening a joint exhibition with Poland for the new republic. In this economic policy, the art house and the *Esirgeme Derneği* were the two women's organizations producing handicraft artefacts, then representing the national identity and with which Turkey desired to be in international trade.

8.5.1 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes *(Beynelmilel Sanayi-i Tezyiniye Sergisi)* in 1925

In 1925, the government decided to participate in international exhibitions to increase trade relations with foreign countries.[103] In the same year, Turkey participated in an exhibition in London with a limited number of goods.[104] The international exhibitions held in Budapest and Vienna were the other exhibitions that Turkey attended.[105] Among the international exhibitions, the most prestigious that Turkey participated in during this period was the Exposition Internationale des Arts

101 "Leh Sergisi".

102 "Leh Sergisi Dün Merasimle Açıldı".

103 "Hükümetin Bir Kararı," *Akşam*, 10 April 1925.

104 "Lozan'da Bir Sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 7 July 1925.

105 Mübahat Bey, "Budapeşte Beynelmilel Sergisi'nden İntibalar," *Akşam*, 3 May 1925; Mübahat Bey, "Peşte Sergisi'nden İntibalar," *Akşam*, 4 May 1925; "Sergilerde İştirakimiz," *Akşam*, 20 August 1925.

Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes (*Beynelmilel Sanayi-i Tezyiniye Sergisi*), to which the women's organizations sent their products as well.

Faik Sabri (Duran), who was later appointed to be the president of the Paris exhibition[106], wrote about one of the exhibitions, the "Work Exhibition" (*İş Sergisi*), which took place in Paris in 1924. The "Work Exhibition" had opened to present the products of workers and workwomen. At the end of this exhibition, one of the awards was achieved by a young workwoman who was entitled as the "first seamstress of Paris" and had obtained a gilded diploma. Reminding the readers of possible success stories, Sabri stated that it was necessary to find out about, introduce, and provide awards to the producers so as to encourage these kinds of crafts in Turkey. According to Sabri, one significant opportunity for Turkey to introduce its crafts was *Beynelmilel Sanayi-i Tezyiniye Sergisi,* which was set to open in April 1925, and would remain open for six months in Paris. For this exhibition, Sabri stated that every artisan should work to produce the new necessities suited to the modern world. The exhibition program contained all goods that were related to adornment and display in life, as long as they were modern. For Sabri, this exhibition was like a competition among the artists of the world and Turkey had to prove its place through the different kinds of crafts in the country. Sabri also noted that Turkey had "its own approach, method, and style in sewing, embroidery, cutting, adornment and furnishing."[107]

The exhibition opened on 28 April 1925,[108] and closed in November of the same year.[109] Throughout the exhibition, the pavilion of Turkey was next to the British pavilion by Seine River.[110] In the directory of the museum, a commission was established to determine the conditions of

106 The *Cumhuriyet* announced that 30 countries would participate in the exhibition. Faik Sabri was appointed as a president to the exhibition. "Sanayi-i Tezyiniye Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 January 1925.

107 Faik Sabri, "Paris'te Sanat Sergileri," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 November 1924.

108 "Sanayi-i Tezyiniye Sergisi Dün Paris'te Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 April 1925.

109 The *Cumhuriyet* announced the closure of the exhibition on 27 November 1925. "Paris Sergisinde," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 Teşrin-i Sani 1925.

110 "Sanayi-i Tezyiniye," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 February 1925.

attending the exhibition in participation with the Ministry of Trade, presidents of Industry and Chamber of Commerce, president of the Trade and Industry Museum, Faik Sabri, and a trader, Emin Bey. The commission was determined to bring decorative goods from various places around the country, such as, carpets from Izmir, Uşak and Kayseri, Antep embroideries, copper works, weaving and domestic weaving, amber stone sets, Hereke works, gilding embroideries, some of the pieces from the Trade and Industry Museum and embroideries of the art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi*.[111] In addition to these kinds of goods, the National Library of Turkey would open a painting exhibition that included oriental manuscripts.[112]

A commission was working to decide which Turkish products to display at the international exhibition in Paris. In March, under the chairmanship of Halil Bey, the president of the museums (*İstanbul Müzeler Müdürü*), the commission determined five categories for the exhibition, comprising architecture, furniture, ornaments, theatre and industry, and finally education. The ornaments category included flowers, dresses and fashion, along with various products in relation to fashion.[113]

Women teachers of some of the girls' schools took part in the preparation process of the exhibition. According to a news report in the *Vakit*, the Ministry of Education sent an official document to the President of Education of Istanbul, Nail Reşit Bey and asked to organize a meeting with the sewing, embroidery, and headteachers. To determine what to present at the Paris Exhibition, a commission was established that included the president of *Kız Hayat Mektebi* (Girls' School of Life), Nezihe Muhiddin, the president of *Nişantaşı Kız Orta Okulu* (Nişantaşı Girl's Secondary School) Sabiha Hanım, the president of *Üsküdar Kız Enstitüsü* Zekiye Hanım and two teachers of *Şelçuk Kız Enstitüsü*. According to the news, the girls' industrial schools, girls' high schools,

111 Ibid. See, also, "Paris Beynelmilel Sanayi-i Tezyiniye Sergisi," *Akşam*, 13 February 1925.

112 "Paris Sanayi-i Tezyiniye Meşherinde," *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 21 May 1925.

113 The government allocated 20,000 liras for the transport and leasing costs. "Sanayi-i Tezyiniye," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 March 1925.

girls' middle schools, and primary schools could attend the exhibition.[114] Women took part in the preparation process. The government of Ankara accepted the handicrafts of the art house along with the *Esirgeme Derneği* to be in display at the exhibition.[115] Turkey sent the products in two shipments, with the first having been sent at the beginning of May and some of the products, including handworks of the women's organizations, being sent later.[116]

On 17 February 1925, the Minister of Trade requested the participation of the art house at the Paris Exhibition, at the Turkish pavilion, with the presentation of a large number of handicrafts prepared under the direction of Turkish women. The minister considered the contribution by the art house to be quite influential for the country and one of its activities for the benefit of the motherland.[117] The art house began to get prepared for the exhibition and demanded 500 liras from the General Directorate of *Hilal-i Ahmer.* One of the reasons for this was its economic situation, which did not allow for the spending of big expenses for the exhibition.[118] The art house received this money from *Hilal-i Ahmer* within a short time[119] and continued its preparations for the exhibition.

Turkey received medals from the exhibition committee for the architecture of the pavilion and the art of the furniture outside of the competition, which were regarded as the highest level among the other awards. The art of ceramics brought another award for Turkey. However, the most awarded area was textiles and handicrafts with 3 golden and 5 silver medals, which went to Hereke Factory, along with the art house and the *Esirgeme Derneği*. The works of the *Esirgeme Derneği* were shown

114 "Paris Sergisi," *Vakit*, 9 January 1925.

115 "Sanayi-i Tezyiniye," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 April 1925.

116 "Sanayi-i Tezyiniye," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 May 1925.

117 TKA. 1394/63, 17 February 1925.

118 TKA. 1394/6, 23 January 1925; TKA. 1394/63, 17 February 1925.

119 TKA. 1394/63, 17 February 1925. (The order of money transfer is in the marginalia dated 18 February 1925.)

appreciation with a golden medal[120] Faik Sabri Bey acknowledged the outcome of the exhibition as the success of national industry in Turkey.[121]

For Turkey, one item of foreign trade was domestic handicrafts, namely women's embroidery and handmade artefacts in the mid-1920s. It was not a big income source for the new country, but a demand for the authentic handicrafts, especially those made by women, was visible at the Paris exhibition. In 1925, handicraft production was accepted as a representation of the national culture of Turkey. More significant than that, handicrafts were considered to be a national art and the producers as national artists. Likewise, women's handicraft production in the art house and the *Esirgeme Derneği* was considered to be a national art and the women producers were seen as the national artists.

8.5.2 Other International Exhibitions

One further exhibition that the *Esirgeme Derneği* participated in was *Seyyar Sergi* (Travelling Exhibition) on the *Karadeniz Gemisi* (Black Sea Ship) which visited various cities[122] in Europe in 1926.[123] During the trip, the ship travelled for three months and stopped at 16 ports of different countries.[124] The exhibition included sections for agricultural crops as well as industrial, mining and forestry products, carpets; fine arts, which had been covered by showcases that had been taken from museums. The walls of the ship were covered inside with diagrams, statistics, graphics and maps related to the products and Turkey in general. [125] The aim of the new republic was to present to Europe all kinds of devices and manufactures produced in the country. Interestingly, the ship was

120 By mistake, a bronze medal was sent from France and the association wrote a petition to correct the mistake. BOA. HR.İM. 213/6. 10 March 1927. For *Cem'i İanat Nizamnamesi*, see *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Cemiyet Kanun ve Nizamnameleri*, 40-54.

121 "Beynelmilel Tezyinat Sergisinde Muvaffakiyetimiz," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 November 1925.

122 "Seyyar Sergi Nihayet Gidebildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 June 1926, 1-2.

123 Preparations started in 1925 and lasted until the departure of the ship on 12 June 1926. "Seyyar Sergi Nihayet Gidebildi," 1. See, also, "Seyyar Serginin Tehiri," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 June 1926, 3.

124 The ship returned in September 1926. "Seyyar Sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 September 1926, 2.

125 "'Seyyar Sergi'de ne var, ne yok?," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 May 1926, p 1.

decorated on the inside with Eastern motifs on the walls and on the outside with "Eastern-style Ottoman tiles."[126] The exhibition committee also established an Eastern Saloon (*Şark Salonu*), which decorated with silk carpets.[127] The republic did not avoid the use of Eastern motifs or making a reference to Eastern culture in the exhibition in 1926.

A place was allocated for sales in *Seyyar Sergi*. Products of the tobacco monopoly administration, Hereke Factory, tile factory, amber artisans, candy seller Hacı Bekir (Şekerci Hacı Bekir), and the *Esirgeme Derneği* were presented.[128] No further information is available related to the products of *Esirgeme Derneği*. *Seyyar Sergi* was the last exhibition that *Esirgeme Derneği* participated to represent Turkey. Afterwards, Turkey participated in an increasing number of exhibitions abroad, especially during the 1930s; however, the *Esirgeme Derneği* was never asked to join.

International exhibitions became a place for constructing a modern image for the new republic. The Leipzig International Exhibition in 1932 was a significantly good example to see how Turkey used exhibitions as a sphere for its propaganda. At the exhibition, along with products such as carpets, grapes, figs, textile materials, and wood stuff, propaganda photographs that showed the old and new Turkey were also on display.[129] Vedat Nedim Bey, the president of *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*, which played a role in the organization of the international exhibitions, made a speech emphasizing the difference "between the old and new Turkey." He stated that "a sick man died" referring to the Ottoman Empire. In the following part of his speech, he expressed the meaning of these international exhibitions for Turkey

> A national state which is modern and secular emerged from an Asian sultan and khalifa. From Turkey, a country of strangeness for the modern world with its harem and fez, a symbol of independence for hundreds of millions who have not yet achieved

126 Ibid.

127 "Seyyar Sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 May 1926, 4.

128 "'Seyyar Sergi'de ne var, ne yok?," 2. See, also, "Seyyar Sergi," 4.

129 Zeki Doğanoğlu,"Layipzig'de Türkiye!," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 March 1932, 2. Zeki Doğanoğlu, "Laypzig sergisinde..," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 March 1932, 3.

> their liberty and future was born. We owed this the new Turkey to our national hero, Gazi Mustafa Kemal, who is our savior and creator. Gazi's Turkey is now a culture element in the world. Gazi's Turkey desired to overcome the numbness and stagnation of the centuries. Gazi's Turkey yearns for technical revolution. It desired to pass from a rudimentary agricultural country to a national economy which is progressive and orderly, and it carries on the will to reach this aim at the earliest time possible.[130]

In the same year, Turkey participated in another exhibition, the 13th International Exhibition in Milan in 1932 with the same pieces as presented in Leipzig.[131]

For another international exhibition in New York in 1939, the *Cumhuriyet* asserted that the four aims of the government were to make political and social propaganda, "express newness and harmony in Turkey", create trade propaganda, and express stability in terms of capital in Turkey. Turkey aimed to increase its exports with other countries and receive dollar from the sales of the items on display. The main pavilion was allocated for the "state corner", while for the propaganda of the Kemalist regime, there was a section for history to present artefacts representing Turkey's national history, art, and culture to the world. There were also other sections for tourism along with industrial and agricultural products. At this exhibition, Turkey set a place for handicrafts and home arts (*el ve ev sanatları*) which included women's products.[132] Once again women's handicrafts was included to be displayed in an international exhibition representing Turkish national art. Girls' art schools such as *Beyoğlu Akşam Kız Sanat Mektebi* prepared table services, the motifs of which were taken from the samples of Turkish art in museums.[133] A committee consisted of the Sümerbank

130 Doğanoğlu, "Laypzig sergisinde..," 3. See, also, Zeki Doğanoğlu, "Laypzig'de Türkiye!," Cumhuriyet, 19 March 1932, 1-2.

