

**TRACING THE SELF-REPRESENTATION AND  
CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN THE OTTOMAN  
PRESS (1895-1921)**



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CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN THE OTTOMAN  
PRESS (1895-1921)**

**by  
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# TRACING THE SELF-REPRESENTATION AND CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN THE OTTOMAN PRESS (1895-1921)

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*To my mother- my idol in profession, womanhood and life...*



## **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis and that this is the true copy of my thesis, including the final revisions, approved by my thesis committee. All data and information have been obtained, produced, and presented in accordance with the rules of research ethics and principles of academic honesty. As required by these rules, to the best of my knowledge I have acknowledged ideas, thoughts, and any copyrighted material in accordance with the standard referencing rules. I certify that any part of this thesis has not been submitted for a degree or diploma in another educational institution.

Saadet Tıkaç

## ABSTRACT

This Ph.D. thesis investigates the visual self-representation of women in selected publications of the Ottoman Press between years 1895 and 1921. Images of women published in *Kadınlar Dünyası* (KD [Women's World]), a journal run by women were analyzed alongside those in *Servet-i Fünûn* (SF [The Wealth of Sciences]) and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (HM [Ladies' Own Gazette]). This comparative study design allowed to see if a mainstream journal differed in its utilization of female visibility and whether the women's representation changed across time. A total of 1919 unique images (1206 from SF, 460 from HM and 253 from KD) were described and coded on NVivo 12. The coding yielded mode categories that outlined the identity and characteristics of women, their locations and activities. The findings suggest that SF features an image of woman present in the modern world and its professional spheres, but also a mother and a homemaker at home. HM constructs a woman of religious anonymity but belonging to an upper-class urban background and her activity range is limited. Coming at a later period, KD heavily promotes a female identity that is active in a wide range of professions previously unavailable to women. The responsibility of motherhood is also transformed into a task raising a generation of educated Ottoman citizens. It is understood that through a consistent use of women images unlike the other two journals, KD designed an idealistic but realistic representation of a new Ottoman woman whose image is not simply featured for viewing pleasure but to inspire social change in the long term.

**Keywords:** *Kadınlar Dünyası*, women's history, visibility analysis, Ottoman press, Ottoman women

## ÖZET

Bu doktora tezi 1895 ve 1921 yılları arasında Osmanlı basınının seçilmiş yayınlarında kadın öztemsiliğini araştırmaktadır. Kadınlar tarafından yürütülen *Kadınlar Dünyası* (KD) dergisinde yayınlanan kadın görselleri, *Servet-i Fünûn* (SF) ve *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*'dekilerle (HM) birlikte çözümlenmiştir. Bu karşılaştırmalı çalışma tasarımı, anaakım bir yayının kadın görselliğini kullanımı konusunda farklılık gösterip göstermediği ve kadın temsiliinin zaman içinde değişip değişmediğinin görülmesine olanak sağlamaktadır. Toplam 1919 özgün görsel (SF'den 1206, HM'den 460 ve KD'den 253) betimlenip NVivo 12 kullanılarak kodlanmıştır. Kodlama, kadınların kimlik ve özellikleri, bulundukları mekanlar ve eylemleri hakkında mod kategorileri oluşmasını sağlamıştır. Bulgular; SF'nin, modern dünyada ve onun profesyonel çevrelerinde var olan bir kadın görseli sunduğunu; ancak bu kadının aynı zamanda ev kadını ve anne görevini de üstlendiğini göstermektedir. HM, dini açıdan anonim ama üst sınıf şehirli bir kadın inşa etmekte ve bu kadının eylem çeşitliliği sınırlı kalmaktadır. Sonraki zaman diliminde yayınlanan KD ise, daha önce kadınlar için mevcut olmayan çeşitlilikte meslekler icra eden bir kadın kimliğini güçlü biçimde desteklemektedir. Annelik sorumluluğu ise eğitilmiş Osmanlı vatandaşları yetiştirmek şekline evrilmektedir. Çalışma sonucunda anlaşılmaktadır ki tutarlı biçimde kullanılan kadın imgeleri vasıtasıyla, diğer iki yayından farklı olarak KD; idealist ancak gerçekçi bir yeni Osmanlı kadın temsili tasarlamıştır. Bu kadının görselliği sade seyir zevki için değil uzun vadede sosyal değişime ilham olmak amacı taşımaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Kadınlar Dünyası*, kadın tarihi, görsel analiz, Osmanlı basını, Osmanlı kadını

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

**SF:** *Servet-i Fünûn*

**HM:** *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*

**KD:** *Kadınlar Dünyası*

**CDA:** Critical Discourse Analysis

**MDA:** Mediated Discourse Analysis

**MMDA:** Multimodal Discourse Analysis

**WWI:** First World War



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Feminist research literature has long been helping us learn from new and various studies about women, but regardless of the growing enlightenment, brought especially by the post-modern age (Kumar, 2005), it is undeniable that the patriarchal hold over the society still prevails. History is a good reference to turn to, to understand the barriers today and attempt to overcome them. However, for certain geographies and communities, the historical and archival research opportunities are limited or challenging to acquire. For instance, in the case of unearthing the lives and times of the Anatolian women, especially those of Muslim origin, research on the Ottoman Empire's vast archives of hundreds of years is short of a feminist lens and visibility. Çakır (2010) suggests that this, practically, has caused the traditional Ottoman history writing to be male oriented. The history of Ottoman printing and press is no exception, either.

The absence or the limitations in their visibility, did not mean that women were entirely invisible, however. Starting from the *Tanzimat* (Reorganization) period, the progressively increased liberties helped them become more and more involved in social and professional affairs. We witness their establishment of social charities, starting and participating in journalistic endeavors and becoming successful intellectuals and writers. To understand the period and these activities, and what women meant for the social status and modernization of the Empire at the time, Çakır (2010) believes more documentation analyses need to be carried out.

Inspired by this encouragement, this Ph. D thesis is a large-scale and comparative visual discourse analysis project. The research examines a period of about 30 years, during which the Ottoman state and society went through an extensive social and political change culminating into the Second Constitutional Period and beyond. Women found

more chance to be involved in the public sphere and the press advanced into a wave of many publications coming out one after another. This created fertile ground for investigating the intersection because the mass-press became more enriched with images as of late 1800s, domestically and in Europe. However, the research accumulation so far seems, on one hand, to be focusing on the introduction of women's journals and gazettes, detailing the textual content. On another track of research, general imagery (the collection of photographs and illustrations from the era), has been examined. Before presenting the specific aims and objectives of this dissertation that brings the two together, the following chapter will revisit such work to lay a foundation of what we know so far.

## **1.1 Literature Review**

The literature review section will offer a look into the previous research on press, Ottoman women's relationship with it and the period's visuality, with reference to the historical background.

### ***1.1.1 Ideology and Representation***

"Ceci n'est pas une pipe"<sup>1</sup>. Magritte's pipe sparked a discussion that never really ended, and although the interpretations varied over time in line with the differing perception of scholars, Suler and Zakia (2018) claim that one thing remained constant: Images are always a representation. In return, the concept of representation has been linked with the issue of power dynamics: The object of representation and the looker are both viewed to be capable of inducing action or emotion on each other (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001). This can be extended to and observed in the social context, specifically

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<sup>1</sup> "This is not a pipe".

in the establishment and the transformation of the social norms. Cavallaro (2001) exemplifies this phenomenon happening through the agency of the media, which shapes the very notion of “reality”. The ways of our seeing the reality on the media and the nature of the interpretations presented to us or we create are not independent from the ideology of the source of the representations. This understanding of generating customized connotations of the mundane reminds of Barthes’ (1972) concept of the “myth”. For instance, it is now clear to us that photography, which was seen to be a groundbreaking technology for capturing and transmitting the reality without an intervention like never before, has in time been questioned regarding the actual meanings or messages possibly conveyed with it. The settings, positioning of the object, the clothing, the coloring and shadowing and the distortion of these and more could all simply create a variety of responses on the side of the viewer, potentially directing them into a certain idea instilled by the designer of the photographic experience. Sturken and Cartwright (2001) views this system powerful enough to even devise an alternate reality, which characterizes photography as a symbolic tool of representation of a certain ideology.

Ideology, as clearly seen, is not always associated, or communicated with explicit political propaganda. In fact, it operates and becomes more compelling when the unremarkable simplicity of everyday life transmits latent messages that have a potential to inspire social transformation (Strinati, 2004). This happens when the media present different visual, aural, and textual input, and the receivers are instructed to support the ideology that directs it unless it is actively deconstructed or “demythified”. As an example of how a well-established ideology can feed a system, patriarchy can be given. Engels (as cited in Facio, 2013) describes patriarchy as positioning women subservient to men. Although it has been constructed through centuries and through many different means,

according to Spence (1996), photography is one of the prominent tools of more recent times, which has helped consolidate the accepted gender roles that have been built upon the idea that male masculinity is supposed to be dominating. However, it should be noted that the design of the representation and the ideology communicated with it is not a one-sided process: The ideology is also transformed by those who it is presented to (Bolton, 1992a). And, in the case of gender equality, it is clear that it cannot be achieved without the work and coordination by the governing and legislating bodies. However, if the traditional notions of what a woman should be and act like as dictated by the patriarchal ideology can be challenged and demythified, this would support the public in seeing the problems and limitations and a step towards knocking those down can be taken.

#### **1.1.1.1 Self-representation of Women in the Visual Context**

One such right step would be to pay specific attention to the way women design and represent themselves so that we can be more inclusive and effective in analyzing social life and patriarchal ideology. This can be carried out in different contexts, ranging from looking into the cases like Frida Kahlo's self-portraits to female photographers like Alice Hughes, who emerged in the scene as early as 1900s. With their creative power and the idiosyncratic representations of their world or who they are, women have not been mere role players of patriarchy but tried to be communicators of alternative ideologies themselves. Hughes (1996) herself, for instance, through her photography, seemed to have supported and helped set the fashion styles and the beauty standards of the day, leaving traces for us to follow in understanding how women then wanted to see and present themselves physically. In addition, making the specific choice of excluding the men from her photography indicates her desire to create and represent a female-only discourse. Similarly, Lichtenstein (1996) highlights the importance of the conversation

on the ways women represented themselves. This, sometimes even took up a form where women choose an androgynous way, like in the case of famed self-portrait photographer, Claude Cahun. Bending notions and looks of genders as she wished helped her control her own sexual identity and its representation. Supporting this potential of women in creating a self-representation through media against the dominant ideologies, Bolton (1992) suggested that photography specifically is not and should not be considered an area that is controlled by men and that photographs should be analyzed within the larger social context. He explains that this is the key to understanding modernism and its changing power in social and political landscape, and that it historically allowed diverse participation.

#### **1.1.1.2 The Issue of Representation in the Case of Illustrated Magazines**

When we consider the role the illustrated magazines have had in allowing this participation and contribution, the impact of photography and use of imagery in the press becomes even more straightforward. The artist and visual culture theorist Doy (1996) focused on these publications, acknowledging their status of a tool for the advancement of political and social agenda of various groups, which, according to her, should be one of the reasons to question the objectivity of photography in communication in the first place. We additionally encounter scholar Sally Stein (1992) in the investigation of the early periods of photography and its utilization by illustrated journals. She analyzed the role and function of visuality, and the way it was designed and positioned in the *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883-2016). She concluded that the nature of the selection and organization of imagery, along with the textual content matter, might have played a role in the modernization of the society and the creation and fostering of the consumerist culture in the following years. Stein (1992) also reminds that photography is indeed

potentially one of the most important tools for creating and sustaining ideologies, but as mentioned, it is also shaped by the dominant ideology itself. Supporting this, Sontag (1996) views the photographer as an “auteur” but ultimately, as the portfolio grows, the photographs may take on a corporate or social character which can be specifically observed in the case of photojournalism and the context of press. Learning of their place in this ideological interaction, it is easy to understand that the women’s illustrated gazettes and magazines have also possibly been a part of creating a new social life for women through the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

At this point, one is also inspired to think of the possible changes the Ottoman women might have designed for themselves through their press efforts in the already transforming Ottoman society. For one example, we see these women, belonging to a society where patriarchy was powerful, were actually active in the publication sector in a connected manner. Özkal and Durmaz (2022) report that women were purposefully engaged in the press, communicating with each other through the publications, building a network that helped them establish a representation for themselves. The first publication operated by women *Şükûfezâr* (Flower Garden), for instance, is noted for offering unique authorship and readership opportunities for its female audience (Çavuş, 2021). Many publications that followed created a space for women to present how they see themselves and what they should be like: Visible in public, educated, and as working individuals. Finally, when we reach the time of *Kadınlar Dünyası* (The World of Women), we observe that the women started to use the word “feminist” to describe themselves and publish their own photographs.

### **1.1.2 Historical Background**

This chapter provides a timeline to trace women's activities in line with the social and political developments in the background.

#### **1.1.2.1 Introduction**

The reform period of the Ottoman Empire came to pass due to the inevitable reorganization the country demanded as the established system started cracking, and the government was not able to hold the parts of the empire together any longer (Tanör, 1985). The country spanned across three continents and was ruling over millions at its peak as of late 1600s (Imber, 2002). But extended periods of wars (and defeats), the gradual loss of the military competence, and an overall inadequacy in catching up with European technological advancement along with the deteriorating economic and social systems, an era of decline was ultimately inevitable (İnalçık, 2001). The surge of nationalism across Europe and within the Empire was also threatening the multinational state.