131 "Milano Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 March 1932, 2. See, also, Zeki Doğanoğlu, " 'Milano'da Türkiye," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 April 1932, 1-3.

132 "Nevyork sergisi için hazırlıklar ilerliyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 12 December 1939, 9.

133 "Nevyork sergisine aid son hazırlıklar," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 January 1939, 2.

Istanbul branch, working under the supervision of Salâh Cimcoz, the Istanbul deputy, had worked for months to select the embroidery products for the exhibition. Antep embroidery works, amber and other precious mine works, stitcheries, and the works of the art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi* and the girls' art schools were all selected for the exhibition.[134] The Istanbul governorate sent 100 "national clothes" that had been collected from the districts to be presented at the New York exhibition.[135]

Women's organizations participated in international exhibitions to represent Turkey in the interwar period. Significantly, women's organizations also involved in some of the selection committees for the exhibitions. The number of international exhibitions increased during the 1930s; however, the republic did not ask the women's organizations to join it into representing Turkey. This policy changed through the end of the 1930s.

§ 8.6 Exhibitions of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*

In the interwar period, it seems that the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was supported by the government and became a model for many other tailoring schools founded by women. The exhibitions of the school to present the products of the students every year, received great attention from the government, press, and the elite of Istanbul, even more so than the other exhibitions made by other women's organizations.

The interest of the government was very strong at the annual exhibitions of the school. The government officials even further declared their support for the school on a number of occasions. For example, one of the first exhibitions of the school was held in Binbirdirek, in 1924. Well-known people of the city, press, many state officials, and the mayor of

134 "Nevyork sergisine gönderilecek eşya," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 February 1939, 2. "Nev York sergisindeki pavyonumuzun vaziyeti," 7.

135 "Nevyork sergisine gönderilecek elbiseler," Cumhuriyet, 14 March 1939, 7.

Istanbul visited the exhibition.[136] The mayor, Emin Bey promised to work towards assisting the school at this exhibition.[137]

Behire Hakkı emphasized the role that she assigned the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* in the economic development of the country. During the tea party at the end of the first day of the exhibition in 1924, the directress, Behire Hakkı gave a speech, in which she declared her aim in founding the school, and emphasized two points: the necessity of performing tailoring in a scientific way and the economic aspects of



Figure 8.5 Photograph from the exhibition of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* in 1924. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (October 8, 1924).

tailoring for the benefit of the new regime. While doing so, she compared the women's approach towards tailoring in the Ottoman Empire and the new republic. In her speech, Hakkı deplored that prior to the republic, sewing was not regarded as being scientific among Turkish women. Her propose was to use scientific methods in tailoring. She previously wrote method books accepting tailoring as a work of art that had to be performed with a method.

With regards to the economic aspects of the issue, Hakkı stated that women rather preferred to purchase clothes made by foreigners and spent a lot of money for their clothes. According to Hakkı, this situation

136 "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 October 1924, 2. "Biçki Yurdunun Yeni Sergisi," 1.

137 "Biçki Yurdunun Yeni Sergisi," 1.

resulted in economic damage to both the country and families. She described the situation of Turkish women prior to the republic as the ongoing years of "debauchery and waste."[138] Similar to the discussions on fashion that had been started by Nezihe Muhiddin in 1913, Hakkı criticized shopping from non-Muslim's shops as a way of giving thousands of liras to the non-Muslim entities of the empire. Hakkı viewed the Balkan Wars in 1913 as a turning point that constituted an increasing consensus on the necessity of trade and craft production in the salvation of the country. Behire Hakkı stated that the graduates of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* proved the significance of the role of Turkish women in this salvation, by allowing a way for women to earn a living in the art houses opened by the graduates of the school in various places across the country, even in 1925.[139] Behire Hakkı accepted tailoring as a form of art that should be viewed in compatible to science. She had also always pointed to the economic concerns in her decision to found the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*.

The print media made a comparison between women's work in the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* and the European products in the market. For the exhibition in 1924, the *Cumhuriyet* reported appreciation of the pieces that 50 women had presented at the exhibition and stated that the costumes, *tayyör*, and evening dresses were "many times more superior than European goods".[140] Furthermore, the print-media of the period appreciated the women's ability towards handicraft production. In an exhibition in 1926, the newspapers applauded the works of the senior class students, which were presented in the exhibition gallery as proof of the Turkish women's success in art.[141] In another exhibition in 1930, the

138 Ibid.

139 Ibid.

140 Some of the products presented at the exhibition were relief applications with or without rococo motifs, tayyör, skirts, evening dresses, Gaziantep embroideries, patch works, handkerchiefs and beadworks. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 October 1924, 2; "Biçki Yurdunda," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1924, 2.

141 The 13th anniversary of the establishment of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was celebrated along with an exhibition and tea party in 1926. The artefacts presented at the exhibition were Gaziantep embroidery, filet works, pillows, slips, point laces, *tayyör*, blouses,

artefacts presented were appreciated as excellent examples of the art of tailoring and depicted as the good taste of Turkish women. The tailoring house was presented as an institution educating distinguished craftswoman in the country.[142] The exhibition in 1933, which opened in participation with the Ministry of Education, the press, Istanbulite elite and some of the graduates, was appreciated for the delicate taste and art in women's artefacts.[143]

The annual exhibition was opened by a high official, a deputy from parliament in 1927.[144] According to the news, this exhibition raised the interest of courteous families of Istanbul and officials holding high positions in the state came to visit the exhibition.[145] The total value of the artefacts, which consisted of 45 pieces of women's evening dresses, 53 costumes and 35 pieces of men's clothing, was 7000 liras. [146] The *Vakit* described the organization of the exhibition in 1927. As the newspaper reported, on the first floor of the building, the artefacts of the first-grade students were presented. The four rooms on the second floor allocated for the latest fashion blouses embroidered with Eastern motifs and women's garments. On the third floor, the artefacts of the graduates, such as women's and men's clothes were on display.[147] The *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* held its exhibitions inside of its central building in Divanyolu and the organization of the rooms was probably designed in a manner similar to the organization of the exhibition in 1927.

According to the press, the artefacts at the exhibition consisted of valuable and delicate embroideries, as well as various clothes that the students had produced throughout the year. The *Cumhuriyet* expressed appreciation for the president of the school, İsmail Bey and the students

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skirts, men's clothes and delicate needlework which were produced by the students of the school. "Biçki Yurdunda Merasim," 2. See, also, *Milliyet*, 11 October 1926, 2.

142 "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1930, 3.

143 "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Dün Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 September 1933, 2. See, also, "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Vakit*, 25 September 1933, 4.

144 "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 30 September 1927, 4.

145 Ibid.

146 Ibid.

147 "Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdunda," 1.

of the school, for showing the success of Turkish women in handicraft production.[148] A group of inspectors from the Ministry of Education came to visit the exhibition and expressed attraction to one of the ball costumes, which the newspaper stated would raise interest among women due to it being both affordable and beautiful.[149] For the ruling elite of the republic, balls were significant public places for the construction of a modern and secular image of the new republic. Women's participation at the balls, in their elegant Western-looking attire, had an especially high symbolic meaning. With regard to the balls, one of the frequent criticisms had always been on the high cost of the ball costumes, addressing well-to-do women to consume domestic products in clothes so as to save money. The ball costume tailored with domestic fabric and by a Muslim Turkish seamstress in the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* would be the perfect combination in the eyes of the elite against the heavy expense that women had to endure every year.

The exhibition in 1928 was opened in participation with Ercümend Ekrem, the president of the press (*matbuat müdürü-i umumisi*), along with many people from the press, education, and police.[150] The *Cumhuriyet* presented the exhibition under the title "Turkish women's needle in the economic struggle took the place of Turkish bayonets in the struggle for independence (İkhtisat mücâdelesinde Türk Hanımlarının İyneleri, İstiklâl mücahedesinde ki Türk süngülerinin yerine kâim olmuş-tur.) on the first page of their publication. The newspaper accepted *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*'s aim as being compatible with the national economy policy to consume domestic products and support domestic producers. In line with this policy, the press criticized that many women had spent a lot of money at the tailors in Beyoğlu after seeing the products of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*.[151] Significantly, once again

148 The exhibition lasted 15 days and entrance was free of charge. The newspaper informed its readers that the artefacts at the exhibition were not for sale, but belonged to the students. "Biçki Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1927, 2.

149 "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 30 September 1927, 4.

150 "Biçki Yurdunun 16ıncı Sergisi," 1.

151 "Biçki Yurdunun 1928 Sergisi Açıldı,"1-3. See, also, "Biçki Yurdunun 16ıncı Sergisi," 1. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Dün Açıldı," *Miliyet*, 21 September 1928, 1.

the *Cumhuriyet* expressed approval of the students' products as art and this exhibition, citing it as "a fine arts exhibition." Women's work was considered to be art and women were accepted as artists in handicraft production. One major aim of this school was to create a Turkish tailoring method. Hence, with this in mind, İsmail Hakkı stated at the exhibition that the institution had released "the method of Behire Hakkı" as an outcome of 15 years of work and with this method, aimed to "introduce the Turkish method to all of Europe."[152]

The exhibition in 1929 was opened by Cemal Bey, one of the members of the county council.[153] The print-media expressed their appreciation of the good taste of Turkish women presented at the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* exhibition and the products, some of the which comprised lace bridal dresses, lace flowered evening dresses, artefacts with plats, chemise, blouses, colorful pajamas, and civil and military clothes,[154] which were regarded as works of art. The emphasis on domestic products increased at this exhibition due to the economic crisis occurred under the influence of the Great Depression in 1929. The president of the institution, İsmail Hakkı Bey gave a short speech and stated that almost all of the artefacts produced for the exhibition were

152 "Biçki Yurdunun 1928 Sergisi Açıldı," 1-3. See, also, "Biçki Yurdunun 16ıncı Sergisi," 1. "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Dün Açıldı," *Miliyet*, 21 September 1928, 1.

153 "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 26 September 1929, 3.

154 Ibid.



Figure 8.6 Newspaper article about the annual exhibition of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* in 1928. SOURCE: *Cumhuriyet* (September 21, 1928).

domestic products.[155] The institution specifically placed importance on the preparation of these women's clothes using domestic products and by the work of young girls.[156] The *Milliyet*, having referred to it as a "national exhibition," stated that some of the best-known foreign tailors were invited to the exhibition and found the artefacts of the first and final year graduates on display to be quite commendable. According to the news, 80% of the artefacts were made using domestic silk. The *Milliyet* emphasized that these products demonstrated that elegant evening dresses could be made with domestic goods, which proved that along with domestic goods, "luxury evening dresses could be produced at the level of European fabric if the colors were improved."[157]

Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu had contacts with *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti*. For example, the school was among the women's organizations,

155 "Biçki Yurdu Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 September 1929, 1-3.

156 "Biçki Yurdu," *Milliyet*, 26 September 1929, 3.

157 Ibid.

for whose collaboration *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* asked in 1929.[158] In the beginning of 1930, *Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti* organized exhibitions in *Darülfünun* to present domestic fabrics and products. For this organization, the association decided to create a jury consisted of women from the most famous tailoring businesses in Istanbul. This jury would examine the quality of domestic products and make sure that they were not inferior to European substitutes.[159] *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was among the sixteen tailoring enterprises invited to this jury.[160]

Since its founding on 23 July 1913 by Behire Hakkı, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* had provided an education and profession to thousands of women; however, it closed its doors in 1937, until which time it continued to host exhibitions. One of the annual exhibitions of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was opened on 28 September 1932 in participation with high degree state officials. The press reported that all of the artefacts on display were made from domestic fabrics and silks. Among the presented artefacts, specific appreciation directed toward women's clothes and a scarf with Antep embroideries.[161] As İsmail Hakkı Bey announced at the exhibition, the school had received the degree of first art school by the Ministry of Education from 1932 onwards.[162] The *Vakit* expressed appreciation towards Behire Hakkı Hanım for having brought the school to such a high level of development by opening it during a time when foreigners held the status for the best tailoring work in the country.[163]

158 "İktisadî seferberlik," 3. See the subsection "Thrift and Fashion on the Agenda of the Türk Kadınlar Birliği" in this dissertation.