The first set of responses was initiated by Selim III (1751-1808), although much of what he planned failed to realize. Mahmud II (1785-1839); however, brought in radical actions to establish a new order and ensure sustainability through reorganizing the social and governmental relations. *Sened-i İttifak* (Charter of Alliance) is the first of the legal documents created in an aim to achieve this purpose, where the Sultan acknowledged the social status of *ulemâ* (The Wise, i.e. scholars), the army chiefs and the *âyan* (the landowners of wealth and power) in the Empire. *Sened-i İttifak* is followed by *Tanzimat Fermanı* (Edict of Reorganization), a document prepared by the bureaucratic elite and supported by the European powers. Mustafa Reşit Pasha, a prominent statesman under Sultan Abdulmecid I (1823-1861), read the edict out in 1839. Avcı (2007) presents the

aim as reorganizing the social structure in a top-down manner so that the gap between Europe and the Empire could be narrowed down and the state could remain intact. Seyitdanlioğlu (2006) summarizes the content with three main pillars: To ensure the security and the well-being of the Ottoman citizens, restructuring of the taxation in better line with the income level and rearranging the military service recruitment system. The challenge was to balance this progressive new order with the traditions and the religious rules the society was shaped by (Çifci, 2019). However, the continuously lost territories and economic pressures overcame the traditional questions, and more action towards secularity, and ethical inclusivity was taken to handle the dissent (Kır, 2019). Tanör (1985) highlights that the liberty the press and charity organizations needed to help with this goal was lacking in the scope of the edict, which would not really come before the Second Constitution Period. However, it is remarkable in restricting the absolute powers of the Sultan, which proved a milestone on the road to democracy.

In 1856, *Islahat Fermanı* (Reform Edict) followed the *Tanzimat* Edict and focused specifically on the non-Muslim population's rights in an effort to ensure their loyalty to the realm. It strove to reinforce the Ottoman identity to delay and prevent the dissolution that remained a threat. Further autonomy was granted to non-Muslims and challenging the Islamic social rules again created further discontent amongst traditional Ottoman government officials, but the European countries did welcome the new set of reforms. According to Karal (2006), they viewed this as a major step towards the modernization the country desperately needed to achieve.

A more systematic social and political change was introduced when Abdulhamid II (1842-1918) was declared Sultan upon the deposition of Murad V (1840-1904), and subsequently passed *Kanûn-ı Esâsî* (First Constitution) in 1876. The achievement of the

feat could be credited to the “Young Ottomans” — Şinâsî, Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, (Tanör, 1985) among others. When it was put into effect, the Ottoman Empire became a constitutional monarchy with a parliament (albeit with no women, and with only men of wealth); however, the ultimate authority still remained with the Sultan.

Abdulhamid II assumed the Ottoman throne with the promise that he would support the mindset that created the *Tanzimat* reforms and was expected to establish a more liberal environment for the citizens. On the contrary, his reign is now remembered as an “authoritarian one-man regime” as he quickly ended the parliamentary activities in 1878 (İlkhani, 2018). After the period referred to by some as *İstibdat* (despotism), the autocracy ended in 1908, through an intense opposition by the Young Turk movement. A new constitution was created and adopted, and *İttihat ve Terakki* (The Committee of Union and Progress) gradually took over the power of the now reduced Sultan. As mentioned, the reformations were facilitated by the newly emerging bureaucrats and the intellectuals from early on, whose ideologies, according to Mardin (1985) formulated around the common media they were engaged in; the “newspapers” and “journals”. From the first newspaper *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* (The Calendar of Events) to Şinâsî’s *Tasvîr-i Efkar* (Depiction of Ideas), a new culture and discourse were being created. Kurnaz (2013) believes that mainly thanks to the press, this period brought upon some of the most important modernization efforts in the Turkish history, with many parts of the society taking a more active public role.

In short, the Second Constitution Era was a period that brought never-before-seen changes and liberties to the society, women included. A summary of the social transformation happening in the lives of women during this time will be outlined in the section below.

### **1.1.2.2 A Brief Overview of the Social Changes around the Roles and Position of Women in the Reform Period of the Ottoman Empire**

Society and the Ottoman family life kept long private from the strange eyes started to transform most remarkably as of the declaration of the *Tanzimat* Edict. For the women, newly acquired liberties brought an increased social inclusivity. With the changing education content and system, which slowly transformed the ideologies and how they were operated (Ciydem et al, 2017), women enjoyed new rights and roles: From 1842 onwards, they started to receive training to be midwives (Özger, 2012), and as of 1858, they were being educated in middle schools (Başkan & Çay, 2019). In 1869, they were invited into compulsory education. Avcı (2007); however, reports a simultaneous social confusion, and some resistance came from those who feared that the long-standing traditions would be shaken and that Islamic rules were being disobeyed.

Perhaps in line with this, initially, education was seen and promoted as a tool to become better mothers and wives. But progressively, women also stepped out into professional life. One outstanding development was the acquisition of the right to train to become teachers through *Dârülmualimât* (Women's Teachers' Training College). With this heightened awareness and progress, we observe the emergence of prominent female figures into public life during this period. Fatma Âliye for example, is a member of the earlier generation of such women. Being the daughter of the renowned intellectual and statesman Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, she and her sister Emine Semiye had a chance for a private education at home, and they became remarkable intellectuals themselves (Ortaylı, 2016). It is clear that coming from a privileged urban background from cities like İstanbul, Thessaloniki and İzmir and having a powerful male figure as an encouragement helped women thrive (Avcı, 2007). However, it should also be noted that the

transformation for the masses initially was limited to better familial rights, liberties around the dress code, and basic education, as mentioned above. Kurt (2020) reminds that the public announcement in 1861 regarding schooling of women was explicit in the message that the education for women could only be possible and necessary in the case that the happiness in the family is ensured and that they protect their honor and chastity.

The early efforts during and after the *Tanzimat* Period culminated into a more structured development for women in the period of the Ottoman Constitutions, specifically after the Second Constitution. Toprak (2014) believes that the unprecedented freedom and modernization efforts during this time revolved especially around women because they were understood to be the key component for a successful and total social reorganization. The lives of women had long taken place behind the closed doors of their homes, excluding them from public life, and depriving the empire of their potential contribution to social and economic development (Kurnaz, 2013). During the Second Constitutional Era though, with again substantial male support coming from the ruling group of *İttihat ve Terakki* (İlkhan, 2018), they started to roam the streets and the professional avenues. They now were writing, publishing, thinking, and talking about social rights, essentially carving a niche for themselves in the world outside (Çakır, 2010). This feminist activity created and flourished further with social organizations and civil societies, some of which can be listed as below:

- *Osmanlı Kadınları Terakkiperver Cemiyeti* (The Progressive Society of Ottoman Women)
- *Teâli Nisvan Cemiyeti* (The Society for the Elevation of the Status of Women)
- *Osmanlı Cemiyet-i Hayriyye-i Nisvaniyye* (The Ottoman Society of Auspicious Women)

- *Osmanlı Müdafâa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* (The Society for the Protection of Women's Rights)

These organizations provided the women a chance of contributing to social causes through volunteering activities but also becoming a part of the professional life, too. They were presented with further opportunity to be employed in a wider variety of areas when the men went into the Italo-Turkish War (Tripolitanian War), Balkan Wars and the First World War (WWI) (İlkhan, 2018). As of 1913-1914, women were holding a number of different positions in the civil sector.

As seen, the age of Ottoman reformations and specifically the period following the Second Constitution was remarkable as it served a basis for the upcoming and more radical social change, and it fostered a generation of free thinkers, authors, and social activists that would play an important role in establishing it. Women literally and figuratively stepped out into the light, acquiring the chance and right to be working as teachers, and more, feeding the progress. All of this matured into a context where they openly worked towards suffrage, which would come in 1934. However, it is clear that despite the accomplishments in the relatively short time, the long-standing patriarchy, and its control over many areas of life was not easy to break free from. As discussed above, the first step is to start talking about the latent ways it operates into life, creating a common understanding of “what a woman is” and “should be like”. To better interpret the changes regarding these in this study, therefore, we first need to take a look at what the accepted notions of “femininity” and “masculinity” meant, and what was socially asked of “proper” women and men during the Late Ottoman Period in the below section.

### 1.1.2.3 Understanding “Masculinity” and “Femininity” in the Late Ottoman Era

Citing Craig and Goffman, Tan et al. (2013) show that the concept of masculinity has been understood, interpreted, and shaped differently in time and across cultures. Through the reform period of the Ottoman Empire, with the changing attire and characteristics of the “modern man”, one still witnesses the “vigorous and tough” Ottoman male, but the “refined and sophisticated” one also started to roam the streets. The latter coincides with what’s required of a woman of the same era (albeit for differing aims, clearly): “Cultured, polite and good-mannered” (p. 239). The “decorative role” of masculinity as defined by Craig and Goffman as an appealing look of a man, was not prevalent or eagerly welcome however, because the “decorativeness” still seems to be reserved exclusively for the “*cins-i lâtif*” (the elegant gender, i.e., the women) at the time.

Jana (2015), working on the changing notion of masculinity in the Ottoman Empire and then the newly created and progressively built citizens of the modern Turkish Republic, traced the body and clothing of males over time. Idealized males and females of the era were the ones supporting the nationalist discourse and men were supposed to be strong and good-willed, active, and intelligent: A typical hegemonic masculinity representation— with the ideal man as a good soldier and a leader (Gür, 2018). But these roles seemed to have been challenged by the rising modernization (Kızıl, 2021). Jana (2015) clarified this social struggle to find a balance. Adoption of modernity to evade the downfall seemed inevitable, but the perceived necessity of holding on to the Islamic and nationalistic pillars could not be ignored, either. The multinational texture of the society made this even more unique of a process because the idea of the “nation building” (as a solution to dissolution) at one point meant creating a common Ottoman identity for the

multiethnic populations of the Empire in the hopes of calming the increasingly dissenting non-Muslim components down. Jana (2015) views the introduction of the *fez*<sup>2</sup> as a tool for that job here— a new highlight to the masculine and “Ottoman” male attire. So, although the modern look of the new Ottoman man started to become visible on the Istanbul scene, in line with the dilemma outlined above, those who look “too modern” and “European” were viewed as “urban dandies” (Jana, 2015, p. 224) and as losing the celebrated hegemonic masculine characteristics.

To combat the degenerative effects this new type of unwelcome femininity in males, Kızıl (2021) reports that the literature of the era was a tool. For instance, such “feminine males” are widely represented in the *Tanzimat* novel as dressed in the modern European attire, dandies of no willpower, strength, or reproductive prowess, and dominated by “shameless” women who were in control of their own sexuality. “Felâtun Bey<sup>3</sup>” and “Bihruz<sup>4</sup>” are typical examples (Gür, 2018). Evidently, whereas the glorified hegemonic masculinity assigns the role of men to ensure the sustainability of the Turkish generations, “feminine men” and women<sup>5</sup> of indecent attire, actions and unrestricted sexuality are cast out as undesirables.

Later during Republic period, *fez* would be replaced by the European hat<sup>6</sup> in an effort to align with Western civilization to assure modern “manliness” and order, without

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<sup>2</sup> *Fez* was initially introduced during the reign of Mahmud II, who demanded Europeanization in clothing, education and equipment in the newly established army of *Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye* (Mansure Army- lit. Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad) upon the disbandment of the Janissary Corp in 1826 (Tezcan, n.d.).

<sup>3</sup> A character from Ahmet Mithat’s novel, *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (Mister Felâtun and Râkım Efendi, 1875)

<sup>4</sup> A character from Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem’s novel *Araba Sevdası* (The Love of the Car, 1896)

<sup>5</sup> Such women were presented as vassals of temptation and were mostly characterized as non-Muslims (e.g., Polini from *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi*) (Gür, 2018)

<sup>6</sup> Hat law 671, accepted on 25 November 1925. The members of the parliament, civil workers are forced to wear the hat and rejection by the public is denied (mevzuat.gov.tr, 1925).

having to look like an “oriental” masculine Ottoman man (or a confused dandy), who would wear, act, and lead his family in a more “chaotic”<sup>7</sup> way (Jana, 2015, p. 229). Although this demonstrates another dramatic change in the general understanding of masculinity, hegemonic masculinity as the norm for men remains unchanged for the most part. It just transforms as a part of emerging secular nationalist ideologies.

Femininity in the late Ottoman Empire, as still observed decades later, was associated with care, sensitivity, compassion, tenderness, passivity, and fickleness (Tan et al. 2013; Kızıl, 2021). The happy femininity in the *Tanzimat* novel is represented therefore, as associated with a woman that’s humble, loyal and of a frugal nature: The traditional oriental woman as opposed to a “promiscuous” Western lady (Günay-Erkol, 2011). Moran (1985) also differentiates “the good” and “the bad” femininity reflected in the literature: Women who could be in pre-marital or extra-marital affairs with men could only be either non-Muslims or concubines. Muslim women who do that, end up in a catastrophe: Like Bihter committing suicide in *Aşk-ı Memnu* (The Forbidden Love, 1899). Women were also supposed to be modest about their clothing, guarding their feminine beauty from unfamiliar eyes. However, Gahramanlı (2012) suggests that with the inevitable influence by Europe through fashion magazines, specifically the French intensifying during the post-*Tanzimat* period, Ottoman women (especially those in İstanbul) started to demand their garments to be more like in the style of the European fashion. We, again observe this change in the contemporary literature<sup>8</sup>: Detailed descriptions of décolletage, ornamented dresses, transformation in the use of headscarves,

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<sup>7</sup> As described in opposition to the neat and organized European man by *Tüccarzâde* (Merchant) İbrahim Hilmi (1916) in *Avrupahlaşmak* (Becoming European).

<sup>8</sup> The period is marked by the literary activity by the authors writing for the *Servet-i Fünûn* journal, therefore their work was named after it: “*Servet-i Fünûn* Literature”

fur and corsets can all be found in the novels and stories as staples of feminine clothing (Gahramanlı, 2012). Because a Muslim woman could not display these to people other than their immediate family, adaptations to her all-covering dresses and niqab<sup>9</sup> were made in a way they would accommodate to the outfit she would wear underneath: Ornamented Art Nouveau-inspired dresses— puffed up in the shoulders but impossibly tight across the chest (forcing the use of corsets), newly introduced long skirts (Koçu as cited in Gahramanlı, 2012) and shirts. Jewelry is also observed to be a major highlight of a feminine fashion as presented in the literature. Gahramanlı (2012) exemplifies *Sacide Hanım* from Mehmet Rauf’s novel *Karanfil ve Yasemin* (Clove and Jasmine, 1924) “shining” with rubies, emeralds and pearls adorning her skin. As expected, however, she is criticized for “shamelessly” showing all her beauty in public.

The literary concept of the breadwinning man and this beautifully dressed homemaker, who should be the “ornament” only of her own house clearly was reflecting the expectations of the society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century urban Ottoman life. According to Dominguez Andersen and Wendt (2015), to really grasp these traditional understandings of femininity and masculinity, one must look into the rise of nationalism, as mentioned above, and how hegemonic masculinity drove it. Women were a part of this discourse as the symbolic “mothers of the nation”; but they were excluded from all other social spheres. Possibly, the first time this exclusion was openly challenged was the first census in 1844, where women were accepted to be a part of the population (Karataş, 2009). The period of reformations thereafter reached a level where women broke into higher education. First, in 1914, with the efforts of *Kadınlar Dünyası*, *Înâs Dârülfünûnu* (The

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<sup>9</sup> A full discussion of the trajectory of this transformation will be provided in the findings and discussion sections as a part of the evaluation of the observed fashion in the images.

House of the Sciences for Women, i.e. Women's University) was opened (İstanbul Kadın Müzesi, 2014). Then, in 1919, Şükûfe Nihâl became a part of the graduating class of *Dârülfünûn* (The House of the Sciences, i.e. the University) alongside men.

Later, when the budding conversation of “feminism” started to threaten the hegemonically masculine man, he would blame women for forgetting about the Anatolian simplicity and compassion a good woman needs to have, to take part in more masculine roles and spaces. This was viewed to be dangerous for the larger society, too; due to a perceived disregard to the Islamic requirements (Akagündüz, 2013). Probably because of this, although the said masculine spaces started to open for women, like authorship (Karataş, 2009), it was still the jobs like “teaching” and “nursing” that remained much advised and employed. Günay-Erkol (2011) therefore questions the quick celebration of the “female occupation of the ‘social sphere’”. She suggests that unless women have a right to actively participate in any space without reservations, being visible alone in a sphere would not rid them of passivity. Also, femininity as a quality should not be viewed as an utterly desired trait in building strong characteristics. For example, Halide Edip created bold women characters in her writing, who defy conventions, but they are reported to feature “female masculinities”. In other words, when a woman actively performed like a true nationalist (which is to be lauded), she became masculine and the valued qualities she represented did not get feminized.

As can be seen, women and the understanding of femininity went through a period of conflicts and contradictions. Today, when we look to the archives to evaluate what really transpired, we see women who actively tried to overcome the passiveness, and we encounter an effort to build an “Ottoman Feminism”. The idea that social rights were *granted* to otherwise “claimless” women through *generous* reformations by men is now

understood to be baseless because a long and active female struggle in the background has been uncovered (Çakır, 2007). One such struggle took place on journalistic grounds. Ümüt Akagündüz (2013) exemplifies *İçtihad* (The Viewpoint), a political male-dominated journal of the time as describing how males viewed women and womanhood:

*Çarşafı üç-dört Türk kadın resmi. Bu kadınlar ipler ile sımsıkı ağaçlara bağlı ve yüzleri örtülü duruyorlar. Birkaç şık bey karşılarna geçmişler ellerinde muhtelif cerâid-ı yevmiye ve resâil-i mevkûta tuttıkları halde kadınlara doğru bağırıyorlar. Karikatürün zîrînde şöyle bir şey yazılmış. “İstanbul’da teali-i nisvân meselesi matbûât-kadınlar. Ne duruyorsunuz koşunuz ileri gidiniz bir milletin temeddününün derecesi nisvânın terakiyâtıyla ölçülür, bak biz sizi nasıl teşvik ediyoruz. Daha bundan büyük muavenet olur mu? (pp. 458-459)*

[Pictures of women in *çarşaf*, three-four of those. These women are tied up on a tree and stand with covered faces. Some elegant gentlemen with various daily newspapers and periodicals in hands stand across and shout at them. What is written underneath the caricature is: “The heightening of women is about “publishing and women”. Why do you linger- run forward, a nation’s progress is measured by the progress of the women; see how we encourage you? Can anyone be of help more than that?]<sup>10</sup>

In response to the male hypocrisy depicted in the caricature, Akagündüz (2013) reports Aziz Haydar who said it should be the masculine ignorance that was first needed to be overcome, because men were the ones limiting the women through their “outdated hegemonic masculinity”.

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<sup>10</sup> C.S. (1915). *İçtihad*, 125, 458-459.

Not all men were hypocrites, though. Çakır (2007) cites Arat and Berktaş to confirm that women who could be outspoken and active in politics later would be supported by their fathers (and possibly husbands). Kutlar (2010) brings the example of Mevlânzâde Rıfat here, presenting an account of the *Erkekler Dünyası* (World of Men) journal he published, which also shed a light on the transforming interpretation of the “masculine men” in the society. Mevlânzâde Rıfat was the husband of Ulviye Mevlân, the publisher of *Kadınlar Dünyası* and the person who supported Belkıs Şevket in flying on a military aircraft (Kutlar, 2010). Challenging the traditional notions of masculinity and femininity and offering fluidity into the spheres men and women could inhabit, he provided full support to her wife in establishing and running *Kadınlar Dünyası* on her own. He is reported to have created *Erkekler Dünyası* to voice his support separately for the emancipation of Ottoman women. The duality and confusion outlined in this section regarding what women should and should not do appear one more time in his case, too, however. He (as cited in Kutlar, 2010, p. 7-8) states that

*Kadınlar Dünyası kadınların muhtaç oldukları hayatın, hürriyetin istihsaline çalışıyor. Fakat bazı misâl, içtimâîye vardır ki Kadınlar Dünyası'nın muhterem muharireleri o meseleleri tamamıyla serbest olarak teşrih edemiyorlar. Serbest kalem yürütemiyorlar. Nezaket seviyeleri icâbı olarak söyleyemiyorlar. Erkekler Dünyası, kadınların bu ihtiyacını da düşünecek ve münevver tabakanın mezahiretiyle meşgâlelerini halle muvaffak olacaktır. (pp. 1-2)*

[*Kadınlar Dünyası* works for the creation of the life and liberty the women need. However, social traditions prevent the esteemed writers of the *Kadınlar Dünyası* from dissecting some issues freely. They cannot, because of their levels of

courtesy and kindness. *Erkekler Dünyası*, will consider this need and with the emergence of the intellectual class will achieve the aims.]]<sup>11</sup>

Kutlar (2010) interprets this as demonstrating the difficulty to overcome the long-established and accepted norms of femininity, but they also praise the fact that Mevlânzâde Rıfat viewed the necessity of both genders working together, which itself was reformist. What positions *Kadınlar Dünyası* in a unique perspective in this discussion and in the broader social context was not the intense support by this libertarian man, however. On the contrary, the journal's vision denied any authorial contribution by men: "Until our rights are recognized in public law, until men and women are equal in every profession, *Kadınlar Dünyası* will not welcome men in its pages"<sup>12</sup>.

The journal otherwise welcomed women from all walks of life and with its exclusive inclusion of women through its publication process, and radical engagement of female voice, *Kadınlar Dünyası* stands out as an important journal to assume a feminist role. In their own words: "We prefer to use the word 'feminism' as it is. What can one more foreign word do to our language? For the existence and necessity of feminism cannot be denied"<sup>13</sup>.

### **1.1.3 The Ottoman Press in the Reform Period**

As can be seen, the perceptions of what a woman and a man should be like was shaped by and in return shaping the Ottoman media. Let's now look into how the press and imagery, two main media outlets of the time, were in fact evolving and the potential social indications of that.

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<sup>11</sup> Mevlânzâde Rıfat (1914). İki söz. *Erkekler Dünyası*, 1, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913), 21 as cited in Çakır, 2007, p. 69

<sup>13</sup> Cemil (1921), *Kadınlar Dünyası*, 194/98 as cited in Çakır, 2007 p. 71.

### 1.1.3.1 Historical Background

The period of reformations gained momentum after the proclamation of the *Tanzimat* Edict focused on education and this helped raise a generation of scholars and politicians. The main tool for their ideas to inspire further social transformation would clearly be the press— a medium of increasing popularity of the time. *Vekâyi-i Mısriyye* (Events of Egypt) and *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* (Calendar of Events) are the two earliest publications by the Ottoman governmental class, the latter being the official state newspaper. They opened an era for the publishers, readers, and the general public. Koloğlu (1985) specifically appreciates *Takvîm-i Vekâyi* for explicitly acknowledging the governmental responsibility and expression of self-criticism and views it as a prominent tool for the proclamation and promotion of *Tanzimat Fermanı* in 1839.

The first foreign private gazette in the country was *Bulletin des Nouvelles* (News Bulletin), a French publication that aimed to gather support for the French Revolution (Ayata, 1996). However, as reminded by Baykal (2013), it was *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl* (1860) (The Interpreter of Circumstances), the first Turkish-owned private newspaper, that opened doors for many others that followed. Among these were *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (Depiction of Ideas) and *Ceride-i Havâdis* (The Newspaper). *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl* and *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* were both published by Şinâsi (the former with Âgâh Efendi). In line with Şinâsi's modernist character, Koloğlu (1985) suggests the papers aimed to promote the employment of a simpler Turkish language. When *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* was taken over by Nâmık Kemâl, the ideas of education of women and similar social causes and problems were also voiced.

Meanwhile, the non-Muslim publications of the period held a pro-governmental stance and were under an economic control. Publishers needed money from the

government to continue working. Additionally, Varlık (1985) presents the existence of many local papers across the empire's rural centers. İzmir is listed as a major hub (Arıkan, 1985), where Blacque's *Le Spectateur Oriental* (The Oriental Watcher) was considered very influential politically (Ayata, 1996). *Hizmet* (Service) and *Âhenk* (Harmony) are among other İzmir-based publications, bringing the likes of Halid Ziya to the forefront as a writer for the first time.

Koloğlu (1985) proposes another highlight of the 1870s period to be the opening of *Kıraathânes* (reading houses), fostering the reading activity and involving illiterate people into the reading action. Moran (1985) confirms this by quoting Nâmık Kemâl himself: "*İstanbul'da dükkancılar, uşaklar gazete okuyor. Hiç olmazsa dinliyor*" (p. 411) (The shop owners, the butlers read in Istanbul. At least, they listen). However, with the *İstibdat* period following, the press came under the control of the Sultan and his secret network of informants. An example like *Servet-i Fünûn* (The Wealth of Sciences) was able to remain in high demand because it went in line with the views and wishes of the Yıldız Palace (Koloğlu, 1985). One might speculate that the journals may have taken up the method of utilizing imagery to overcome the risk of investigation for published essays, but still attract the attention of the reader.

Upon the proclamation of the Second Constitution, the press kept under pressure during Abdulhamid II's reign, boomed: Koloğlu (1985) reports that more than 200 newspapers were granted licenses to start publishing within two months alone. The circulation rates of the already established publications like *İkdam* (The Enterprise) and *Servet-i Fünûn* skyrocketed. With the *Matbuat Nizamnamesi* (Press By-Law, originally put into effect in 1865) being adjusted, the haphazard inspection and censorship applied on publications were regulated. In this more liberal social environment, the press also

welcomed political satire (Brummet, 2000) and the increased use of imagery. As mentioned, images may be seen as an attraction for the audiences, therefore a commercial tool, but also it could have been utilized more heavily to keep up with the European publications of the time. It should be noted, however, that photography remained expensive to feature, therefore the use of it was limited to those which could afford it. Despite facing economic difficulties, 821 publications are reported to have made applications to start work, and although many were ultimately short-lived, those who supported *İttihat ve Terakki* remained active even during the WWI despite all the social and economic challenges (Koloğlu, 1985).