159 "Millî Tasarruf Cemiyeti yerli mallarının teşhiri için iki büyük içtima tertip ediyor," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 January 1930, 2. See, also, "Yerli mallarını teşhir günü," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 January 1930, 3.

160 "Tasarruf cemiyetinde juri heyeti dün tefrik edildi," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 January 1930, 3.

161 "Biçki Yurdunun Senelik Sergisi Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1932, 2. See, also, "Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Mektebi," *Akşam*, 26 September 1932, 9.

162 "Biçki Yurdu," *Vakit*, 29 September 1932, 3.

163 Ibid.

From the beginning of its establishment, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* organized exhibitions[164] to present its products and made sales with the aim of bringing in money. At the exhibitions, the students guided the visitors through the exhibition rooms and a tea party took place at the opening of the exhibition. Some of graduates were appreciated based on the value of their artefacts, as a sign of their success, and their names were published in the newspapers. The graduates received medals or golden medals and certificates of merits (*takdirname*). The exhibitions of *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* were popular among the elite of Istanbul and received support from the Kemalist regime. Women's work at the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was appreciated by the print-media as works of fine art.

§ 8.7 Tailoring Schools (*Biçki Dikiş Yurtları*) in the Interwar Period

The Kemalist regime perceived sewing as women's work and opened schools for the education of women in this realm. Public courses for women provided vocational training on tailoring.[165] Not just the republic or the elite, but also sewing became one of the popular public activities of women at that time. During the interwar period, stitching craze pervaded all across the country, mostly through the initiation of women. The tailoring schools were under the control of the Ministry of Education. After 1935, the Ministry of Education was renamed as the Ministry of Culture- Culture Directorate (*Kültür Bakanlığı- Kültür Direktörlüğü*).

The total number of tailoring schools that I can find in the archive and newspapers was more than 200.[166] These schools were established in

164 The annual exhibition of the institution generally opened in September and October.

165 For example, a sewing machine company opened a course on embroidery, sewing, and knitting for free in Amasya. Women who attended the courses presented their products at an exhibition that had received general approval. "Amasyada güzel bir sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 August 1934, 4.

166 It is not possible to find precise information on the actual number of tailoring schools. I found the statutes some of the tailoring schools in the Ottoman and Republican

various places in Anatolia. In Istanbul, there were approximately 50 tailoring schools.[167] Limited information exists related to the opening dates of the schools. It can be said that most of the tailoring schools were founded in the 1930s. The tailoring schools were not only opened in big cities, they were established in rural areas of Turkey as well, under the support of the Kemalist regime. From these schools, a certain number of female tailors graduated, who then either opened schools themselves; or became tailors; or were employed as tailoring teachers; or returned their home and practiced sewing as a contribution to the economy of their family.

Using on the limited number of statutes of some of the tailoring schools from the 1930s and the information from the newspapers, it is possible to understand the common characteristics of these schools. First of all, the tailoring schools had specifically done so with the purpose of training women in tailoring. The schools' education took place during the daytime and the training period lasted for two years. However, some of the schools also proposed short-term education options that were based

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Archives. I also found news about these schools. Another source is the resolutions of The Board of Education and Discipline (*Talim Terbiye Kurulu*) published since 1927. In these resolutions, there are many decisions related to tailoring schools all around Turkey. However, most of the time, the name of the particular school is absent – they are recorded simply as tailoring schools (*biçki dikiş yurdu*). It is probable that some of the schools are mentioned more than once. In calculating the total number of the schools, I tried to avoid duplications by counting the schools with identical teachers or directors as one. In cases where no information except the school's type existed, I assumed that appearances of tailoring schools in the same city referred to the same schools. With these reductions, the total number of tailoring schools still seems to have been more than 200 in the interwar period. See, also, http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/www/gecmisten-gunumuze-kurul-kararlari/icerik/152. For a study on tailoring schools, see Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e.*

167 I reached this number after my research through the archives and the newspapers of the period. The school guidebook of Istanbul published by the Ministry of Culture of Istanbul listed the number of tailoring schools in the 1930s. I also used the resolutions of The Board of Education and Discipline. See *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 39-40. See, also, http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr/www/gecmisten-gunumuze-kurul-kararlari/icerik/152.

on the sewing knowledge of the individual students.[168] The training was generally on tailoring, which in some cases, had been accompanied by flower and hat making courses.[169]

Some of the tailoring schools opened without having received authorization in the 1920s. For example, a seamstress, Adeviye Hanım opened two tailoring schools in Manisa and Alaşehir, in 1925, without having received authorization from the ministry. After an investigation into the school, the education commission reported that this school could be viewed as a business due to the absence of the necessary documents on vocational education. The commission prepared a positive report for the Ministry of Education and then approved eligibility for Adeviye Hanım, stating that no restraints existed under the law to deny granting authorization for the tailoring school at that time in 1928.[170] It was possible that some of the other tailoring schools that had also been operating without authorization of the ministry continued to do so until 1933. In 1934, the Ministry of Education issued an order regarding the opening of a tailoring school. According to the order, anyone wishing to open a tailoring school should have a diploma from one of the tailoring schools approved by the Ministry of Education, or an equivalent diploma

168 For example, *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu* proposed 6 months, 1 year and 2 years based on the individual sewing knowledge of students. *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu Dahili Talimat ve Müfredat Programıdır* (İstanbul: Necmi İstikbal Matbaası, 1934), 3-4. Another school in Bornova opened a class for practice in 1934 and women who attended this class obtained a diploma in 1 year. "Bornova Dikiş Yurdundan diploma alan Hanımlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 July 1934, 4. A tailoring school opened by a non-Muslim woman offered 3, 6 and 9-month education periods based on the sewing knowledge of individual students. "Kadırga Dikiş Yurdunun yeni mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 May 1936, 4. The period of education was 3 months for women who knew how to sew and 6 months for women who did not know sewing. "3 ayda Biçki ve Dikiş," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 September 1939, 6.

169 For example, see "Kadıköy Biçki Yurdunun sergi ve müsameresi," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 August 1938, 5. "Bolu Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 October 1936, 5. *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu* expanded its program and included flower, hat and glove making courses, to which the local community showed interest, as seen by the increasing number of students. "Samsun Uzel Biçki Yurdu faaliyetlerini genişletti," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 January 1938, 4.

170 BCA 180.9.126.606.13, 6 May 1928.

from a European school, or should pass an exam at one of the girls' schools under the permission of the government.[171] No further information is available so to whether all of the schools were founded in compliance with the order; however, a great majority of the schools were supervised by the ministry in the 1930s.

These schools were private schools, subjected to the regulations of the Ministry of Education for private schools and the diplomas of these schools were certificated by the Ministry of Education.[172] Specifically, starting in the 1930s, the Ministry of Education became closely interested in the education process in these schools. The exams of all of the schools constructed in front of committees appointed by the Ministry of Education under the supervision of the district governor and inspectors from the ministry.[173] The inspectors prepared reports on the vocational education in the schools[174] in addition to any deficiencies that may have existed.[175] Schools were commercial enterprises and received revenue from sales; hence, they were not supported financially by the government. Some of the schools had to be closed due the limited budgets,[176] insufficient amount of transportation, or the absence of teachers.[177] Their only income source was the registration fees and school cost that was paid by the students each year.[178]

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171 "Biçki Mektepleri için bir emir," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 January 1934, 2. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 256-257.

172 For example, see *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu Teşkilat-ı Esasiye ve İç Hizmetleri Talimatnamesi*, 1935, 2-3. See, also, Demir, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e,* 257.

173 Ibid., 4. *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu Talimatnamesi* (Maraş İş Basımevi, 1937) 2-3. *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu Talimatnamesi* (Maraş: İş Basımevi, 1936), 2-3. *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu Dahili Talimatname ve Müfredat Programı* (İstanbul Marifet Basımevi, 1936), 1-4.

174 "Biçki ve dikiş mektepleri," *Akşam*, 18 September 1930, 3.

175 "Biçki ve dikiş mektepleri," *Akşam*, 6 July 1930, 3.

176 A tailoring house in Antalya run under limited budget had to be closed. "Antalya Dikiş Yurdundan mezun olanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 October 1935, 8.

177 *Malatya Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* worked with a limited cadre due to insufficient transportation and the absence of teachers in 1937. "Malatya Biçki Dikiş Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 January 1937, 7.

178 See *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 3.

The preconditions for registration were similar to those of the girls' evening art schools. These schools addressed, to a large extent, Turkish woman of all ages and provided education for those women who could not attend the schools. For students below 16 years of age, one criterion for admission was that they had to at least have graduated from primary school. Students who had not graduated from primary school and were above 16 years of age had to provide documentation that they had passed some courses of *Millet Okulu* (National School).[179] Only a limited number of schools accepted non-Muslim students. One of which was *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* (Modern Tailoring School), which released a statement that it accepted "foreign citizens" (*ecnebi taba'a*), referring to non-Muslim citizens of the republic.[180] Some of the schools allowed non-Muslim women to graduate as tailors.[181] Non-Muslim women tailors opened schools as well, and one of those that was the most outstanding was a tailoring school directed by Eleni Çorbacıoğlu in Kadırga.[182] This school also presented diplomas to students that had been approved by

179 The name of *Millet Mektebi* changed to *Millet Okulu* under the direction of Turkification policies in the 1930s. See *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1936*, 39. *İstanbul Kültür Direktörülüğü Neşriyatı İstanbul Okulları Klavuzu 1937*, 69. *İstanbul Öğretmenleri Yardım Cemiyeti Yayınlarından İstanbul Okulları Kılavuzu 1938 Yılı*, 66. *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 3. *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu,* 3. *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu Talimatname ve Müfredat Programı* (Samsun: Ahali Matbaası, 1934), 3. *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu*, 6. *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu*, 2.

180 *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 1-4.

181 For example, 1 non-Muslim student graduated from *Beylerbeyi Dikiş Yurdu* in 1938. "Beylerbeyi Dikiş Yurdu mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 October 1938, 2. From the school of Eleni Çorbacıoğlu, 1 student was a non-Muslim in 1936. 3 non-Muslim women graduated from the school in 1937. See "Kadırga Dikiş Yurdunun yeni mezunları," 4. "Kumkapı Biçki Yurdundan mezun olanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 September 1937, 2. *Cumhuriyet*, 11 February 1938, 5. *Cumhuriyet*, 11 February 1938, 5. "Kadırga Biçki Yurdu mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 July 1938, 5. In *Sagunay Biçki Yurdu*, one of the graduates was Leal Edit. "Sagunay Biçki Yurdundan mezun olanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 February 1938, 2.

182 "Kumkapı Biçki Yurdundan mezun olanlar," 2.

the Ministry of Culture.[183] The graduation exam at the school was constructed in front of examiners from the Ministry of Education in girls' art schools in Istanbul.[184] Another non-Muslim tailoring school, *Gedikpaşa Noemi Asadoryan Biçki ve Dikiş Mektebi* (Gedikpaşa Noemi Asadoryan Tailoring School), was founded in 1923, and had hundreds of graduate students,[185] with more than 500 students graduating in 1938.[186] The school adopted French methods in sewing and in their advertisement, it was stated that a considerable number of students had graduated, many of whom could open tailoring schools or had begun to work as tailors.[187]

Not women of just any rank could attend to these schools due to the high cost of education. The schools implemented one-time registration fees,[188] that the students had to pay for enrollment in the school. The prices varied from 20 liras to 48 liras for one-year of education. For example, it was 36 liras for one year and paid in monthly installments at *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* (Bergama Turkish Women Tailoring Schools) in 1935, and at *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* in 1936.[189] At the *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* (Maraş Republican Girls'

183 For the advertisement of the school, see some examples from different years: "Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 September 1936, 7. "Biçki Dikiş Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 October 1939, 7. See, also, "3 ayda Biçki-Dikiş," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 March 1943, 3.

184 "Kadırga Dikiş Yurdunun yeni mezunları," 4. "Kumkapı Biçki Yurdundan mezun olanlar," 2. *Cumhuriyet*, 11 February 1938, 5. *Cumhuriyet*, 11 February 1938, 5. "Kadırga Biçki Yurdu mezunları," 5.