The social impact of this journalistic activity is valued for its help with scientific development as well as encouraging the public to create a civil sector and join in the collective discourse for change (Ciydem, et al. 2017). As in the case of the press in many contexts, it functioned as an ideological apparatus, too. Brummet (2000) argues that the newspapers and journals reflected the political standing of their publishers, and many did not refrain from discussing women's rights issues as they had taken over the responsibility of social changemaking.

Demir (2016) investigates the journals and the newspapers of the time, along with their differing nature and contribution. We learn that Ottoman *mecmuas* (journals) came in a wide scope of areas. Varlık (1985) informs that the first of such specialized publications was *Vakâ-yi Tıbbiye* (Medical Cases, 1849), created to support medicine education in Turkish. This was followed by *Mecmuâ-i Fünûn* (Journal of Sciences, 1860) published by *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (The Ottoman Science Community). Toprak (1985) lists an additional set of variety:

- Islamist journals like *Sırât-ı Müstakîm*<sup>14</sup> (The Right Path, 1908) and *İslâm Mecmuası* (The Journal of Islam, 1914)
- Journals aligned with an occidental- progressive outlook like *İctihâd* (1904)
- Turkish nationalist journals like *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Motherland, 1911)

Journals bore self-assigned social roles and responsibilities in line with the publishers' and authors' views. For instance, Ahmed Mithat's *Dağarcık* (The Repertoire, 1871) demanded Turkish (as opposed to Persian or Arabic) to be used in the press. Karal (1985), discussing the intensified language simplification efforts during post-*Tanzimat*, shares the case of *Servet-i Fünûn*, which was criticized for the advocacy of complex and old-fashioned language and creating a "so-called" elitist literary movement, *Edebiyât-ı Cedîde* (The New Literature). Ertop (1985) elaborates that the journal's writers feared losing the literary value through the adoption of a simpler Turkish language and claimed that literature was not about educating the masses, but it was for the sake of creating art. All this attracted further criticism from Ahmed Mithat.

Despite trials and tribulations over the course of its remarkably long life, *Servet-i Fünûn* is now accepted to be the most important publication, especially between 1890-1908. Creating the mentioned literary movement now also called by its name, it also came with high quality pictures. The significance of such illustrations in journalism at the time and the rise of photography as a medium is outlined below.

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<sup>14</sup> Later published as *Sebilürreşâd*

### 1.1.3.2 Use of Imagery in the Ottoman Press

Tıkaç and Özkal (2023) offer an overview of the development of the use of printed images, dating it back to the reproduction of maps in the early days of the printing press in the 1700s. Considering the limitations in the printing activities, we learn that it was not until the 19<sup>th</sup> century that image production and distribution picked up momentum. With the inclusion of non-Muslim painters into the context of miniatures, the creation of portraits of Sultans and the emergence of photographic technology and its advertisements in the press, the public started to warm up to the idea of image representation.

Photography, unlike the printing press, was welcomed into the Ottoman context relatively quickly and simultaneously with Europe. Because of this, the studies on the Ottoman Empire and the modernization of society feature extensive investigations on the role and position of this technology in this process (Çelik & Eldem, 2015). Özendes (Çizgen) (1987) shares the background of a transforming society ready to embrace it. We understand that this happened promptly thanks to the help that came from the Palace itself: Abdulaziz and Abdulhamid II were among the patrons and supporters of the development of photography. Abdulaziz enjoyed being photographed himself and he even allowed his daughters sit for a photograph without having a headscarf on<sup>15</sup>. Although the Sultan was clearly more progressive in thought and action, society was struggling to embrace it, however. Öztuncay (2015) ties this to the powerful social and religious norms: Islam prohibits the icon worship, and the case of women's photography was deemed to be necessary to be restricted altogether.

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<sup>15</sup> This was meant for personal family albums.

Despite the social confusion, Abdulhamid II also supported the wide use of photographic technology. He might have even paid an extra special interest, as he clearly had noticed the propagandist nature of it early on (Eldem, 2015; Gülaçtı, 2017; Uğuş, 2020). Özendes (1987) notes that the photographs of the advancements in military, transportation and the evolving lives of Ottomans were ordered to be taken by the Sultan himself, who sent these abroad. This photograph circulation was also paired with the foreign visitors and travelers of the Empire and their work on the capital and beyond. Among the prominent traveling photographers who visited the Empire, Salzman, Firth and du Camp can be counted (Çiçek, 2018). Le Corbusier and Gustave Flaubert were also known to carry their daguerreotypes around, leaving behind invaluable travel memories. These visits and the records they created helped deconstruct the long-standing Oriental exoticity myth the Ottoman country had been wrapped around by the European contemporaries.

While travel photography was bringing images of the Empire to the curious outside world and the question of photography was being discussed in the motherland, photography studios started to be established quickly. Especially the non-Muslim photographers created some of the most enduring images of the time with, again, the support from the sultans themselves. Özendes (1987) lists the following whose photography focused on social life:

- James Robertson (1840)
- Carlo Naya (1845)
- Basil Kargopoulo (1850)
- Raif *Efendi* (1854)
- Rabach (1856)

- Pascal Sébah (1857)
- Abdullah Frères (1858)
- *Yüzbaşı* (Captain) Hüsnü (1865)
- Tancrede R. Dumas (1866)
- Nikolai Andreomenos (1867)
- Guillaume Berggren (1870)
- Gülmez *Frères* (Brothers) (1870)
- Bogos Tarkulyan (1880)
- Aşil Samancı (1880)
- *Kolağası* (Senior Captain) Mehmet Hüsnü (1882)
- Fahrettin Türkkân Pasha (1885)
- Ali Sami Aközer (1886)
- Louis Saboungi (1890)
- Garabet Amirayan (1900)
- Rahmizade Bahaeddin Bediz (1910)
- Kahn Photographers (1912)

As the idea of public circulation of imagery gained momentum, it inevitably found its way into the press. Tıkaç and Özkal (2023) report that *Mir'at* (Mirror, 1863) was the first publication with engravings, but it was so expensive at the time to rent European engraving plates for printing, that it was not until *Istanbul*<sup>16</sup> (1867), the audiences were presented with more extensive and various images in the journals. Still, costs were

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<sup>16</sup> Reintroduction of a previous publication titled *Âyine-i Vatan* (The Mirror of the Motherland). It is reported that the founder of both journals also contributed to another illustrated journal called *Musavver Medeniyet* (The Illustrated Civilization) later (Tıkaç & Özkal, 2023), which is accepted as the pioneer of illustrated journals (Koloğlu, 1992).

preventing the founders and editors to create a visual discourse they desired for their journals, because they could only afford to feature random engravings disconnected from the content they were positioned around (Tıkaç & Özkal, 2023). Ahmet İhsan (Tokgöz) (2012), the creator of *Servet-i Fünûn*, shares in his memoir *Matbuat Hatıralarım* (My Press Memories) that it was important for him from the very beginning to find the right images to feature in the journals but admits that it was challenging. When he managed to publish the Ortaköy Mosque and Maiden Tower photoengravings, Abdulhamid II called upon Ahmet İhsan to share his desire for *Servet-i Fünûn* to become a publication that would befit the glory of the Ottoman character. Ahmet İhsan happily welcomed the support, dreaming that his journal could turn into the *L'Illustration* (The Illustration) of İstanbul.

With its rising utilization in the press, photography also became a marketing tool because pictures helped the publications reach out to every part of the audience including even those who may not have been able to read. Odabaşı (2021) lists the likes of *İdman* (Training, 1913), *Afiyet* (Well-being, 1913), *Talebe Defteri* (Student Notebook, 1913), *Çocuk Dünyası* (Children's World, 1913) and *Kadınlar Dünyası* that addressed to children, students, women among other groups in the society. He also reports that many publishers encouraged their audience to take photos and submit them to be featured or win competitions, essentially creating audience participation. Ersoy (2016), perhaps due to this reason, views illustrated journals as instruments in the efforts of modernization at the time. One of the contexts that would support this conclusion would be the representation of women's clothing. Zorlu (2017) suggests that heightened inclusion of European fashion content in press could be to disseminate this message about modernization. This also shows how women had started to be seen as a major commercial

audience. This changing reality unavoidably opened up new opportunities for women's photography and publications. The below section offers information regarding how they emerged and developed.

In short, imagery in the context of the growing illustrated journals are now believed to change the "Ottoman modes of looking and remembering" (Ersoy, 2016, p. 330), making it an important area of research of visual culture studies of the time.

### **1.1.3.3 Women's Press**

In the scope of this thesis, "women's press" will refer to the publications that addressed women as readers, and whose purpose was to raise awareness on social issues women struggled with. Female audience members were welcome to contribute to the discussions and overall content and publication policy; but the journals might have been published with support by men, also. As opposed to "women's press", "women's publications" as a more general term in this study, will refer to journals with any content matter that would be expected to commercially appeal a female readership. In other words, the content would not be limited to social issues.

*Terakkî-i Muhadderat* (The Progress of Muslim Women, 1869) initially a supplement to the journal *Terakkî* (The Progress, 1868) is accepted as the first publication aimed at a women audience (Kahraman, n.d.) which emphasized the importance of educating girls along with household responsibilities and economy. A good number of books and many journals of varying lifespan and range of impact gradually helped raise awareness in the society regarding women's rights thereafter (İlkhani, 2018). Due to the progressive nature of the content matters, one might assume that women's press would exclusively be of occidental or pan-Turkist ideologies (Kurnaz, 2013). However, the likes of Fatma Âliye, a pro-Islamist intellectual, showed that the lines around the camps of

thought could be blurrier. Karaca (2011), revisiting the stance of Fatma Âliye, reports that she should be accepted as a women's rights activist and that her interpretation of Islamic perception of women is not one that dictates restriction or slavery, but that encourages them to receive education and contribute to economic development. As discussed above, however, it should be remembered that Fatma Âliye and her generation of similar powerful female figures were backed by their socially progressive fathers and husbands. Although they later proved their strong potential on their own<sup>17</sup>, this situation suggests the strength of the patriarchal hold in the society, for a woman still needed initial assistance from powerful and supportive men.

Özkal and Durmaz (2021) visualize the relationship between different generations of female contributors to press during and after Fatma Âliye, some of which are Nigâr *Hanım*, Makbule Leman *Hanım*, Emine Semiye, Nezihe Muhiddin and Ulviye Mevlân (Kanter, 2010). In line with the time difference, each generation would follow different aims but collectively as a network, they contributed to women's rights activity in the reform period.

Women's journals in time proved very instrumental in creating a platform for a representation and conversation ground on social issues like responsibilities of motherhood, wifeship, educational rights, and polygamy. They offered inspiration in the matters of family life, fashion and clothing, and literature and science. Women gradually gained visibility in the public sphere once inhabited exclusively by men. Some publications of this period include *Âyine* (The Mirror, 1875), *Mürüvvet* (The Courage, 1888), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Ladies' Own Gazette, 1895), *Mehâsin* (The Beauties,

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<sup>17</sup> As we approach to the period *Kadınlar Dünyası* was published, we start to observe a change in attitude and more women of non-elite background becoming active in press.

1908), *Demet* (The Bouquet, 1908) and *Hanımlar Âlemi* (The World of Women, 1914). Collectively, they proved very significant for creating a social and professional platform for women. They did not only rely on the social elite for the design of the content but benefited from contributions of the audience through reader's letters which were answered by the editorial board regularly (Stein, 1992). In other words, for their voices to be heard, women did not need to be a part of the professional sphere but anyone who had the chance to follow the journals, also had a chance to speak out and stand up.

Regarding the visibility of women in the press, one should first look into the emergence, development, and the acceptance of women's visual representation for the public. Photographers first captured women's images at home or alone for their own personal use. Eldem (2015) suggests that when urban women, probably from affluent backgrounds, started sitting for a portrait at home, they left a record of a slowly transforming society<sup>18</sup>. It should be noted, however, this activity did not mean that the society immediately welcomed the recreational presentation of the image of a woman. On the contrary, as mentioned above, there was a clear ambivalence regarding the technology. Some condemned this because public sharing of women's images did not go in line with the patriarchal rules that regulated everyday life (Eldem, 2015). It was also interpreted as blasphemy because it would go against the Islamic religious dictation. According to Alexander and Welzel (2011), individuals and societies aligning with the Muslim identity also tend to culturally support patriarchal moral codes.

However, as scholars started to offer more positive interpretations of photography, society slowly started to warm up to the idea. Çiçek (2018) shares that photographs

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<sup>18</sup> There are studio photographs of "harem girls" or dancers and artists in exotic harem clothing. However, those are reported mostly to be of non-Muslim origin and could be interpreted as an effort to appeal Western audiences (Çiçek, 2018).

became religiously acceptable when they were acknowledged to be no more than the products of a recordkeeping process of the creations of God with his sunlight, unlike painting a picture with a human's creative capacity. And in time, this paved a new lane of visibility for women. Micklewright (2003) states that their visibility was by no means equal to the men's, but especially starting from the non-Muslim population, women slowly found themselves in a new space for representation. This newfound territory allowed the circulation of the images of a new generation of young schoolgirls and literate and professionally active Muslim women. Moreover, according to Tekinsoy (2016), photography was not only liberating to women but featuring them could be considered as propaganda, as well. Women, during the Balkan Wars, for example, started working in factories and workshops or as nurses, which allowed them to fulfill the responsibility to the motherland and nation, alongside men. Illustrated journals like *Servet-i Fünûn* regularly published such images, and photographs of women teaching, farming, reading, and writing. In time, women would take on a more active role than just being featured on the media.

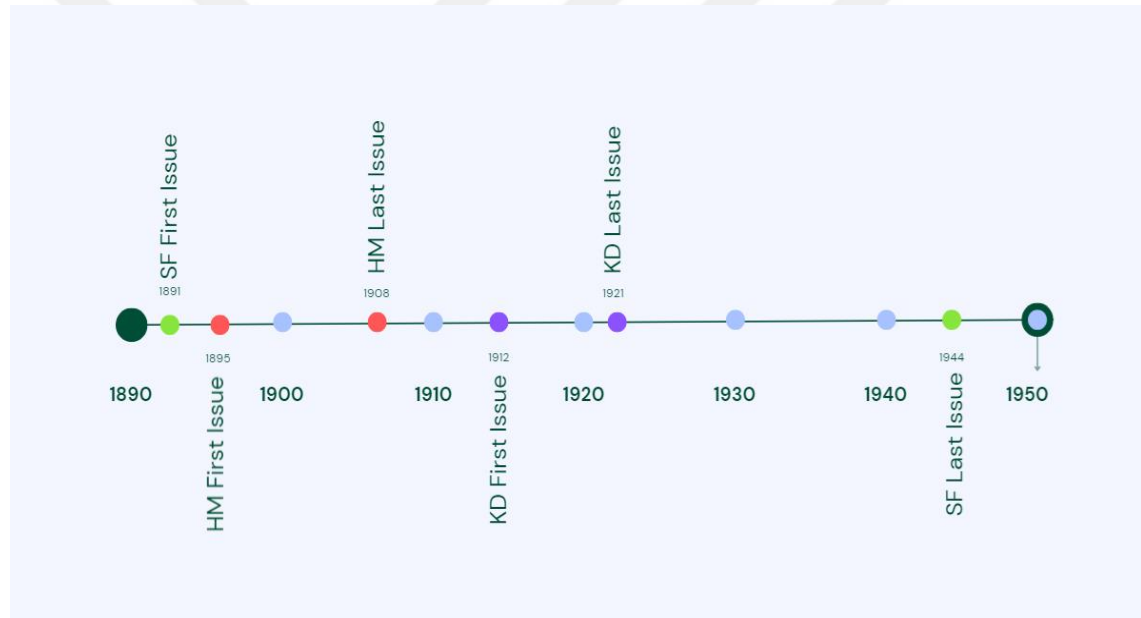
This thesis investigates if Ottoman women of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century might have designed their own visual representation in a way presenting original contribution to the visual history of the Late Ottoman Period through their press efforts. In the light of the historical background offered on the period, *Kadınlar Dünyası* was selected to observe this (see the Method chapter for a detailed justification) and the comparative work was carried out with the journals *Servet-i Fünûn* and *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. The former helped understand the difference between a mainstream male-dominated journal and an exclusively women's production, and the latter allowed the observation of the change in

representation of them over time. Next section will offer a brief look into these journals to understand the scope and aims of each.

#### 1.1.4 Selected Journals: An Overview

Figure 1.1 below presents the lifespan of *Servet-i Fünûn*, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and *Kadınlar Dünyası* with intervals in publication also pointed out.

**Figure 1.1** The Timeline of the Journals between 1890-1920, Indicating the Publication Years and Intervals



*Servet-i Fünûn*, the journal with the longest life of all three, was first published on 21 March 1891 and gave its first short break in 1901. An additional cessation of activities took place during the war and the armistice periods, and the journal did not go back to full operation for about four years until 1924 (Servet-i Fünun Dergisi, 2019). This, however, shows that within the time scope of this project (1895-1921), we will have almost a non-stop period of publication, with only a few numbers missing from among a large corpus. They will be reported in the Method chapter.

*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* never ceased to be published during the whole 13 years of operation, and so the transformation of the journal, its content, design, and the perception of the perceived audience will help us understand the changing role and positioning of women during the period and will offer a good chance of comparison with *Servet-i Fünûn* and *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

*Kadınlar Dünyası*, is the journal with the shortest lifespan (1913-1921) compared to the others, yet that doesn't mean its impact and presence was insignificant. Since it tried to remain active during a socially and politically complex time, 8 years (with intervals) proved to be quite impactful. Özkal and Durmaz (2022) show in their network visualization that the journal created a busy platform where many participants came together in a very short time. Thanks to *Kadınlar Dünyası*, women found a unique stage to contribute to the spheres of press and publishing in the aftermath of the Second Constitution. The featuring of the first Muslim women's photograph in the journal has been called a revolution, which inspired other publications of the time (Odabaşı, 2021). Odabaşı (2021) also informs that *Kadınlar Dünyası* started its life as more like a "magazine" but was in fact being published daily, like a newspaper. It, however, turned into a weekly publication after its 100<sup>th</sup> issue on 27 July 1913. The intervals in the publication were reported to be three times: The first one was after the 153<sup>rd</sup> issue, mainly due to restriction on paper. After resuming work after 3 months, WWI broke out and the operation halted one more time after the 164<sup>th</sup> issue. Upon the end of the war in 1918, the journal went back to work but had to stop for a third time after its 194<sup>th</sup> issue. When it returned in 1921, Gülcü and Tunç (2012) stated that it would just release 15 more issues before terminating activities altogether.

In the following three sections, more detailed information regarding the content and impact of each journal is available.

#### **1.1.4.1 Servet-i Fünûn**

*Servet-i Fünûn* started its long and prolific life in 1891 and established itself as one of the most remarkable illustrated journals of the Late Ottoman period until it ceased operations well after the proclamation of the Republic, in 1944. The publication does not only stand as a press milestone but also has had a significant social and literary impact. It undertook a responsibility to disseminate information of the technological and scientific advancements and achieved public appeal through effective use of imagery (Uğuş, 2020). Surviving the *İstibdat* period, enjoying the liberties of the Second Constitutional Era and going strong through the transformative early Republican period, *Servet-i Fünûn* has been acknowledged as a social, political and cultural reference for the duration of its long publication life (Nuhoğlu, 2014). It was a weekly publication for the majority of its lifespan but was also published daily for a while after the Second Constitution. Consistently high circulation rates helped the journal reach a wide audience, and its name became associated with a literary movement through the featuring of the major literary figures of the time as writers, especially during the period Tevfik Fikret acted as editor-in-chief. (Andı, 2006). The journal offered various content on biographies, poetry, stories and novels, critiques, and translations (Ayata, 1996). In time it established itself as a major journalistic feat, introducing modernity to the Empire and raising generations of writers and poets of important literary movements of *Edebiyât-ı Cedîde* (The New Literature), *Fecr-i Âti* (The Brightness of the Future) and *Yedi Meşaleciler* (The Seven Torchers).

In the *Babiali Yokuşu'ndan Portreler* (Portraits from Babiali Ramp) it is stated that Ahmet İhsan had complete creative and administrative control over *Servet-i Fünûn*. His adventure started in 1890, when he bought out the *Âlem Matbaası* (Âlem [The Globe] Press) with a partner and renamed it “*Âlem Matbaası- Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı*” (Ahmed İhsan and Co.) (Tokgöz, 2012). Once a precocious child, and ever interested in illustrated books, he started *Servet-i Fünûn* as a supplement of the journal *Servet* (The Treasure). During this time, with new equipment coming from abroad, visuality had started to become a major component of journals. Odabaşı (2021) suggests that the utilization of imagery was among the major sources of profit as a lot of people considered the illustrated versions of the journals as more attractive. Aiming to building on this potential, with the desire to follow his own creative ambitions, relying on the previous experience of publishing Jules Verne translations with image engravings from Paris, and the support he received from the *Şeyhülislam* (Shaykh al-Islam), his brother-in-law (Oral, as cited in Ayata, 1996), Ahmet İhsan embarked on the journey of publishing pictures on *Servet-i Fünûn* (Tokgöz, 2012). He recounts his collaboration with a Viennese engraving workshop to get his İstanbul photographs to be published. Ayata (1996), in his thesis study, shares Recâizade Mahmud’s account of this experience. We learn that the Tophane Street image in issue 27 was the first image published with the zincography engraving method. The visual depiction of İstanbul became a very important mission for the journal thereafter, and supported by the image captions, the photographs shared in the “Our Pictures” section offered a good insight into the urban landscape of the city and the leisurely activities of its locals (Uysal, 2019).

It proved difficult to bring engravings from Europe regularly. To achieve the similarly good results in the limited technological availability in İstanbul, Ahmet İhsan

had to wait until 1894, when Koloğlu (1992) reports the local photographer Teodor Vafiyadi successfully created the chemical conditions for photoengraving in the way Ahmet İhsan wanted for his journal. Thereafter, starting from 1895, photography became a staple for the journal effectively accumulating an archive and creating a visual discourse of its own (Tıkaç & Özkal, 2023). The cover image of the 222<sup>nd</sup> issue (1895) came with captions that revealed that the journal already started to curate a collection of images. In a few years' time, after the 1900s, color pictures would appear (Ayata, 1996) and *Servet-i Fünûn* would hold the machinery and employ the personnel for the zincography operation, positioning itself in total control of its visual design (Kabacalı, 2000). At that point, the journal openly asked its audience not only to “read”, but also “view” (*temâşâ*). This is also about overcoming the illiteracy barrier and it helped the journal access larger groups of people, as discussed previously.

The face of Ottoman modernization in the press, *Servet-i Fünûn* did not only include landscape and architectural photography or war imagery but there were also a lot of artworks, caricatures, women's fashion images and advertisements, too. However, textual content regarding women and women's rights was limited and the women authors were featured only to a very little extent. Uysal (2019) interprets this as a hint to the acknowledgment of men as the preliminary audience to the journal. However, she also believes that reporting of internationally famous women and their activities, albeit limited in amount, would still show the direction of the transformation for the society regarding women's rights. As for the fashion content, she observes that they were disconnected from the texts they were immersed in and would simply be perceived as “things to look at” for the audience. One final special note on imagery here, would be the case of the war

reporters of Bulgaria: *Servet-i Fünûn* shared the images of these individuals, which according to Odabaşı (2021), was a first in the visibility of the journalists themselves.

When an article (translated from French) by Hüseyin Cahid was published in the journal in 1901, Abdulhamid II, who found it to be treasonous, ordered a suspension of activities for about 40 days. This was taken as a slight and a hammer to the business affairs of Ahmet İhsan. He condemns the shutdown, calling it a “murder” of not only his journal, but also the flourishing literature activities it helped establish or fostered. This is an interesting turn of events, considering the Palace, for a long time, sponsored the journal, ordering content, and submitting photography in them. Ahmet İhsan suggests that despite meeting the demands, and never wanting to hold a strong political alignment, facing such treatment was most unfair. As of 1895, the journal did come with a supplement focusing on politics, but it is observed that although they individually held strong political stances, the journal’s authors indeed avoided overt political statements, perhaps due to the censorship risk (Ayata, 1996).

As mentioned above, in the wake of the Second Constitution, the journal started to be a daily “newspaper”. Ahmet İhsan mostly seems to be refraining from openly confessing the fact that this was ultimately and simply did not turn out to be a profitable business venture. Instead, he claims that the scarcity of paper and other materials forced them to return to weekly publishing (Tokgöz, 2020). Despite the economic setbacks, we learn that at the peak of the period, *Servet-i Fünûn* was published as much as 25.000 a day and still not meeting the demand. Economically, the journal was supported with advertisements from local doctors, photographers and mechanics along with financial backing from the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ahmet İhsan as cited in Ayata, 1996).

*Servet-i Fünûn* started to use the Latin script upon the linguistic revolution in 1928 and started to be named as *Uyanış* (The Awakening) as of 6 December 1928. The final issue, the 2464<sup>th</sup>, was published on 26 May 1944 marking the end of an era. It was one of the two publications surviving the days of *İstibdat* into the Republican Period, along with *İkdam* (Effort). Although the challenges of the former obstructed him from controlling the journal's affairs in all aspects, Tıkaç and Özkal (2023) argue that Ahmet İhsan always knew exactly what kind of a publication he wanted to create and worked towards that vision as much as possible.

#### **1.1.4.2 Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete**

Emel Aşa's master's thesis dating back to 1989 provides a detailed account of women's journals published until 1928, possibly becoming our first comprehensively collected source of them. In her research report, she provides design details, content notes and information about the involved people, establishing the study as a major work of reference that allowed us to learn about the existence of women activity in the press. In the *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* section of her thesis, we learn that its first issue came out in August 1895. Initially published twice a week before becoming a weekly publication, the journal had a life of ceaseless 13 years, with 580 issues in total, and it terminated operations in 1908. Unlike *Kadınlar Dünyası*, it was created with an active involvement of a man (Mehmet Tahir). Monthly and yearly subscriptions demonstrate that the journal had a consistent following, which would highlight its impact value. In about 5 years' time after it closed down, we would welcome *Kadınlar Dünyası* and other women's journals coming out one after another during the press boom. However, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, with its long life, holds a special place amongst all publications for a women

audience before and after this (İlkhan, 2018), and it helps trace the changing perspectives into the visibility and roles of an Ottoman woman through the years.