185 "Gedikpaşa Biçki mektebinin mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 May 1937, 7. See, also, "Dikiş mektebini bitirenler," *Cumhuriyet*, 28 August 1934, 4.

186 *Cumhuriyet*, 25 February 1938, 8. "Gedikpaşa Biçki Yurdu mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 July 1938, 5.

187 "3 ayda Biçki ve Dikiş," 6.

188 The registration fee was 3 liras at *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* in 1936 and at *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* in 1937. It was 5 liras at *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* in 1936, at *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu* in 1934 and at *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu* in 1934. See *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*; *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu*, 2-3; M*odern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 1-4; *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu Talimatname ve Müfredat Programı*, 3-4; A*ksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu,* 3-4.

189 *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*; *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 1-4.

Tailoring School), the registration fee was 3 liras monthly and 6 liras for any student who had directly registered for the second year class, which would be held in 1937.[190] At Maraş *Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* (Maraş Turkish Women Tailoring School), the registration fee was 20 liras for one year paid in monthly installments in 1936.[191] At *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu* (Ladies Tailoring School), the annual registration fee was 30 liras, which was had to be paid 3 liras installments over a period of 10 months in 1934.[192] Moreover, the registration fee was 48 liras for 6 months, 60 liras for 1 year and an additional 60 liras for the second year.[193] Students also had to pay a fee for their diplomas[194] and also for their course materials. Private course registration fees were double that at some of the schools.[195]

The schools provided cheaper opportunities for low-income students.[196] For example, the *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* reduced the registration fee of the school for the students in need and provided exemptions for the children and wives of martyrs and veteran soldiers as well as orphan children.[197] *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* accepted poor students who had been selected by the Ministry of Culture, the number of whom had been limited to 1 for every 20 of

190 *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 2-3.

191 *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu*, 2-3.

192 *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu Talimatname ve Müfredat Programı*, 3-4.

193 *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu,* 3-4.

194 The diploma price was 5 liras in *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* in 1937, 3 liras in *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* in 1936 and 8 liras in *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* in 1936. It was 7,5 liras in *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu* in 1934. See *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*; *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu*, 2-3; M*odern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 1-4; *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu*, 3-4.

195 This was an option in *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* and *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu*. *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*; *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu Talimatname ve Müfredat Programı*, 3-4.

196 For example, a tailoring school opened in Kozan in 1940 had 13 students, out of which 3 were in need and accepted to the school without tuition fee. "Kozanda açılan biçki yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 January 1940, 3.

197 The registration fee was decreased to 4 liras at *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 2-6.

registered students.[198] *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* also accepted poor students at their school without a registration fee with the permission of the Ministry of Culture on the condition that they comprised no more than 10% of the total number of students.[199] Only two martyrs' and veterans' children in need were accepted into the two year-education program.[200]

The rules were very strict at the schools. For example, it was forbidden for students to meet with anyone from outside of the school during school time or leave the school whenever they wanted.[201] Students were only allowed to speak someone outside of the school with the permission of the school president.[202] They could not bring guests to the school when it was open.[203] They could not give the address of the school to anyone. Letters sent for the students were not accepted by the administration of the schools.[204] Students "could not wear clothes that were not suitable for them," as had been stated in the status of one of the schools.[205] Students had to comply with etiquette rules, accept what their teachers recommended to them and behave kindly to each other.[206]

Akin to each other, the aims of these schools were, first, to train these women about sewing so that they might earn a living. Thus, second, the schools also achieved their aim of contributing to the family economies of these women. For example, the aim of the *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu*, founded in 1935, was to provide practical and theoretic training in sewing; to help the family economy by teaching them how to sew; to establish "national tailoring shops"; and to change the

198 *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 2-3.

199 *Maraş Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu*, 2-3.

200 *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu*, 3-4.

201 *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 6. See, also, *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 6; *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu*, 9.

202 *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 6; *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu*, 9.

203 *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 6.

204 Ibid. *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu*, 9.

205 *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 6. For a similar rule, see *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu*, 9.

206 *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu*, 9.

clothing styles in accordance with the "modern and national necessities" of Turkish women.[207] Similarly, another tailoring school, the *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu,* defined its aim to contribute to the family economy and to educate women in sewing so that they could earn their living.[208] The education at these schools was perceived to be a contribution to family economy. The schools also aimed to teach women about how to dressed well and be elegant at home.[209] The *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* was established to provide practical and theoretical training about sewing; and to educate women about how to become skilled tailors and work in tailoring.[210] The French method was used in the tailoring curriculum of some of the schools,[211] as some of the schools, especially those run by one of the graduates of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu,* preferred Behire Hakkı's method in education.

The schools were open to accepting students who came from other provinces and cities.[212] Thus, tailoring schools in the big cities were able to have a far-reaching influence in providing tailoring education to the women in other provinces. One such example was *Istanbul Biçki Yurdu* (İstanbul Sewing School), which hosted an exhibition in Gaziantep in 1934. The press stated that the exhibition presented "various delicate and

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207 *Bergama Türk Kadınları Biçki Dikiş Yurdu,* 2-3; See, also, *Aksaray Cumhuriyet Dikiş Biçki Yurdu.*

208 *Maraş Cumhuriyet Kız Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 2-3.

209 "Diyarbekir Biçki Yurdundan diploma alanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 September 1935, 2.

210 *Modern Biçki Dikiş Yurdu*, 1-4.

211 Ibid., 7. See, also, For the advertisement of the school, there are some examples from different years: "Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu," 7. "Biçki Dikiş Yurdu," 7. See, also, "3 ayda Biçki-Dikiş," 3.

212 One of the tailoring schools was the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, which had 2 branches in Izmir and Karşıyaka. In a petition written by one of the members of Third Appellate Criminal Division (*Temyiz Üçüncü Ceza Dairesi*) in 1926, it was stated that the school, which had probably opened in the beginnings of the 1920s, had operated under the presidency of Mahrure Hanım for many years. This school had students outside of Izmir. The member of the Third Appellate Criminal Division wrote on behalf of the school president asking for the assistance of the government to either change the status of the school to that of a boarding school or pay half of the rent. BCA 180.9.126.603.23, 19 July 1926. BCA 180.9.126.603.24, 18 September 1926.

elegant handicrafts" that Turkish women achieved by their "own hands" and who also had the chance to show their "high quality and talent" in every field after the establishment of the republic.[213] These examples presented the extent of the influence of these schools on the lives of women all across the country.

These schools provided different options for women who wanted to be tailors or learn sewing to use at home. The *Cumhuriyet* defined one of the school's aim in Zonguldak as educating young girls about how to be proper housewives.[214] On the other hand, these schools prepared women for being involved in public life through tailoring. The students of these schools received education and training about how to be tailors and teachers who would open a tailoring school on their own, or be employed in one of the schools. For example, *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu,* in Samsun, had three branches, the first of which was a family branch, that trained women to know enough about sewing that they would be able to dress themselves and their family. The second branch was a vocational branch, which was for those women who wanted to be a tailor or wanted to be trained in this manner. The third branch was for practice and second grade students, so that they could apply to work as interns.[215] The president of the *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu* was Hadiye Hanım, who had graduated from the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu,* the school of Behire Hakkı.[216] Significantly, the education program at this school was similar to that at the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*.

The *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu* also used one of Behire Hakkı's books, the B.H. Method and Some Practical Methods (B.H. Metodu ve Bazı Pratik Metodlar).[217] Like Hakkı, her students emphasized the use of scientific methods in tailoring. An advertisement for the school had stated that "sewing without method is really very difficult"; in this age where science

213 No information is available on when or where the house was opened. However, the house had 2 classes and approximately 30 students in 1934. The number of graduates was 9 in 1934. "Gazi Antepte Biçki Yurdu sergisi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 August 1934, 2.

214 "Zonguldak Biçki Yurdlarından çıkanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 July 1935, 6.

215 Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu Talimatname ve Müfredat Programı, 9.

216 See the page attached to *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu Talimatname ve Müfredat Programı.* Ibid.

217 Ibid., 7.

progressed to a great extent, "sewing without measures" and "using grandmothers' methods was not right"; "it is now time to work with pencil, calculation, meter, and centimeter"; you should learn scientific sewing and delicacy of the art at the *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu*.[218] The aim of *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu* was defined as diminishing the tailoring expenditures of families. The advertisement stated that "10 years ago, each of you could manage with garments that had been sewn badly and were old style. However, today there is no possibility of this. It is necessary that every woman should have various home and street robes, coats and evening dresses. Herein, it is necessary to sew a couple of suits each year. However, the cost of sewing them would aggregate a serious amount of the family budget."[219] Not only for the family economy, but also in accepting sewing as an art, the school categorized the graduates as artisans. The school stated that "if you teach sewing to your daughters and sisters, with the money that you would have spent on sewing in one year, you would have raised them as artisans and cut down on sewing costs."[220] In this sense, the school addressed parents in the aim of solving the problem of finding a job for their daughters who had graduated from schools. In the advertisement, the school noted that "the best job that you could choose for your girls is tailoring." Reminding the parents of the economic benefits, the advertisement stated that "your daughter" would sew up your clothing, turn your outfits inside out, and knit up whatever is torn.[221]

8.7.1 *Beşiktaş Türk Hanımları Dikiş Yurdu (*Beşiktaş Turkish Ladies Sewing School)

One of the prominent tailoring schools in this period was the *Beşiktaş Türk Hanımları Dikiş Yurdu* (Beşiktaş Turkish Ladies Sewing School), founded by a private entrepreneur, Mehmet Şükrü (Canal), in Beşiktaş Akaretler, in 1922. The school had 3 teachers. One of whom was Şükrü Bey,

218 See the page attached to *Hanımlar Biçki Yurdu Talimatname ve Müfredat Programı*. Ibid.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid.

221 Ibid.

who was known as a good tailor and a painter.[222] Hat teacher, Ferihan Ziya Canal, and embroidery teacher, Hayriye Hanım were the other two teachers at the school.[223] This school followed tailoring methods in Europe and the teachers of this school had traveled to Europe to investigate the latest tailoring methods.[224]

The aim of the school was to educate women about tailoring so that they would be able to earn their living working outside the home. Until 1928, approximately 450 women had graduated from the school.[225] The duration of education was 2 years. The first year included only sewing and cutting lessons, while the second year also included embroidery lessons.[226] Gradually the curriculum of the school expanded and hat production along with hat design courses were also added at the beginning of 1930s.[227] In 1934, artificial flower and corset production was also included in the curriculum.[228] The *Cumhuriyet* stated that, until now, the school had educated female tailors; however, with this change in the curriculum, it had begun to turn out modern woman laborers and instill artisanship.[229] The school taught sewing along with design and dyes on fabric. The women learned how to make both women's and men's clothes.[230] Like all of the other tailoring schools, at the end of the education period, the school had an exam to which a commission from

222 "Beşiktaş dikiş yurdu sergisi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 15 September 1933, 2.

223 "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 September 1935, 7. "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 September 1936, 4.

224 For example, Ferihan Ziya Canal went to Europe to investigate tailoring methods in 1935. "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdunda," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 October 1935, 2.

225 "Beşiktaş'ta Türk Hanımları Dikiş Yurdu'nun Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 September 1928, 2.

226 Ibid.

227 "Beşiktaş Dikiş yurdunda sergi açılacak," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 August 1933, 5.

228 "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1934, 6.

229 Ibid.

230 "Beşiktaş dikiş yurdu sergisi açıldı," 2. "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1934, 6.

the Ministry of Education participated and watched.[231] The diplomas of the school had been approved by the Ministry of Education.[232]

Mehmet Şükrü Bey published a book to teach women how to sew using practical methods in 1932, and presented it in an advertisement as a necessity of every house.[233] The book was for students and teachers of tailoring schools or art schools, as well as those women who wanted to learn sewing by themselves. The first volume of women's clothing costed 2 liras, while the second volume was 2,5 liras in 1937. Third volume, on practice and rehearsal, was set to be published in 1937,[234] and it was probably published within a short period of time. The school displayed an advertisement of 3 volumes in 1939, with the price of all books together was 5 liras.[235] It was then possible to buy the book from some of the book stores in Istanbul and Ankara, in 1942.[236] To allow every woman the opportunity to learn to sew, the advertisement by the school informed its readers that there would not be any charge for postage if the book was ordered from outside of Istanbul.[237] Hence, the book was probably ordered from Anatolian provinces and used in tailoring schools or at home by the women there.