As understood, the journal was published before the liberties Second Constitution brought to women whose activities at the time remained more limited, and they were less visible in the social sphere. Despite this, many female authors contributed to it, being supported by powerful men<sup>19</sup> of the time (they themselves also wrote for the journal), some of which were famed figures like Fatma Âliye (signing as “*Bir Kadın*” [A Woman] at times) and her sister Emine Semiye. A lady signing as “Feminist”, *Şair Nigâr* (Nigar the Poet), Halide Edib, Ahmet Rasime (the pen name of Ahmet Rasim, posing as a woman), and Makbule Leman are among other prominent contributors.

The content included discussions of the necessity for girls to receive education, family life, fashion and clothing, literature, and scientific knowledge (Öztürk, 2019). Koç (2019) also reports that the journal shared love stories of young girls of urban upper classes in an attempt to attract the female audiences and create a chance for female authorship. As for education, the idea the journal communicated was the fact that it was necessary for women and that their rights should not be stolen, because their role in life was perceived to be “the mothers and the first teachers” for the children they were to raise. This suggests that unlike in the case of men, education wasn’t considered necessary for women for personal or professional gain outside the household (İlkhan, 2018). But this did not mean women never questioned the available social rights and spaces for themselves, either (Koç, 2019). Güler and Çelik (2023) remind here that Frierson previously attacked the idea that female activity in the public sphere was exclusively

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<sup>19</sup> High bureaucrats that held power and were aligned with the Palace before the regime change coming with *İthat ve Terakki*.

observed in the period between 1914 and 1923 and that she reiterates that the change dated back to the 1890s. However, it is true that the socio-political circumstances of the period did attach a specific importance to being a good mother and wife; therefore, the journal's preliminary agenda was to help bring young girls up that had good manners, commitment and love towards their family (Güven, 2016).

It is observed that there might have been a conscious effort to avoid the discussion of politics, but it can also be concluded that the journal was aligned with the central power. Koç (2019) deduces this from the fact that, like *Servet-i Fünûn*, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* also received economic support from the Yıldız Palace<sup>20</sup>. Aşa (1989) shares that, welcoming the participation of the public, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* offered payment to writers, male and female, to be featured in the journal, possibly through the mentioned economic support.

*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* featured extensive imagery: In the early years with the visual supplement *Kısm-ı Musavver* (Illustrated Section) and later with ads and fashion drawings. In line with the mentioned perspective that education of women should be about achieving the roles as good mothers and housewives, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* gave visual input to train young women about tailoring, shared musical notes, provided information regarding housekeeping and childbearing (Aşa, 1989). However, it's observed that around the 300<sup>th</sup> issue onwards, the images started to be mostly ads and fashion drawings despite a critical approach expressed in the journal towards the direct adoption of European clothing style:

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<sup>20</sup> Yıldız Palace was the main residence of Sultan Abdulhamid II, who lived there for his entire reign (Bilgin, n.d.), therefore the place metonymically signifies his rule.

“Avrupa modasını takip etmek istemeyiz. Fakat bunlar içinde sâde ve muvâfık gördüğümüz örnekleri arasına nakletmeyi ve hele el işlerine dâir zarîf örnekler vermeği kesim ve biçim hakkında usûl göstermeği münâsib addettik”<sup>21</sup>

[We do not want to follow European fashion. However, we believe it is appropriate to occasionally share simple and suitable examples. It is especially acceptable to give elegant samples of handicraft, and to demonstrate techniques of tailoring.]

Güler and Çelik (2023) interpret the journal’s advertisements as a part of the process of modernization in promoting commodities in a capitalistic manner and they present that the fashion imagery was featured to raise awareness to have a critical eye for the fashion influx from Europe. Similarly, Koç (2020) also views journal’s contradictory textual input as not simply fighting the modernization associated with Europe but acknowledging the necessity to also remain connected to the traditions and Islam in a way reflecting the general tendency in the modernization processes during the Hamidian Era. She gives the example of Mükerrerrem Belkıs’ article on demanding women’s rights, which brought together this Islamist and modernist perspective. Belkıs claimed those rights had actually been granted to women by the sacred religion, but somehow the society was restricting the access to them.

#### 1.1.4.3 Kadınlar Dünyası

While *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* is important for its long life without a pause, *Kadınlar Dünyası* also stands at a special place among all publications of the reform period, specifically among those that came after the Second Constitution. The journal was

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<sup>21</sup> *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (1895), No.1

published between 1913 and 1921 with intervals. Odabaşı (2021) names the journal to be possibly the most influential of all women's magazines coming after the press boom. It worked side by side with *Osmanlı Müdafâa-ı Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti*, which was an important civil society organization for women's rights during the period (Özdemir, 2017). Its activities further boosted the influence range and power of the journal.

What gives *Kadınlar Dünyası* its special position in the Ottoman press and women's history is both its content delivery and the unique publishing process. For the content, similar to the contemporary publications, one observes discussions on education, clothing and women and children's health and literature. Much academic work, mostly focusing on the first 100 issues of the journal<sup>22</sup>, has been carried out to understand how each get dealt with. Sürücü (2008) suggests the content and the agenda got shaped predominantly by the ideology that women were the mothers who bore the sons and daughters of the nation. The rising wave of nationalism, parallel to the Pan-Ottomanist/modernist ideologies, according to Telci (2007), led to the perception that the new and strong generation raised by women would save the country from the imminent dissolution. This responsibility, according to the journal's authors, would require women to have access to educational rights, alongside men (Tunç, 2013). As rights were being granted gradually, the demands moved towards an intensification of the schooling efforts in extending the range and variety of educational availability (Latifoğlu, 1999). The consistent vocalization of demands helped the journal achieve a feminist stance (Dimdik Emeksiz, 2016). Despite it was not easy to overcome the roles and characteristics assigned

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<sup>22</sup> In 2009, Women's Works Library and Information Center Foundation Publications in İstanbul published the first transliteration effort of the first 100 issues of the journal. This reference has been utilized by scholars thereafter extensively.

to women in a short while, Aygöl (2010) finds that the authors' efforts contributed to the collective questioning of women's social status.

Furthermore, the journal consistently shared news reports from international feminist action, which sets it apart from the other contemporary publications. Clearly not refraining from politics, it would be safe to say that the journal believed in the need for women's suffrage and the right to parliamentary membership.

*“Meclis-i mebusan kürsülerinde kadın sesleri işitilecek, mahkemelerde, belediyelerde kadınlar da bulunacak, onlardan da vali, mutasarrıf, kaymakam olacaktır”.*<sup>23</sup>

[Women's voice will be heard on the parliamentary rostrum, women will be present in municipalities, they also will be governors, *mutasarrıfs*<sup>24</sup>, and district governors]

However, they had to advocate first and primarily for the need of a feminist lens into basic social rights for women (Akkoç, 2019), unlike the European or American counterparts despite viewing themselves as strong and capable in the long term (Özdemir, 2017). In line with this stance, one of the most remarkable features of the journal was its columns offered to aspiring female writers, whose photos are also featured at times, amplifying their visibility and voice. Also, it encouraged the readers to submit letters creating a participation chance like *Servet-i Fünûn* (Gülcü & Tunç, 2012). Through this, Ottoman women gained an opportunity for self-representation, were inspired to learn to read and write, and were able to communicate their ideas about a variety of topics publicly.

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<sup>23</sup> *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913), No. 6

<sup>24</sup> Governors of provinces, like *sancaks*, the districts that are remote from the imperial capital. Named as such especially after 17th century (Örenç, n.d.).

*Kadınlar Dünyası* strongly defended the professional capacity of women and believed they could work out of home and can still be good wives and mothers. The “unique publishing process” mentioned above is very much related to this credo: The journal was created and published by women alone (Durgun, 2014), and the heavy advertising in the journal implies that women knew about what it would take to do profitable business (Odabaşı, 2021). The extended entrepreneuring potential of the audience was also supported through the content, as they were continuously encouraged to turn their arts and crafts into an economic gain for themselves and run their own shops (Baysal & Özkul, 2016).

The journal utilized imagery in a unique way, as well. It is known that *Kadınlar Dünyası* featured the first ever photograph of a Muslim woman in a magazine. We see cover images of women, those who write for the journal, the *Osmanlı Müdafâa-ı Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* members and women of various professions. Also, like *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, we are presented with ads and fashion imagery. But so far, there has not been substantial and comprehensive research investigating women’s visual representation in the journal.

## 1.2 Aims and Objectives

This thesis aims to contribute to the literature of gender and history and visibility in the late Ottoman press, which is deemed to lack a female lens at this time. Visibility, similar to Natharius (2004)<sup>25</sup>, is understood as a concept that does not exclusively focus on the technical seeing and perceiving of an image but considers the social factors in constructing a meaning through it. As can be seen, although the images of women in

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<sup>25</sup> Natharius (2004) cites Nelson (2000) as the original source offering this definition.

various contexts and the journals of the Constitutional Periods have been investigated before, our knowledge of how women themselves perceived the world and wanted to present their own image has been inadequate. In other words, an extensive analysis of how specifically the women's journals used images, what kind of a woman image is constructed in the press, and more remarkably, if and how women chose to represent their own image seems to be missing or insufficient. Learning more about is this necessary, for it could be insightful to understand the roles and responsibilities of women, and their potential impact on the Ottoman visual history and press. This would not only help us enhance women's perspective into the historical research of the time, but also help interpret and challenge the situation extending into the current society. As the activities of female-run *Kadınlar Dünyası* are now hailed as the materialization of the "Ottoman Women's Movement", as first put forward by Serpil Çakır in 1991 (Yılmaz, 2009), the analysis of the journal's imagery will also help us make more sense of the Ottoman feminist action along the way.

Moreover, despite an active participation in the press, whether women offered an original contribution through this or whether they followed the mainstream press in the utilization of imagery has not been understood entirely, either. To offer a solution, this study will follow a comparative strategy rather than individually focusing on one journal or only women's journals. *Kadınlar Dünyası* and its images of women will be compared with a mainstream contemporary journal, *Servet-i Fünûn*, and an earlier publication *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. The first comparison will help us understand if *Kadınlar Dünyası*, created and run by women, offer a different type of women's image and if their design is different from a male-dominated journal. The comparison of it with *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* will help us trace the changes in time regarding women's visuality and

the larger social discourse. Support from the texts and image captions will provide triangulation and help confirm the interpretation of the images.

To this end, the Method chapter shares relevant methodological options from the existing visual research literature and justifies the selections made for this specific study and outlines the key steps of the research project. The Findings chapter reports the quantification of different parameters observed in images in each journal to provide a framework of the image set. Then the comparisons of these will build the Discussion chapter, which will present conclusions regarding the characteristics of “the woman” demonstrated in the journals. The research questions that will be answered in the study are as follows:

1. What are the distinctive qualities in women’s self-representation in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and *Kadınlar Dünyası*? What are the implications of the differences between the journals across time?
2. How does *Servet-i Fünûn* typically represent women? What implications can be drawn regarding the differences between how women represent themselves in the women’s press and the way observed in a mainstream journal?
3. What are some implications regarding the existence of the original contribution of women to the history of visual culture and press with what has been learned about their way of seeing the world and themselves?

## **2. METHOD**

### **2.1 Visual and Textual Analysis in Historical Research and Women's Studies: Methodological Options and Similar Work**

Babbie (2014) defines historical research as the investigation of historical events which includes the analysis of various documents and excavation of archives. An extensive archival digging has been completed for this thesis, which aims to run a comparison of journals of differing kind and time frame to account for visual representation of and by the Ottoman women in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The initial methodological trajectory appeared to run a content analysis, as it is tightly associated with media-related research. Strinati (2004) proposes it as a useful option for a work on imagery, text and digital content found in media. Through inductive reasoning, the data can yield some “social hypotheses”, which can be fine-tuned upon the appearance of non-conforming cases. Content analysis helps in structuring and creating a framework around a large set of data, but it comes with some limitations. As a quantitative method, might lack depth needed for research of the kind of this thesis study. Therefore, the methodological projection shifted: As encouraged by Hardy et al. (2004) the option of a “multi-modal approach”, which would bring a content analysis, and a deeper discourse analysis arose. Discourse analysis is mostly associated with language and making meaning of written or spoken discourses to understand what is under or beyond the surface. The interpretive aspect of this collection of methods would compensate the depth the content analysis would lack as it requires interpretive work on the visual and textual content to account for “the discourse”: The sociopolitical and cultural reality (Foucault, 1977), “which shapes everything, and is shaped by everything” (Şahinol, 2021). For visual studies and specifically photography studies, Bolton (1992) indeed

advises close reading into photographic and social context— both regarding how and where the image is produced and to what social context it is presented to. This follows the idea that a photograph “has no single independent meaning, but many possible meanings depending upon context and use” (Barthes, as cited in Bolton, 1992, p.281). The necessity to look into the discourse in analyzing photography is also mentioned by Peirce (as cited in Suler & Zakia, 2018), who calls upon the need to consider even the person interpreting the images. This specific aspect is supported by Crimp (1992) who acknowledges photography is a subjective medium of communication.

Regarding specifically the women’s visibility, Mulvey (1996) similarly highlights that it is not the image alone that matters but it only starts to become significant when it creates a social reaction, which happened predominantly through gazettes in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Stein (1992) agrees that images cannot be interpreted as independent from the discourse they are positioned in. Her work on illustrated journals is interesting to note that she looked into specific design perspectives and provided interpretations of the way the images and texts are physically positioned; but she did not overlook the fact that they together make up a collective communication method. The idea of running discourse analyses for ideology research is also advised, because as discussed above, representation and ideology come naturally and subtly operate in the society, so one needs to literally read between the lines and look beyond what’s shown (van Dijk, 1995). As seen clearly, instead of reaching conclusions just by looking at the frequency of occurrences or numerical results a standard content analysis might yield, the range of observances, and a more in-depth look, taking the larger discourse into consideration, could offer more substantial inferences. Reliability can further be accomplished through the repetition of the analysis multiple times through the process.

Also, because the aim is to understand the nature of self-representation of women and how it changed across time in this study, the inclusion of a mainstream journal in the analysis will offer triangulation, that's why the study is designed in a comparative way. What we can say regarding self-representation as observed in *Kadınlar Dünyası* is compared with the one in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and *Servet-i Fünûn* to draw and confirm implications.

The following sections will give more information about the content analysis and the multimodal discourse analysis as the selected methodological tools for this study.

## **2.2 Multimodal Discourse Analysis**

As mentioned above, the term “discourse” is understood to be involving the entire social context and not limited to linguistics (Purvis & Hunt, 1993). This is reflected in Purvis and Hunt's (1993) interpretation of Derrida's quote on discourse: “There's nothing outside of the text” (p. 486). They take it as “there is nothing outside of discourse” (p. 486). Similarly, van Dijk (2005), noted for his work on ideology and discourse analysis, suggests that discourse work should move beyond basic linguistic properties and should account for social interests. He especially highlights that if one investigates the cases of women or other marginalized groups, focusing solely on the overt language or a limited look into the context could lead to a loss of subtle clues of the reality and therefore prevent the breaking of the ideologies suppressing them.

Although what discourse is supposed to mean within the scope of this study has been made clear, to use the correct terminology and establish the right framework for analysis, a deeper investigation needed to be done into the theory. The highlights regarding Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MMDA) are shared below.

First, CDA is reported to be carried out on textual data like observation notes or interview transcriptions; but also, to be utilizing the background information of the historical, social and political context (Wodak, 2001). Girth as cited by Wodak (2001) at this point suggests that we need to look into “segments” of the context in order to account for what we see in the data. The term “segments” seemed to be interpreted as parts of communication by van Dijk (2001) which would not only include non-linguistic aspects but visual cues as well, like interpretations of typography. Fairclough (2001) agrees because visual data would offer a richer analysis if one wants to explain social reality and problems. When moving from piece to whole in running a discourse analysis like this, MDA, an extension of CDA (Scollon, 2001) comes into the picture. MDA is notably less bound to a linguistic analysis than CDA, which ultimately bases the analysis into language despite considering social forces. MDA, on the other hand, purposefully investigates social action and practice exclusively, rather than starting from language and extending the analysis into a society. For this specific research project, it had become evident that a model that focuses on more than one mode of communication (i.e. the language) would be appropriate.

*Discourse and Technology: Multimodal Discourse Analysis* edited by LeVine and Scollon (2004), offers rich insight into the interpretations of discourse analysis approaches that would be further narrowed down in a way fitting a visual study. Norris (2002), in his study, exemplifies such an image analysis work, calling the procedure a “multimodal analysis”. Interpreting the image of a girl in a music shop, he suggests that there might be “modes” around the person depicted in the photograph: The music playing, her non-spoken communication methods (her posture, gaze, etc.), her spoken language and so on.

For discourse researchers to employ this multimodal approach, Wang (2014) shares a framework (an amalgamation of Kress and van Leeuwen's [as cited in Wang, 2014] Visual Grammar [VG] and CDA) that would help move around different modes emerging during the transcription/description of the images before one can account for the larger social discourse. The procedure starts with the description of the visual image and then interpreted. Because this Ph. D thesis study at hand deals with historical documentation and the fact that "producers" and "consumers" of the images (and the associated ideologies) are not available for observation or interviews, textual analyses have helped understand better than what sees the eye (i.e., triangulation). Before the image captions could be analyzed for this purpose, the first readings were selected to be the memoirs of Ahmet İhsan, so that the researcher could be acquainted with the creator of *Servet-i Fünûn* and the owner of the press that published *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*. In the same manner, *Matbuat Kapitalizmi*<sup>26</sup> (The Press Capitalism) was also covered, to learn more of the impact of the print boom<sup>27</sup> which would give insights into the time and affairs of *Kadınlar Dünyası*. The collective effort would help explain the social context in the long run.

### 2.2.1 Content Analysis

In line with what multimodal discourse analysis requires, the first action for the project was to run a content analysis to get familiarized with the data before the actual interpretation considering the larger social discourse could take place. For an effective content analysis, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) share recommendations like having "at

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<sup>26</sup> Odabaşı, İ. A. (2021). *Osmanlı matbuat kapitalizmi ve milliyetçilik (1913-1914)*. Türk Vakfı Yurt.

<sup>27</sup> "Print boom" starts in 1908 with the Second Constitution and faded in 1909. Kocabaşoğlu (2010) shares that 377 licenses were granted until March 1909 but in 1910 48 journals and newspapers were still active.

least two different sets of data (for example, images from two different periods or publications and each of these sets needs to contain a sufficiently large number of similar images)” (p.223). The strategy of accessing a large enough number of images to effectively represent the social situation supports the sampling decisions taken for this thesis. Bell (2011) analyzing the *Cleo* journal, asks the same question of how to work on issues and magazines that get published years apart, and how to explain the differences. He recommends checking the frequency of the appearances of the features across time if the researcher aims to run comparisons. Description, categorization and quantification of the people, the places, activities, roles, looks and such (variables of this kind are supposed to be mutually exclusive) would help draw conclusions.

The content analysis primarily provides a researcher with structured statistical data and analysis but the direction this study will take could not be that alone, because as argued, statistics alone does not help achieve the interpretive depth this study requires. In other words, it would fail to answer questions regarding the intentions, significance, and the perceived effects of the depictions (Bell, 2011). Therefore, the main action here is to create the framework<sup>28</sup> for a very large set of data covering about 30 years’ time.

Another set of suggestions for this state of analysis comes from Collier (2011). It is required that the data be laid out to observe the entirety, describing and interacting with them by asking questions to be answered in the later stages of the research. The content analysis with its counting of visual aspects, frequency of occurrences, quantification, measurements, and comparative results will be followed by revisiting the images to

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<sup>28</sup> Bell (2011) calls it the “background map of a domain of visual representation” (p. 27).

understand the contextual and social significance and meanings—the patterns. According to the author, this would yield the most rigorous interpretation.

In accordance with the previous work and the research options offered above, in this study's content analysis, the images were described first, in detail. The oral descriptions were then transcribed, formulating the raw data. Thereafter, the data files were uploaded on NVivo 12, and the thematic coding method was applied to create a framework of emerging visual modes that would turn into analysis categories in the discussion section. The finetuning of the codes was carried out in total, four times over, and the results tables are presented in the Findings chapter. The method of reporting highlights from the content analysis and discussing matters of note would be similar to Molloy's (2021) thesis on studio photography in London and Baykan Calafato's (2022) work on vernacular photography. Both studies bring descriptions of images in the way detailing the appearance, location, and the understood purpose of the image before drawing social conclusions.

As the second phase of the analysis, the image captions were examined in order to understand the intended purpose in a better way. This necessity to focus on text and captions is well established by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) who state that language will have control over the meaning the viewer decodes of an image, potentially even manipulating the representation. The “semiotic landscape”, that is the entirety of the discourse with its modes of communication and their functionalities, needs attention for the visual communication to be maintained without disruption. van Leeuwen (2011) also evaluates captions as a tool of mediation between the preferences of the image producer/publisher and the observer, but certain visual clues and attributes that are patterned out in society could also speak for themselves. Also, Knorr (1996), who works

on textual and visual discourse analysis, suggested that image captions should be paid special attention because they offer important information, complementing the one relayed by the photograph. This photographic information is prone to be missed by the observer of the image because visuality might elicit less of an attention span.

Considering all the above, the illustrated magazines are understood to be fertile ground for this study's methodological aims of discussing "representation" in comprehensiveness, due to their special employment and design in text and visual imagery.

### **2.2.2 Modes**

The variables or categories of discussion emerging from the NVivo image and caption analyses are called "modes" in this study, and they focus on many different aspects of people, objects, locations, and the like, because "an image's social life and its history" matters (Lister & Wells 2011). Learning about the world represented in the images, during the creation of it and upon its presentation to society could help us understand the meaning we could get from them. For example, van Leeuwen (2011) interprets styles of clothing and hair as cultural traits or input for what is desired for a certain class of society. Such conclusions as whether we can spot a cultural shift, progressiveness or highlighting of a certain social quality are some of the items of the discussion agenda for this study. The same is offered by Lister and Wells (2011) who provide examples of modes like clothing (how it's stylized and worn), structure of buildings, accessories, and mundane objects as tools for interpreting. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) also highlight the value of historical context itself here because it would be informing what the modes communicate in the present time. "Setting" is another advised variable.

## 2.3 Data

### 2.3.1 Selection of Journals and Justification

As we know, the press was a lively scene during the Late Ottoman Period and specifically after the Second Constitutional Era, we find an abundance of women's journals. *Kadınlar Dünyası*, due to its mentioned special place in history being a journal created exclusively by women, will be the main unit of analysis to understand the nature of self-representation. For comparison, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (1895-1906) was chosen because it had a long life among the many shorter-lived publications. Closing a few years before *Kadınlar Dünyası* of the later generation (1913-1921) started its operations, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* will offer a chance to account for the social transformation in the visual discourse and the roles and social perceptions of the Ottoman woman across time.

To understand whether the self-representation poses a difference from the representation of women observed in male-dominated mainstream journals and to see whether women offered an original contribution to the Ottoman visual culture and history, *Servet-i Fünûn* (1890-1944) was selected. It will give a triangulation chance and will offer a more reliable discourse analysis because its life covers the periods of both *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and *Kadınlar Dünyası*.

### 2.3.2 Sampling

The main aim for this research was to access and work on all volumes and issues and analyze all the images and related texts, rather than selecting a sample from the

archives. Digital archives of *Milli Kütüphane* (National Library of Turkey)<sup>29</sup>, Hakkı Tarık Us Library<sup>30</sup>, Atatürk Library<sup>31</sup>, Boğaziçi University's Rare Artifacts and Historical Archives were consulted. All issues of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* have been acquired. The unavailable issues of *Servet-i Fünûn* were issue numbers 568-573 (1902), 728 (1905), 776-781 (1906), 1085-1092 (1912), 1374-1378 (1918), and 1441-1446 (1920). The inaccessible issues of *Kadınlar Dünyası* were issue numbers 190-193 and 195-201 (1921). It should here be noted that *Kadınlar Dünyası* has fewer issues than the other two magazines and *Servet-i Fünûn*'s issues published before 1895 and after 1921 are not included in the study to keep the timelines of the three journals in line with each other (see the "Summary of the Data" table below for the exact timeframe and number of images).

### 2.3.3 Summary of the Data

In this section, Table 2.1 shows the total number of images and the allocation of them to years and journals.

**Table 2.1** *The Number of Images Analyzed in Each Journal, and the Years Covered in the Data Set*

| Journal name                        | Number of images | Years included in the data set |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>Servet-i Fünûn</i> (SF)          | 1206             | 1895-1908<br>1913-1920         |
| <i>Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete</i> (HM) | 460              | 1895-1908                      |
| <i>Kadınlar Dünyası</i> (KD)        | 253              | 1913-1921                      |

Note. Total unique image count: 1919.

<sup>29</sup> <https://dijital-kutuphane.mkutup.gov.tr/>

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.tufts.ac.jp/common/fs/asw/tur/htu/>

<sup>31</sup> <https://ataturkkitapligi.ibb.gov.tr/en/Anasayfa>

As mentioned above, to achieve parallelism, *Servet-i Fünûn* issues published between the years 1909-1912 are omitted from the data set. Table 2.2 shows the number of images accessed from each year and each journal. The findings report on unique images as the recurring images are omitted from the analysis.

**Table 2.2** *The Number of Images from the Years*

| Year | SF  | HM  | KD  |
|------|-----|-----|-----|
| 1895 | 102 | 42  |     |
| 1896 | 68  | 53  |     |
| 1897 | 46  | 95  |     |
| 1898 | 92  | 17  |     |
| 1899 | 38  | 12  |     |
| 1900 | 48  | 5   |     |
| 1901 | 62  | 21  |     |
| 1902 | 16  | 35  |     |
| 1903 | 111 | 44  | N/A |
| 1904 | 75  | 7   |     |
| 1905 | 41  | 108 |     |
| 1906 | 71  |     |     |
| 1907 | 35  | 21  |     |
| 1908 | 68  |     |     |
| 1913 | 104 |     | 131 |
| 1914 | 112 |     | 45  |
| 1918 | 58  | N/A | 39  |
| 1919 | 13  |     |     |
| 1920 | 46  |     | 38  |
| 1921 | N/A |     |     |

Notes.