The school hosted exhibitions every year to present the handicrafts produced by its female students. This was one of the main income sources for the school, which did not receive any income from anywhere

231 "Beşiktaş Dikiş yurdunda sergi açılacak," 5. "Beşiktaş dikiş yurdu imtihanı," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 September 1934, 2.

232 "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 October 1934, 4.

233 "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1932, 4. See, also, "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 18 January 1935, 7.

234 "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 April 1937, 8. "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 April 1937, 8.

235 The price of the books did not change in 1942. See some examples of the school's advertisement: "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 November 1939, 7. "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 December 1939, 7. "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 December 1939, 7. "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 September 1942, 3.

236 "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 September 1942, 3.

237 "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 April 1937, 8. "Biçki Dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 April 1937, 8.

else.[238] The print media expressed appreciation for all of the exhibitions by the school. For example, it referred to the artefacts at the school's 1928 annual exhibition as "delicious artefacts", perfect to the degree that everyone who viewed them as items to be proud of. The newspapers announced the names of the students whose artefacts were appreciated the most.[239] Another example was the exhibition in 1929, about which the *Cumhuriyet* stated that "very beautiful artefacts embroidered by Turkish girls and ladies" who "showed a great talent and success in handicraft" were on display.[240]

The exhibition of the *Beşiktaş Türk Hanımları Dikiş Yurdu* in 1936 consisted of more than 500 pieces of work, "valuable and precious" embroideries, Romanian and Czechoslovakia embroideries, blouses, tea sets, men's shirts, pajamas, dressing gowns, women's gowns, evening dresses, coats, hats, flowers for vases and evening dresses, corsets, and artefacts adorned with paint. The newspaper reported that all of the works were products of a "delicate good taste" and stressed to the visitors "the great talent of Turkish women."[241] The school also gave courses to those who came from rural areas for short-term education.[242] The *Cumhuriyet* stated that women who, at that time, had paid significant attention to housework could be seen in the increasing number of tailoring schools all across the country. Women who had graduated from this kind of school either contributed to the family economy by sewing their clothes themselves, worked as a tailor or hat maker, or had opened tailoring schools to teach women the art of tailoring.[243]

Some of the graduates of the *Beşiktaş Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* opened tailoring schools in various places of across the country and according to

238 "Beşiktaş'ta Türk Hanımları Dikiş Yurdu'nun Sergisi," 2.

239 *Cumhuriyet* congratulated the director and students of the school. "Beşiktaş'ta Türk Hanımları Dikiş Yurdu'nun Sergisi," 2.

240 "Beşiktaş Biçki Yurdu Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 September 1929, 1. The press appreciated the delicate good taste and talent of women at the exhibition in 1932. "Beşiktaş Biçki Yurdunda Sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1932, 4.

241 "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 September 1936, 4.

242 "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 19 September 1936, 4.

243 "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," 4.

the *Cumhuriyet*, they had spread the art of tailoring.[244] One of whom was Cemile Hanım, who, after graduating from the *Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu*, had opened a tailoring school in Kırklareli. The *Cumhuriyet* stated that the school had been successful and received interest in the city. The newspaper also appreciated Cemile Hanım for having opened a beneficial art school.[245]

Little information exists on the number of graduates from the school. However, it is possible to find some numbers from different years. Many of the graduates of the *Beşiktaş Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* opened tailor shops and tailoring schools.[246] A total of 730 women graduated from the school by 1937.[247] Annually, the number of graduates was close to 40.[248] According to a news report in 1935, some of the graduates of the school became tailors, while others opened tailoring houses. Some others did not work but were able to fulfill the tailoring needs themselves and their families, and thus rid themselves of the tailor expenditures that they once had to pay.[249] For the other tailoring schools, no accurate information about the number of graduates existed. Depending on the number of graduates for some years and some schools, it is possible to say that the number female tailors who graduated annually from the tailoring schools varied from 10 to 34.[250]

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244 "Beşiktaş Biçki, Dikiş Yurdu Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 September 1937, 5.

245 "Kırklarelinde açılan Dikiş ve Biçki Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 March 1937, 2.

246 "Beşiktaş dikiş yurdu sergisi açıldı," 2.

247 According to a news in 1933, approximately 600 female tailors and craftswomen had graduated from the school. According to the newspapers, the total number of graduates was 644 women by 1934, 675 women by 1935 and more than 700 women by 1936. "Beşiktaş dikiş yurdu sergisi açıldı," 2. "Beşiktaş Biçki, Dikiş Yurdu Sergisi," 5. "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 September 1935, 7. "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 September 1936, 4.

248 The number of graduates was 39 in 1933. In 1934, 22 women had graduated from the first class and 17 women had graduated from the second class. "Beşiktaş dikiş yurdu sergisi açıldı," 2. "Beşiktaş dikiş yurdu imtihanı," 2. "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1934, 6.

249 "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 September 1935, 7.

250 A total of 21 women graduated from the tailoring school in Çarşamba in 1934; 34 women graduated from the *Teşvik-i Sanayi Hanımlar Biçki ve Dikiş Mektebi*, which had been

8.7.2 Exhibitions of the Tailoring Schools

At the end of the education semester, the tailoring schools hosted exhibitions where all of the students were obliged to present their products, which would be on display only, and they could get them back after the exhibition. The newspapers praised women's sewing work at these schools. The annual exhibitions of almost every tailoring school at that time were reported in the newspapers, which also published names of all of the graduates in each year and expressed appreciation toward the graduates for their artisanship. For example, one of the newspapers stated that the exhibition of the tailoring school in Tekirdağ showed "the

run by Mürşide Cemil in Çarşıkapı in Çemberlitaş and was located in the land behind the school Feyziati Lisesi in 1933;10 women graduated from the *Ülkü Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* in Beypazarı in 1935; 31 women, in 1933 and 12 women, in 1935, graduated from the *Vezneciler Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Mektebi*, which had been run by Nesibe İbrahim; 9 women graduated from the *Kadıköy Biçki Dikiş Evi,* which had been situated in Altıyol in Kadıköy in 1934; 12 women graduated from the *Hilal Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* in Malatya in 1934; 6 women graduated from the *Samsun Biçki Yurdu* graduated and 21 students had passed the first class in 1935; 9 and 8 women respectively graduated from two tailoring schools in Zonguldak that had been run by women in 1935; 23 women graduated from the *Tezel Biçki Yurdu* in 1936; and 10 women graduated from one tailoring school in Adapazarı in 1935. A tailoring school in Gaziantep had two classes and approximately 30 students in 1934. The number of graduates was 9 in 1934 in this school. 36 students continued to the tailoring school in Gaziantep, 25 graduated in 1937. More than 50 women had attended to the school, the *Edirne Dikiş Yurdu*, run by Behiye Hanım in 1934. More than 500 students had graduated from the *Gedikpaşa Asadoryan Biçki ve Dikiş Mektebi* by 1938. "Çarşamba Dikiş mektebi sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 September 1934, 2. "Dün Açılan biçki ve dikiş sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 September 1933, 4. "Beypazarı Dikiş Yurdundan mezun olanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 October 1935, p 2. "Vezneciler Dikiş ve Biçki Mektebinin sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 September 1933, 4. "Vezneciler Biçki Yurdunda sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 20 September 1935, 5. "Kadıköy Dikiş Evinin sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 September 1934, 4. "Malatya Hilal Dikiş Yurdunun bu seneki mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 July 1934, 4. "Samsun Biçki Yurdundan bu sene çıkanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 July 1935, 5. "Zonguldak Biçki Yurdlarından çıkanlar," 6. "Tezel Biçki Yurdundan çıkanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 13 August 1936, 2. "Adapazarı kadınlığı için hayırlı bir müessese," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 July 1939, 4. "Gazi Antepte Biçki Yurdu sergisi açıldı," 2. "Gazi Antebde Biçki Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 October 1937, 7. "Edirne Dikiş Yurdundan mezun olan hanımlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 September 1934, 4. *Cumhuriyet,* 25 February 1938, 8.

delicate taste" of Turkish women and that the students had been educator with rigor. According to the news, Bahire Erengün, the president of the tailoring school in Tekirdağ was appreciated by the local community.[251] Another school was in Gümüşhane, to which courteous families of the city attended the school for 6 months, all of whom had graduated at the end of the education period. Nezihe Ocaklı, the teacher of the school was extended appreciation for the success that she had achieved "through her patriotism and love of her job."[252] One tailoring school was in Elaziz.[253] The president of the school, Seniha Gün was presented in the news as a woman who had contributed to the dissemination of tailoring art inside the country. The newspaper stated that she had "educated the young girls of Elaziz" and allowed them to progress in tailoring, which was "one of the basics of domestic economy." According to the newspaper, Seniha Hanım expanded her activities every year and her initiation became a broad movement in Elaziz.[254] One other example was *Beylerbeyi Dikiş Yurdu* (Beylerbeyi Sewing School), which hosted an exhibition at which the products of the students were presented in 1934. The president of the school was Refia Salih Hanım.[255] The school, considered to be "very beneficial for Turkish girls" hosted an exhibition in 1935 as well, and the *Cumhuriyet* announced that the exhibition was "full of artefacts worth-seeing."[256] For another exhibition hosted by the *Cumhuriyet Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* (Cumhuriyet Tailoring School), the newspaper praised the "delicate" artefacts made by the "future house mothers" (*müstakbel ev anaları*).[257] One example was *Melâhat Cemal Biçki Yurdu* (Melâhat Cemal Sewing School) in Diyarbakır in 1932. First, the general inspector, and the governor along with distinguished families participated in the exhibition of the school, where robes, evening dresses, and tea and bed sets with Antep embroideries

251 "Tekirdağ Biçki Yurdundan mezun olanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 June 1939, 5.

252 "Gümüşhanede açılan Dikiş Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 August 1936, 7.

253 "Elaziz Biçki Yurdu güzel bir sergi açtı," *Cumhuriyet*, 30 April 1934, 6.

254 "Elaziz Biçki Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 October 1936, 4.

255 "Beylerbeyi dikiş yurdu açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 October 1934, 4.

256 "Beylerbeyi Kadınlar Dikiş Yurdunun sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 August 1935, 7.

257 "Çorum Dikiş Yurdunun açtığı sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 August 1937, 2.

attracted the most attention in 1934. The newspaper stated that the president, Melâhat Cemal Hanım who had taught her students the delicacy and good taste of artisanship would continue to her work.[258]

The government supported women's enterprise to open tailoring schools in the interwar years. The annual exhibitions of these schools were visited by the local elites, government officials, and even by some of the ministries. For example, the general secretary of the RPP and Kütahya deputy, Recep Bey, visited the exhibition of the *Beşiktaş Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* in 1934 and expressed appreciation of the works on display, which had comprised all kinds of evening dresses, costumes, bedstead sets, pillows, hats, and artificial flowers.[259] He congratulated Şükrü Bey and the teacher, Ferihan Hanım.[260] Another tailoring school was in Çarşamba in Fatih, and had been administered by Sabriye Hanım. The school hosted an exhibition to present the artefacts produced by its students, the local administrators, district governor, officials and press attended the exhibition, at which handicraft artefacts, garments, and shirts for both sexes had been on display.[261] Rauf Bey, the district governor of Fatih, and high officials from the party's Fatih organization attended the exhibition in 1936. One of the graduates, Masume Hanım gave a speech and emphasized the significance of art and tailoring as an art.[262] The *Vezneciler Türk Kadınları Biçki ve Dikiş Mektebi* (Vezneciler Turkish Women Tailoring School) hosted an exhibition on its 10th anniversary in 1935 in participation with the director of Beyazıt.[263] The *Teşvik-i Sanayi Hanımlar Biçki ve Dikiş Mektebi* (Ladies' Tailoring School for the Encouragement of Industries), which had been run by Mürşide Cemil in Çarşıkapı in Çemberlitaş[264], hosted an exhibition in 1936 and well-known families of Istanbul were in attendance.[265]

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258 "Diyarbekirde güzel bir biçki sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 September 1934, 7.

259 "Beşiktaş Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 14 September 1934, 6.

260 "Beşiktaş Dikiş yurdunu takdir," *Cumhuriyet*, 1 October 1934, 4.

261 "Fatih Biçki ve Dikiş mektebi sergisi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 September 1933, 2.

262 "Fatih Biçki Yurdunun sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 September 1936, 5.

263 "Vezneciler Biçki Yurdunda sergi," 5.

264 The school located in the land behind the school Feyziati Lisesi.

265 "Teşviki Sanayi Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 23 September 1936, 2.

The attention of the government was not limited to the schools in Istanbul. The exhibitions of the tailoring schools received the interest of the ruling elite in Anatolia as well. For example, a newly opened tailoring school in Bandırma hosted an exhibition in 1939 in participation with the Balıkesir governor.[266] The *Hilal Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* (Crescent Tailoring School) in Malatya hosted an exhibition in participation with the governor in 1934.[267] The *Sarıyer Dikiş Yurdu* (Sarıyer Tailoring School) hosted its exhibition in the youth gathering-place of the party in participation with the prominent officials of the district in 1935. The exhibition consisted of a variety of sections, among which, the flower, painting, coverlet set and pillow sections had received attention. The newspaper announced the names of women whose works had been appreciated the most. The newspaper expressed appreciation towards the president of the school, Şefika Kazım Hanım for having endured a great deal of corruption, yet still effectively running the school in 1935.[268]

8.7.3 Women Entrepreneurs and Tailoring Schools

The majority of the tailoring schools were directed by women entrepreneurs. I found only a couple of male-owned tailoring schools. One example was the *Kadıköy Biçki Dikiş Evi* (Kadıköy Tailoring House), the first president of which was Bahriye Hanım. The second president of the school was Zeki Bey, who had received his tailoring education in Germany, and had become both a teacher and the president of the school.[269] Another example was the *Beşiktaş Türk Hanımları Dikiş Yurdu*, founded by a private entrepreneur, Mehmet Şükrü (Canal) in Beşiktaş Akaretler in 1922. The third tailoring school was *Asrî Biçki Yurdu* (Modern Sewing School), opened and directed by Suad Zeki Arıkan in Gaziantep, in 1930s. However, most of the tailoring schools were founded by women entrepreneurs who had themselves graduated from girls' art schools, girls' institutions, or other tailoring schools run by women

266 "Bandırmada açılan dikiş sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 August 1939, 5.

267 "Malatya Hilal Dikiş Yurdunun bu seneki mezunları," 4.

268 "Sarıyer Dikiş Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 25 September 1935, 2.

269 "Kadıköy Biçki Yurdunun sergi ve müsameresi," 5.

entrepreneurs. For example, the *Cumhuriyet* reported that many women had graduated from the tailoring schools in Bornova in 1936, some of whom opened workshops just after their graduation.[270] One tailoring school was opened in Kozan in 1940 and the school's teacher, Nuriye Saygılı, who was described as "the best tailor in town" had graduated from the *Adana Biçki Yurdu* (Adana Tailoring School).[271] Another example was a tailoring school that opened in Mersin in 1938 by "a Turkish girl", "an artisan to be proud of", Cemile Oğuzberk, who had graduated from the *Beyoğlu Kız Akşam Sanat Mektebi* with honors and had an expertise certificate in various branches. The newspaper stated that Cemile Hanım faced with the disinterest of the local people at first, but after one year of education, the exhibition of the school attracted the attention of the local people, asking for the support of cultural institutions in the country.[272] The president of the leading tailoring school in Kayseri was Makbule Hanım, who had graduated from the *Ankara Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* (Ankara Tailoring School), and was introduced as a "very hardworking and entrepreneur woman" in the newspaper. This local tailoring school opened a union with the aim of tailoring at a low cost and instructed its students to join. The newspaper emphasized that although there were tailors charged high prices for many years, that they would lose their places to the new women graduates of this school.[273]

The Kemalist regime also employed some of the graduates of the tailoring schools as teachers in state schools or as inspectors in education. One of the tailoring schools was in Üsküdar, directed by Ayşe Hanım who received the certificate to open the tailoring school for women for commercial purposes in 1922. In return for her request, the Education Directorate in Istanbul (*İstanbul Vilayeti Maarif Müdüriyeti*)

270 "Bornova Biçki Yurdunun yeni sene mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 July 1936, 6.

271 "Kozanda açılan biçki yurdu," 3.

272 "Mersinde açılan Dikiş Yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 6 July 1939, 4.

273 "Kayseride açılan güzel bir dikiş sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 24 July 1935, 5.

appointed Şazimend Hanım, one of the graduates of the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* to work in this school.[274]

Women who wanted to learn sewing applied to private tailoring schools in addition to the art schools of the Ministry of Education.[275] A daughter of one official, Mevhibe Tarhan opened a tailoring school called the *Tezel Biçki Yurdu* (Tezel Sewing School) in Bursa. This "young and enlightened Turkish girl" who had graduated from *Ankara İnkılap Biçki Yurdu* (Ankara Revolution Tailoring School), opened a school on her own. Two months after the opening of the school in 1936, according to the news, the school received great attention in Bursa. According to the *Cumhuriyet*, the school taught both the practice and theory of tailoring, which "women very much needed" with the latest designs for women's and men's clothes, such as pajamas, shirts, jackets, and coats.[276] The school president appreciated the eagerness and efforts of women in the school. She also stated that a recent deep interest on housework emerged in 1936.[277] In a similar way, the *Cumhuriyet* pointed to the increasing interest on housewifery and stated that women's tailoring necessities could be met through the spread of these kinds of schools in the city.[278] It also stated that the *Tezel Biçki Yurdu* was educating housewives for the country.[279] Not only housewives, they were also women entrepreneurs, who had opened their tailoring schools in the city. For example, 2 women

274 The directorate approved that the school was suitable for 50 students. BCA 180.9.126.606.8, 23 January 1922. No further information exists about the school. There is a report of an inspector on a tailoring school in Salacak in Üsküdar. This report could be for the same school. According to the report, the inspector attended the graduation exam at the end of the education semester of 1924-1925, and appreciated the training in the school and stated that students of the school had "reached a level competing with famous tailors" of Istanbul in a short period of time. BCA 180.9.242.1212.19, 5 September 1925.

275 "Bursadaki dikiş yurdu çok rağbet gördü," *Cumhuriyet*, 22 March 1936, 4.

276 "Bursada yeni bir Biçki Yurdu açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 31 January 1936, 5.

277 "Bursadaki dikiş yurdu çok rağbet gördü," 4.

278 "Bursada biçki yurtlarına gösterilen rağbet," *Cumhuriyet*, 8 February 1937, 5. See, also, "Tezel Biçki Yurdunun imtihanları bitti," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 July 1937, 2.

279 "Tezel Biçki Yurdunun imtihanları bitti," 2.

graduates of the school in 1936 opened tailoring houses in Bursa.[280] On the other hand, the ministry also employed the graduates in state schools. The Ministry of Education decided to appoint some of the 1937 graduates of this school as teaches at schools determined by the ministry.[281] The tailoring schools worked in collaboration with the ministry and *Halkevi* in the 1930s. For example, the Ministry of Education sent 10 students to *Tezel Biçki Yurdu* from *Halkevi* in 1937.[282]

One other indication of the regime's support was that the local officials provided places for the schools to hold their exhibitions. Tailoring schools opened their annual exhibitions in state schools, state institutions such as Türkkuşu Saloon,[283] or the headquarters of the RPP[284] in their city, in participation with local governors, top officials and the elite of the city.[285] The Kemalist regime opened sewing courses in *Halkevi* during the 1930s. For example, under the auspices of *Halkevi*, a tailoring school was opened in ŞebinKarahisar in Giresun in 1937,[286] and

280 "Bursada biçki yurtlarına gösterilen rağbet," 5. See, also, "Tezel Biçki Yurdunun imtihanları bitti," 2.

281 "Tezel Biçki Yurdunun imtihanları bitti," 2.

282 "Bursada biçki yurtlarına gösterilen rağbet," 5.

283 The *Bursa Bilgi Biçki Yurdu* was another tailoring school in Bursa. This school hosted an exhibition in *Türkkuşu Saloon* in Bursa, in 1938, and presented evening dresses, gowns, coats, elegant pajamas and underwear which were shown appreciation by the press. "Bursa Bilgi Biçki Yurdu sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 August 1938, 5.

284 The *Ülkü Biçki ve Dikiş Yurdu* in Beypazarı Adapazarı was established in 1933. "Adapazarı kadınlığı için hayırlı bir müessese," *Cumhuriyet*, 16 July 1939, 4.

285 The *Bura Dikiş ve Biçki Yurdu* hosted an exhibition in *Halkevi* in 1937. *İstiklal Biçki Dikiş Yurdu* hosted its exhibition in *Halkevi* in 1939. A tailoring school in İnebolu hosted its exhibition in *İsmet Paşa İlk Okulu* (İsmet Paşa Primary School) in 1939. A tailoring school in Lüleburgaz, opened by an artisan and an entrepreneur, Kevser Yüksel, hosted an exhibition in 1937 in *Halkevi*. The formal opening of this exhibition was made by the governor. A tailoring school in Çankırı hosted its exhibition in *Halkevi* in 1939. "Aydın Dikiş Yurdundan mezun olanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 July 1937, 2. "Adapazarı dikiş yurdunda diploma tevzii," *Cumhuriyet*, 11 August 1939, 2. "İnebolu Dikiş Yurdunun sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 17 August 1939, 4. "Lüleburgazda açılan dikiş sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 4 August 1937, 4. "Çankırıda açılan güzel bir sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 August 1939, 4.

286 "Ş.Karahisarda biçki, dikiş sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 September 1937, 2.

in Söke in 1938.[287] The artefacts of the graduates from the tailoring courses were presented in the *Halkevi* building in their city or district.[288] *Halkevi* was also able to work with female tailors who had a school. For example, the *Edirne Dikiş Yurdu* (Edirne Sewing School) was established in 1928 and run by Behiye Hanım. *Halkevi* opened a tailoring branch under the administration of Behiye Hanım in 1934.[289] The RPP opened a tailoring school for women only that was free of charge at the party's center behind Tokatlıyan in 1934.[290] These schools worked in cooperation with the local administration and the government.

A significant number of tailoring schools were opened as women's initiatives in the Eastern regions of the country as well. One of which was the *Asrî Biçki Yurdu* which was directed by Suad Zeki Arıkan in Gaziantep. The exhibitions of this school, embellished with various forms of needle and knitting artefacts from women evening dresses to children's clothes, was opened in *Halkevi* in 1935 and 1937.[291] The *Cumhuriyet* stated that "the modern tailoring school" under the presidency of Arıkan opened "a place of elegance every year."[292]

Ayşe İnci, a member of the municipality in Gaziantep, owned a tailoring school in the city. She hosted exhibitions in *Halkevi* in the 1930s in participation with deputies, government officials and a great number of people and received the appreciation of the press, which covered the exhibition of her school in 1935.[293] One year later, her tailoring school

287 "Söke Dikiş sergisi kapandı," *Cumhuriyet*, 26 January 1938, 2.

288 For example, see "Söke Dikiş Yurdundan mezun olanlar," *Cumhuriyet*, 27 November 1936, 7.

289 More than 50 women attended to the school in 1934. "Edirne Dikiş Yurdundan mezun olan hanımlar," 4.

290 "Meccanî dikiş ve biçki dersleri," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 March 1934, 6.

291 According to the news in *Cumhuriyet*, 12.000 visitors attended the exhibition in 1937. "Gazi Antebde güzel bir sergi açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, 3 July 1935, 6. "Gazi Anteb Asrî Dikiş ve Biçki Yurdu mezunları," *Cumhuriyet*, 29 September 1936, 4.

292 The school offered 2 years of education. The first year graduates were to learn sewing and embroidery, which would be sufficient to meet the tailoring necessities at home. The second year graduates would be eligible to open a tailoring school. "Gazi Antebde Biçki Yurdu sergisi," 7.

293 "Antebde açılan büyük bir sergi," *Cumhuriyet*, 5 October 1935, 2.

combined with *Halkevi* in Gaziantep and together, they continued to operate under the local state institution.[294]

In some cases, the Kemalist regime opened sewing courses for women in *Halkevi,* working with women entrepreneurs. Governorates would open sewing courses. Announced as a new attempt in the aim of the development of villages, the governorate in Bursa opened a tailoring school for village women, so that they could learn to sew their clothes themselves in January 1939. The Ministry of Education sent a girl's institute teacher to the school. The first course was to be opened in Gürsu due to the crowded population of the sub-district. The course was to last for 4 months.[295] The governorate Şefik Soyer, Minister of Education, Fakir Erdem, and some of the top officials from the government, party, municipality, and *Halkevi* attended the opening of the course. In his speech, the governorate emphasized the significance of the course and stated the expectations of the benefits received from the course, which taught art to village women. At first, 50 village women was registered for the course. A woman teacher, Muzaffer Hanım from the Necatibey Institute was appointed to the course as a teacher.[296]

Tailoring schools were mostly opened and run by women in the interwar period. These schools provided sewing- and tailoring-related education for women. Although no information exists on the number of graduates, it is obvious that a considerable number of the graduates from these schools had opened tailoring schools or had been employed in tailoring-related jobs. The Kemalist state also supported women's sewing work in public and encouraged more women to be employed in the tailoring business during this period.

§ 8.8 Conclusion

The art house of *Hilal-i Ahmer* and the *Esirgeme Derneği* were the two women's organizations that had similar goals in creating national

294 "Gazi Antebde modern bir kültür yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 10 August 1936, 2.

295 "Köy kadınları için dikiş yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 9 January 1939, 5.

296 "Bursada köy dikiş yurdu," *Cumhuriyet*, 21 January 1939, 8.

clothes. Both of these organizations aimed at preserving and modernizing traditional Turkish clothes and embroidery. The Kemalist regime did not adopt a policy to create national clothes or preserve traditional handicrafts in textile production in the interwar period. Therefore, it was disinterested in the work of these two women's organizations for a certain period of time. When a policy shift did occur in the mid-1930s, the Kemalist regime remembered these organizations and started to work together with them.

The *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu,* on the other hand, did not declare a specific aim to preserve a traditional form, style, or motif in clothes. It basically aimed to educate Turkish women in tailoring and provided a job opportunity for women in tailoring related jobs. With this aim, *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* seems to be closer to the policy of the new republic, which encouraged women to be involved in tailoring related jobs in the public sphere in this period.

Considering women's involvement in the public sphere, hosting exhibitions became one of the common activities for women in the interwar period in Turkey. Exhibitions were significant public places for women to show themselves and establish their identities as working women.[297] Women organized a considerable number of exhibitions to present the artefacts that they produced, working under the roof of a women's organization; or a tailoring school run by a woman entrepreneur; or a public school founded in the aim of raising female tailors and embroiderers in this period. The elites and press-media of the period appreciated the women for their handicrafts, uniqueness and hard work.

Tailoring and sewing had always been associated with traditional womanhood. In the interwar period, women participated in the public sphere through the female-associated works. Women organized exhibitions, and even participated in international exhibitions as

297 For the role of exhibitions as significant public venues for women in a different context, see Alexandra Bounia, "Exhibiting Women's Handicrafts: Arts and Crafts Exhibitions in Greece at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century," *Gender and History*, no. 2 (August 2014): 287-312.

representatives of Turkey. They contributed to the construction of the country's national image through these exhibitions. Through their tailoring-related work, they involved in professional work life, and as well as in art.

9

Conclusion

Women's occupation with fashion, tailoring and handicrafts had a central place in their public activities since the last decade of the Ottoman Empire. Women became pioneers in anti-fashion campaigns and worked to determine national norms in clothing. They also considered that tailoring-related works provided an employment opportunity for women in the public sphere. Women's periodicals propagated the use of domestic attire; some of which initiated campaigns to determine a partial uniformity in women's clothing. Some of the women's organizations that had been founded in 1913 continued to exist during the interwar period and worked to create a national norm in clothing, or specifically educate female Turkish tailors. These organizations opened tailoring schools and workshops, and educated women in handicrafts. They also encouraged women to open their own enterprises. The Kemalist regime also supported women's occupation with tailoring. An increasing number of women used these female-associated occupations to penetrate the public sphere. The previous chapters have examined all of these activities in detail and resulted in findings regarding various aspects of women's history in the early

republican Turkey. Herein, a brief discussion of these findings will conclude this research.

To begin with, studying fashion-related activities offers a broader perspective on the women's movement. While the TKB was the only women's association that demanded the extension of suffrage, multiple institutions occupied themselves with fashion and clothing: —The art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi* and the *Esirgeme Derneği* were philanthropic women's organizations, while the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was a private tailoring school. All these organizations including the TKB, joined in the struggle against fashion consumption, some of which adopted a form of sartorial nationalism. The anti-fashion program led to a wide array of activities from determining the form and design of national clothing to opening schools and shops, and educating female tailors and employing female textile workers. These activities began in 1913 and continued during the interwar period, even in the aftermath of the abolition of *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* in 1935. Appreciating the significant place of the national fashion agenda for women's movement thus provides a better understanding of the shared motives of its different factions.

The women's collective action against the spread of western fashion in the empire had its roots in the state-led mobilization campaigns during the Balkan Wars. In 1913, the CUP acquired the undisputed control of the government after a coup, and quickly went on to pursue a 'national economy' policy. Propaganda for an empire-wide boycott of Western goods was part of this policy, and fashion consumption by the upper-class women of Istanbul quickly became a particular target for criticism. Elite women affiliated with members of the ruling elite and intelligentsia expressed active support of the anti-fashion propaganda. They wrote articles to raise public awareness of the boycotts, and themselves started boycotting campaigns. Furthermore, in 1913 they were resorted to collective action by founding women's organizations to fight the influence of western fashion. These organizations continued to be active during the interwar years.

The Great War reinforced these trends. As elsewhere, women's employment, especially in textile industries, increased after 1914. Associations also contributed to this trend, and in accordance with their philanthropic mission, they employed poor, orphaned and immigrant women in handicrafts. (Chapter 2).

The anti-fashion attitude of the wartime governments of the CUP was subsequently inherited by the Ankara government, who passed a legislation that banned the import of fashionable western goods in 1921. Significantly, the attitude of Ankara towards Western fashion was destined to change radically in the near future.

Women's periodicals had two distinct attitudes towards Western fashion. Those periodicals that addressed a broader audience, introduced the latest European fashion to its readers, and encouraged fashion consumption. On the other hand, many women, who wrote in these magazines, criticized Western influences on women's clothing. They also tried to affect the consumers' preferences by offering alternatives themselves. For instance, periodicals launched campaigns for uniformity in headgear and *yaşmak*. They also presented clothes designed by Turkish tailors. Attempts to determine a partial uniformity in clothing continued to appear in printed media until the promulgation of the Hat Law in 1925 (Chapter 3).

Fashion/tailoring-related activities continued to open career paths to women from various backgrounds during the interwar era. Women-run institutions such as the art house of *Hanımlar Merkezi*, the *Esirgeme Derneği* and the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, did not only promote the consumption of domestic fabrics, but also manufactured women's attire to compete with the European imports. Fashion/tailoring-related activities had an emancipatory effect on the lives of women in that they were a means for women to participate actively in public life without challenging the traditional gender norms (Chapter 7).

Exhibitions constituted a particularly significant opportunity. Women's organizations shared their products with the public in exhibitions across the country. They also joined international handicrafts exhibitions to represent Turkey. For some of these international events,

they also participated in the decision-making processes regarding the choice of exhibit items. To the extent that these exhibitions were a means for the young republic to construct its self-image in the eyes of the world as well as its own citizens, and the women were among the architects of this construction. Exhibitions also helped the women to construct their identities as working women. With their products having been highly regarded by the elites and media of the time, who praised the uniqueness and delicacy of women's handicrafts. Newspapers presented them as pieces of national art, and the female manufacturers as the artists. Tailoring and embroidering thereby earned women a solid standing in working life (Chapter 8).

Perhaps the best example of the opportunities that tailoring-related education brought to the women is the case of the girls' institutes. In that case, feminist scholarship hitherto argued that the primary aim of these institutes was to raise ideal Turkish housewives and mothers. To that end, the girls' institutes prepared their students for the housework that they would do in their future family lives. This approach is not incorrect, but it fails to capture the practical role of the girls' institutes in introducing many of its graduates to working life. Some of the women who had graduated these institutes had gone on to become teachers in sewing schools that had been run by organizations, while others opened their own schools. Some opened workshops and became entrepreneurs. All of these helped women to blur the boundaries between the public and private spheres. Using a skill traditionally associated with their domestic roles, women were able to enter the work life, earn their living, and erode the men's-club status of the public sphere, albeit to a limited extent. All these do not amount to a full-scale transformation of gender relations, but they nonetheless constitute a tangible improvement in the social conditions of urban middle-class women. (Chapter 5).

The attitudes of the women's organizations towards the questions of European fashion and national clothing were not the most explicitly political aspect of their programs. Where the women's movement displayed an overtly political agenda was instead TKB's struggle for women's acquisition of political rights. In the early years of the republic,

the TKB persistently tried to persuade the public and the authorities to the extension of suffrage. In fact, women's struggle for political rights greatly inspired the post-1980 feminists, who since then produced extensive literature on the topic. Thanks to this literature, the history of TKB's suffrage struggle is known in all its details today. Yet this natural fascination arguably caused researchers to neglect the association's activities outside of the political rights agenda. In fact, the TKB was very active in anti-fashion campaigns as well. The union also had a very strict position regarding the question of fashion consumption, as its founder, Nezihe Muhiddin was a very heated opponent of Western fashion. Under her presidency, the union advocated a radical form of sartorial nationalism. In 1927, the union proposed the use of uniform clothing, and came up with a design for it. However, the proposal did not prove popular among the authorities. In response, the union this time proposed that women should start wearing tuxedoes at balls to diminish fashion consumption. One member of the union even joined a national ball wearing a tuxedo.

Although 1927 was the year in which Nezihe Muhiddin's radical anti-fashion aspirations reached their peak. Yet her proposals were at odds with the regime's modernist Westernism in clothing. Consequently, she became the target of frequent criticism. In October 1927, she was dismissed from the association's presidency based on a dubious embezzlement accusation. The scholarship is in consensus that Muhiddin's independent political spirit was not tolerable for the authoritarian regime, which eventually decided to eliminate her. I argued in Chapter 6 that this tendency to pursue an independent agenda manifested itself most clearly in Muhiddin's anti-fashion campaigns. Indeed, a thorough analysis of 1927's events shows that Muhiddin's anti-fashion activities, alongside her political struggle, may have played a role in her dismissal. The association continued to express opinions on the question of fashion after 1927, but never resorted to radical forms of sartorial nationalism again. Instead, in line with the official policy, it propagated the consumption of domestically manufactured goods.

The TKB abolished itself in 1935 under pressure from the authoritarian single party regime. This was a significant turning point which ended the activities of the most prominent women's association of the interwar era. However, other women's organizations continued to operate. Education and employment in tailoring and embroidering continued to be a channel for women to enter the public sphere. Some of these women-run institutions even enjoyed the government's renewed interest in the late 1930s. In this respect, the women's movement did not end abruptly in 1935. This persistence in women's public activities casts doubt on the accuracy of the wave narrative. Once a broader understanding of the women's movement replaces the narrow focus on suffrage struggle, women's history ceases to be comprehensible by a simple scheme of consecutive waves.

Women's organizations of the interwar era operated in an environment conditioned decisively by the PRP's authoritarian rule. An examination of their activities therefore inevitably required a reevaluation of the Kemalist cultural policies, which was simultaneously a constraining and a structuring influence on the women's movement. The ruling party's views were relevant to the topic particularly because the Kemalist regime attributed a very high symbolic value to visual culture, particularly to women's image. Women's public appearance became an indispensable tool for the manifestation of a national identity, and women's clothing became a topic of discussion through which elites of the early republic expressed their views on the national culture. Women were both the objects and participants of this discussion.

The nation builders' symbolic investment on women's appearance was already in place during the final years of the empire; however, the Kemalist regime's distinctive perspective on nation building implied a twist in the approach to women's clothing as well. What differentiated Kemalists from their unionist predecessors was an unconditional adherence to secular modernism, which they equated with the wholesale adoption of Western culture. This ideology became manifest in the republic's systematic efforts to distance itself from Islam and its Ottoman past in the cultural sphere. Kemalist nationalism did not attempt to

preserve traditional and indigenous norms in the national identity. Unlike Ziya Gökalp, who made a distinction between culture and civilization and advocated the preservation of the former as the true core of the nation's identity, Kemalists were willing to transform culture in accordance with Western norms as well. This modernist westernism was what differentiated Kemalist cultural policy from the policies of contemporary fascist regimes (Chapter 4).

The Kemalists' approach to the question of national attire was not different from their take on music or architecture: Women's clothing was to reflect their modern civilized identity, which meant the adoption of European norms in clothing. The Hat Law of 1925 marked the turning point in this regard. It brought debates over national clothing to a decisive end, and restricted nationalist discourse in attire to the advocacy of domestic manufactures. Girls' institutes illustrate the extent to which official institutions embraced European norms in dressing in the interwar period: These schools became fashion centers for middle-class women in the cities. They used domestic fabric and Turkish tailors, but the designs of their products were directly copied from the contemporary European fashion. These institutes therefore played a role in increasing the citizens' acquaintance with Western fashion and contributed to the spread of Western clothing norms.

These stood in contrast to the views of the women's movement, which had been working hard to come up with an alternative style of clothing peculiar to the nation for more than a decade. Nezihe Muhiddin was the most fervent supporter of this sartorial nationalism, but other associations such as the *Esirgeme Derneği* and the art house of the *Hanımlar Merkezi* also tried to either preserve, or reinvent, the "Turkish national design." They continued their activities to that effect during the interwar era, but for this they were abandoned into oblivion. The government elites instead supported the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu*, which did not declare an agenda of developing a national clothing style in the interwar period. Thanks to the government's support, the *Türk Kadınları Biçki Yurdu* was perceived as a model for other private tailoring schools.

A gradual change in the regime's cultural policies is observable after 1935. In the second half of the 1930s, the ruling elite started to show more interest in the authentic elements of the Turkish culture. A desire to discover the national motifs in traditional handicrafts, including women's attire, was part of this trend. The exhibitions of the girls' institutes began to include authentic pieces adapted from museum items. The government's attention also turned to the previously forgotten women's associations whose products were now celebrated as unique objects of Turkish art. Columnists of the day lamented the earlier ignorance towards these associations' efforts to revive the national handicrafts.

Fashion-related activities were a major occupation for women in interwar period in Turkey. In this dissertation, I tried to show that these female-associated activities allowed women to participate in social and political life. This participation did not come from a feminist program but from within a traditional definition of womanhood. What at first glance appears as a reproduction of traditional gender norms thus opened the public sphere to women.

Appendix A

The Number of Girls' Institutes (1928-1941/1942)

	Cities where Girls' Institutes were opened (1928-1941/1942)	**Number of schools**
1	Adana	1
2	Afyonkarahisar	1
3	Ankara	1
4	Bursa	1
5	Edirne	1
6	Elazığ	1
7	İstanbul	3
8	İzmir	1
9	Kayseri	1
10	Kütahya	1
11	Manisa	1
12	Sivas	1
13	Trabzon	1
		15

The Number of Girls' Institutes (1928-1949)

	Cities where Girls' Institutes were opened (1928-1949)	Number of schools
1	Adana	1
2	Afyonkarahisar	1
3	Ankara	1
4	Antakya	1
5	Antalya	1
6	Aydın	1
7	Balıkesir	1
8	Bolu	1
9	Bursa	1
10	Çankırı	1
11	Çorum	1
12	Denizli	1
13	Diyarbakır	1
14	Edirne	1
15	Elazığ	1
16	Erzurum	1
17	Eskişehir	1
18	Gaziantep	1
19	Isparta	1
20	İstanbul	4
21	İzmir	2
22	İzmit	1
23	Kastamonu	1
24	Kayseri	1
25	Kilis	1
26	Kırşehir	1
27	Konya	1
28	Kütahya	1
29	Malatya	1
30	Manisa	1
31	Maraş	1
32	Mersin	1
33	Samsun	1
34	Sivas	1
35	Tekirdağ	1
36	Tokat	1

37	Trabzon	1
38	Urfa	1
39	Yozgat	1
40	Zonguldak	1
		44

The Number of Girls' Evening Art Schools (1928-1941/1942)

	Cities/Districts where Girls' Evening Art Schools were opened (1928-1941/1942)	**Number of schools**
1	Adana	1
2	Afyonkarahisar	1
3	Ankara	1
4	Antakya	1
5	Antalya	2
6	Balıkesir	1
7	Bursa	1
8	Diyarbakır	1
9	Edirne	1
10	Elazığ	1
11	Erzurum	1
12	Eskişehir	1
13	Isparta	1
14	İstanbul	4
15	İzmir	1
16	İzmit	1
17	Kars	1
18	Kastamonu	1
19	Kayseri	1
20	Konya	1
21	Kütahya	1
22	Manisa	1
23	Samsun	1
24	Sivas	1
25	Trabzon	1
26	Uşak	1
		30

The Number of Girls' Evening Art Schools (1928-1949)

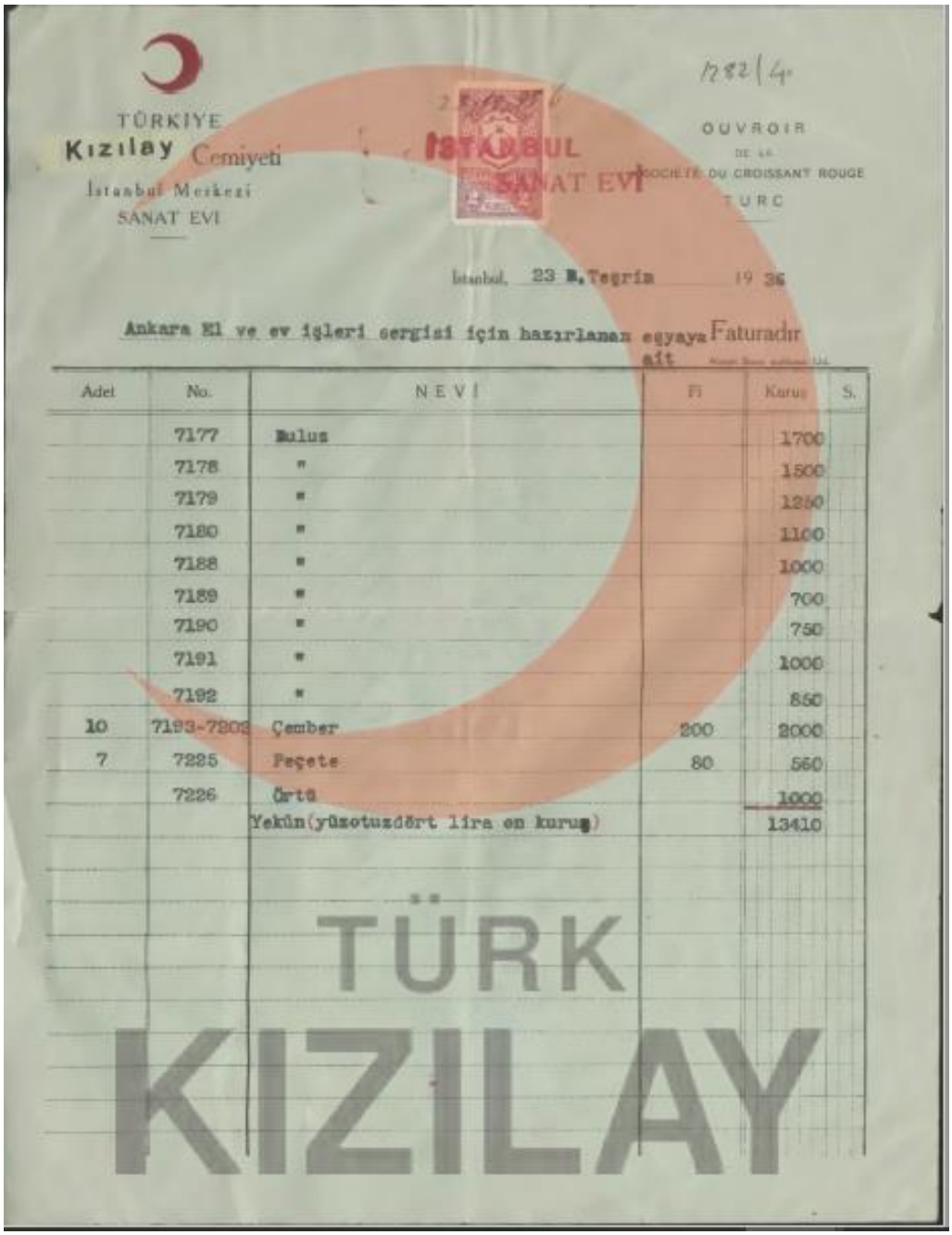
	Cities/Districts where Girls' Evening Art Schools were opened (1928-1949)	**Number of schools**
1	Adana	1
2	Adapazarı	1
3	Afyonkarahisar	1
4	Akhisar	1
5	Amasya	1
6	Ankara	1
7	Antakya	1
8	Antalya	2
9	Balıkesir	1
10	Bartın	1
11	Bayındır	1
12	Bergama	1
13	Bilecik	1
14	Bodrum	1
15	Bolu	1
16	Bor	1
17	Burdur	1
18	Bursa	1
19	Çanakkale	1
20	Çankırı	2
21	Çorlu	1
22	Çorum	1
23	Denizli	1
24	Diyarbakır	1
25	Düzce	1
26	Edirne	1
27	Elazığ	1
28	Erzincan	1
29	Erzurum	1
30	Eskişehir	1
31	Gaziantep	1
32	Gelibolu	1
33	Giresun	1
34	Isparta	1
35	İnebolu	1

36	İnegöl	1
37	İskenderun	1
38	İstanbul	6
39	İzmir	2
40	İzmit	1
41	Karadeniz Ereğlisi	1
42	Kars	1
43	Kastamonu	1
44	Kayseri	1
45	Kırklareli	1
46	Kırşehir	1
47	Kilis	1
48	Konya	1
49	Kütahya	1
50	Lüleburgaz	1
51	Malatya	1
52	Manisa	1
53	Maraş	1
54	Mardin	1
55	Mersin	1
56	Muğla	1
57	Nevşehir	1
58	Niğde	1
59	Ordu	1
60	Ödemiş	1
61	Rize	1
62	Safranbolu	1
63	Samsun	1
64	Selçuk	1
65	Sinop	1
66	Sivas	1
67	Tarsus	1
68	Tire	1
69	Tokat	1
70	Trabzon	1
71	Turgutlu	1
72	Urfa	1
73	Uşak	1
74	Yozgat	1
75	Zonguldak	1

		83

Appendix B

The list of products that the art house of Red Crescent prepared for the Hand and Home Craft Exhibition in 1936



TÜRKİYE
Kızılay Cemiyeti
İstanbul Merkezi
SANAT EVİ

İSTANBUL SANAT EVİ

OUVROIR
DE LA
SOCIETE DU CROISSANT ROUGE
TURC

1282/4

İstanbul, 23 M.Teşrin 19 36

Ankara El ve ev işleri sergisi için hazırlanan eşyaya Faturadır
ait

Adet	No.	NEVİ	Fi	Kuruş	S.
	7177	Bulus		1700	
	7178	"		1500	
	7179	"		1250	
	7180	"		1100	
	7188	"		1000	
	7189	"		700	
	7190	"		750	
	7191	"		1000	
	7192	"		850	
10	7193-7202	Çember	200	2000	
7	7225	Peçete	80	560	
	7226	Örtü		1000	
		Yekün(yüzotuzdört lira on kuruş)		13410	

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BCA 030.10.261.762.24, 437

BCA 030.10.53.346.6, 47

BCA 030.10.72.470.2, 77C

BCA 030.10.73.477.10, 77D

BCA 030.10.78.518.7, 79

BCA 030.18.1.1.14.42.6, 80.11

BCA 030.18.1.2.28.39.9, 242.124

BCA 030.18.1.2.34.12.5, 144.138

BCA 030.18.1.2.40.76.18, 144.154

BCA 030.18.1.2.47.52.4, 238.163

BCA 030.18.1.2.63.23.13, 144.194

BCA 030.18.1.2.64.31.15, 144.197

BCA 030.18.1.2.67.63.8, 143.159

BCA 030.18.1.2.77.64.1

BCA 030.18.1.2.84.82.16, 144.237

BCA 030.18.1.2.85.109.15, 144.243

BCA 030.18.1.2.88.84.15, 144.252

BCA 030.18.1.2.93.105.19, 127.41

BCA 051.4.28.4

BCA 180.9.1.6.9

BCA 180.9.126.603.23

BCA 180.9.126.603.24

BCA 180.9.126.606.11

BCA 180.9.126.606.13

BCA 180.9.126.606.8

BCA 180.9.242.1212.19

BCA 180.9.31.168.19

BCA 180.9.45.233.8

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Resmi Gazete

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi

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PERIODICALS

Altan

Ana

Asar-ı Nisvan

Bilgi Işığı Yurdu

Firuze

Genç Kadın

Hanım

İnci / Yeni İnci

Kadınlar Dünyası

Kadın Yolu / Türk Kadın Yolu

Maarif Vekilliği Dergisi (February 1939)

Moda Albümü

Muhit

Resimli Ay

Siyanet

Süs

THAM

Türk Kadını

Türk Yurdu

Ülkü

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