1. The data set does not include images from SF in the year 1921.
2. HM publication ends in 1908. There are 21 images in total, between the years 1906 and 1908 in the data set.
3. KD publication starts in 1913. 215 images are counted in issues published between 1913 and 1918 and 38 between 1919 and 1921.
4. In total 1206 images from SF, 460 from HM and 253 from KD are analyzed in the study.

### 3. FINDINGS

#### 3.1 Piloting and Preliminary Decisions

A preliminary look into the journals confirmed the methodological projection. For the piloting and to get familiarized with the content, initially, 448 images in total were accessed and examined: 313 from *Servet-i Fünûn* (SF), 117 from *Kadınlar Dünyası* (KD) and 18 from *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (HM). The first 50 issues of KD and a selection of texts from HM and the texts on women in SF through the “*Servet-i Fünun Database*<sup>32</sup>” created by Boğaziçi University were also read. The description of the types, purpose, size/positioning of images and the representation of women in terms of what they wear or how they act in isolation helped us understand how images are featured in journals in general and what patterns of visual design one can observe. Texts also provided a preliminary insight of the themes and approaches regarding women’s social life and rights.

Table 3.1 summarizes the initial observations, which laid a foundation for the coding schemata. Clarifying notes on some of these initial code categories are shared before the presentation of the final results table, which will be provided in the next part.

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<sup>32</sup> <http://www.servetifunundergisi.com/> A product of the Boğaziçi University, Department of Turkish Language and Literature research project backed by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TUBITAK).

**Table 3.1** *Coding Observations from the Piloting*

| <i>Showing of skin</i> | <i>Jewelry</i>           | <i>Hair</i>                           | <i>Face</i>                              | <i>Companionship</i> |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Arms up to elbows      | Bracelet                 | Band/hair pin use                     | Direct gaze                              | In a group           |
| Bare chest             | Brooch                   | Blonde                                | Looks away                               | A child              |
| Bare neck              | Earrings                 | Covered                               | Make-up                                  | A man                |
| Bare shoulders         | Necklace                 | Curly/puffed up                       | Profile shot                             | A woman              |
| Cleavage               | Tiara                    | Down/unbound                          | Smile                                    |                      |
| Full arms              |                          | Half visible                          |                                          |                      |
|                        |                          | Uncovered                             |                                          |                      |
|                        |                          | Up/bound                              |                                          |                      |
| <i>Clothing</i>        | <i>Postures and body</i> | <i>Accessories and objects around</i> | <i>Activities and depiction of roles</i> |                      |
| Corset                 | Arms up                  | Animals                               | Arts                                     | As a teacher         |
| Apron                  | Hand on waist            | Bag                                   | Carpeting                                | As a maid            |
| Belt                   | Leans on objects         | Books & Gazettes                      | Cleaning                                 | Massaging            |
| Blouse                 | Small waist              | Cane                                  | Cooking                                  | As a nurse           |
| High collars           |                          | Fan                                   | Crying                                   | Operating a machine  |
| Jacket/vest            |                          | Flowers                               | As a dentist                             | As a pilot           |
| Overcoat               |                          | Gloves                                | As a doctor                              | Religious role       |
| Patterns               |                          | Musical instruments                   | Eating                                   | Secretary work       |
| Puffy shoulders        |                          | Pen/paper/ink                         | As factory workers                       | Singing              |
| Short sleeves          |                          | Shawl/cape                            | As a farmer                              | Sleeping             |
| Stripes                |                          | Umbrella                              | As a hunter                              | As a soldier         |
| Shirt                  |                          | Painting equipment                    | Ironing                                  | As a student         |
| <i>Çarşaf</i>          |                          |                                       | As a society member                      | Lawmaking            |
| Vest                   |                          |                                       | As sportspeople                          | As writers           |
| Hat                    |                          |                                       | Royalty                                  |                      |
| Train                  |                          |                                       |                                          |                      |
| Skirt                  |                          |                                       |                                          |                      |
| Shoes                  |                          |                                       |                                          |                      |

- *Showing of skin:* In line with the showing of the chest and neck prominently; necklaces and chokers are the most frequently observed jewelry adorning women in the images.
- *Hair:* Within the piloting data set, women are most frequently shown with uncovered hair in the journals. The ones working in workshops could have been

Muslim women, but those photographed in the studios without headscarves or with a lot of skin showing through the clothing, according to Özendes (1987), could be non-Muslim models or artists. However, even the Muslim women, covered with a headscarf or a bonnet, had an interesting aspect to their ways: The hair is at times half-covered. This might be suggesting a traditional concept of headscarves, not a religious one at all times. SF is at this point observed to be heavily featuring uncovered women.

- *Face*: This code category is about the features and positioning of the face of the women. Most of them are purposefully photographed as looking directly at the “camera” (coded as “direct gaze” here). In the fashion images and the studio portraits, they also have makeup on the face.
- *Companionship*: This category is about whether women are pictured “alone” or with “company”.
- *Clothing*: This raw set of data provides a picture of what can be observed on the surface. Almost invariably, women wear ankle-level long skirts and long dresses. Daily life street pictures show most women in *çarşaf* (attire similar to niqab or chador). Finally, except for the cases of plain *çarşafs*, there is always some embroidery along the clothing; some crochet work, ruffles, ribbons, jewels, etc.
  - *Bag*: Their bags are mostly *heybes* or *bohças* (a bundle bag); no handbags, as used today, are observed until after the 1910s.
  - *Cane*: Canes include a staff or simple wood sticks or umbrellas—sometimes it’s not easy to discern a stick from an umbrella.

- *Fan*: Fans are exclusively used in the fashion drawings and not photographs, except for the Japanese women shared on SF extensively after the 1900s.
- *Puffy shoulders*: “Puffy shoulders”, a major feature of the fashion images in HM, lost prominence in the later years. KD clothing does not show these, ruffles or long trains.
- *Shoes*: The shoes are almost always black, shiny and pointy, when seen, but this raises a question about what the case in real life might have been like; for most photographs display very long dresses that cover the body all the way and shoes are not seen.
- *Hat*: When not covered with a headscarf, women almost always wear a hat.
- *Postures and body*: This category is about body positioning, posing and features of the female body. Like the contemporary models, women are seen resting their hands on their waist when they are photographed or leaning on objects around them. The impossibly small waisted bodies were mostly thanks to the corsets.
- *Activities and depictions of roles*: In the journals, women tended to be presented as isolated models, as a part of city photography or studio portraits for a long time. Therefore, not all were not shown doing a certain activity. Among all professions, women are mostly seen as nurses in the hospitals or teachers at school.
- *Animals*: Women, when pictured with animals, are mostly shown around pets, or cattle as shepherds in the village scenes.

- *Flowers*: Women, who are photographed in the studio and drawn in rooms, are positioned mostly around “delicate and white flowers” in other words, “things of decorative beauty”.
- *Musical instruments*: For art, musical instruments are three times more featured than the painting equipment.
- *Royalty*: Images of royalty are featured in SF mostly, and this is probably because they were reporting cases and news from around the world consistently: The murder of the Russian Imperial Family, for instance, was heavily covered and their pictures are shown multiple times across issues. In most of the cases, royal women are shown side by side with their royal husbands in a photograph that’s either bust-sized or a full-size image taken in a studio with the entire royal family. Queen Victoria, Empress of Germany, and Russian Imperial Family are among the most frequently featured royal families, with the German Imperial Family’s visit to the Ottoman Empire extensively covered.

### **3.2 Results of the Visual Content Analysis**

In this section, first, the information regarding the type of images and the size of the women’s image pictured on them is shared. Then the analysis modes, built on and grouped together from the pilot results and finalized upon the fine tuning and completion of the entire data coding, are presented.

Although it is at times difficult to categorize the images into the correct type due to the print quality, it is clear that photographs are featured more than other types of images, such as drawings. This confirms the claim that photography was adopted easily and quickly into society. Drawing is mostly used as a part of ads, fashion images and probably in a way to copy photographic images. Painting and art images make up most

of the women's visuality in the early years of SF and fashion pages come later in all three journals.

In most of the pictures, women are shown in full-body shot — all the way to the ankles or feet. Especially in the early years, Ahmet İhsan's selection of the artwork depicted the full bodies of women (sometimes barely clad or in the nude) in oil/watercolor paintings and they spanned across two full pages. Most fashion drawings were three-quarters body shot, and the photography of the royalty was almost always a one-quarter head shot.

For the image captions, all images were first counted manually to avoid recurring images to be included in the analysis, finalizing the numbers given in the Method chapter. The main aim was to read the texts underneath the images, but the titles and texts of the articles the images were positioned around were also considered, especially when there are no captions available. Guided by the previously emerged code categories, multiple revisits of the images and understanding the potentially intended purpose and context created the extensive and more comprehensive modes of “Actions”, “Context”, “Appearance” and the “Identity”. These categories aim to answer the following questions regarding women respectively: “What are they doing?”, “where are the women shown?” and “what is the purpose of the utilization of the image?”, “how does she look?”, “who is she?”. Lister and Wells (2011) recommend that offering an answer to these would help us decode the meaning denoted in the imagery and the implications regarding the larger society.

Due to different image numbers, the frequencies of observations in each journal are inevitably different, too. However, the rate of occurrences compared to the total image count of each journal will be discussed in this thesis. For example, the ratio of images

showing women reading compared to the total number of images within SF will be compared to the same situations observed in KD and HM.

### **3.2.1 Action Mode**

This mode outlines the position and activities the women are projected in. In his work to offer a framework for a visual discourse analysis, Norris (2002) codes actions and gestures as important tools to understand the image. Recurring categories here, would help us trace the nature of activities women carried out across time and journals.

Regarding the numeric representation, it should be noted here that the amount of occurrences given in the table below for actions does not equal but exceed the total number of images. This is because there are images featuring more than one woman on them, each doing something different or positioned in a different way. So, the numbers report on the occurrence of actions, not the amount of women or the image count. The main aim of this research is to understand how women are represented most frequently, therefore, each of these actions were counted separately and listed below in Table 3.2. The same approach is adopted for the appearance and the identity modes.

**Table 3.2 Depicted Actions**

|                                                                                                                   | SF                             | HM                | KD                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Description of Action                                                                                             | <i>Frequency of occurrence</i> |                   |                   |
| <i>Low-intensity activities/still images</i>                                                                      | <i>Total: 1015</i>             | <i>Total: 388</i> | <i>Total: 209</i> |
| Standing up <sup>33</sup>                                                                                         | 621                            | 275               | 113               |
| Sitting down <sup>34</sup>                                                                                        | 170                            | 32                | 43                |
| Portrait <sup>35</sup>                                                                                            | 118                            | 45                | 32                |
| Reclining or lying down                                                                                           | 27                             | 5                 | 0                 |
| Reading and writing                                                                                               | 27                             | 22                | 9                 |
| Eating or drinking                                                                                                | 18                             | 1                 | 2                 |
| In contemplation                                                                                                  | 12                             | 5                 | 7                 |
| Checking self out on the mirror and putting on make-up                                                            | 8                              | 3                 | 1                 |
| Sleeping                                                                                                          | 6                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Crying                                                                                                            | 4                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Praying                                                                                                           | 3                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Fortune telling                                                                                                   | 1                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Talking on the phone                                                                                              | 0                              | 0                 | 2                 |
| <i>Medium-intensity activities</i>                                                                                | <i>Total: 173</i>              | <i>Total: 43</i>  | <i>Total: 43</i>  |
| Caring for (a) child(ren)/baby(ies)                                                                               | 67                             | 18                | 22                |
| Playing musical instruments and singing                                                                           | 24                             | 8                 | 4                 |
| Caring for a patient                                                                                              | 18                             | 1                 | 5                 |
| Operating a machine                                                                                               | 20                             | 0                 | 0                 |
| Handicraft/knitting/sewing/needlecraft                                                                            | 19                             | 10                | 4                 |
| Working at a workbench in a workshop                                                                              | 11                             | 3                 | 0                 |
| Flying, in an aircraft or with the help of false wings                                                            | 4                              | 1                 | 2                 |
| Shopping                                                                                                          | 4                              | 1                 | 4                 |
| Painting                                                                                                          | 2                              | 1                 | 0                 |
| Addressing the public at a conference or assembly                                                                 | 2                              | 0                 | 1                 |
| Working in a laboratory (working with tubes, chemicals, etc.)                                                     | 2                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Driving                                                                                                           | 0                              | 0                 | 1                 |
| <i>High-intensity activities</i>                                                                                  | <i>Total: 116</i>              | <i>Total: 38</i>  | <i>Total: 17</i>  |
| Gardening, farming, tending to and smelling flowers                                                               | 35                             | 8                 | 2                 |
| Household chores, including cleaning, cooking, ironing, laying and cleaning up tables, waiting on tables, washing | 26                             | 7                 | 2                 |
| Caring for animals or hunting                                                                                     | 21                             | 11                | 6                 |

<sup>33</sup> This is the times a woman is shown simply standing still and not in a discernible action.

<sup>34</sup> The number of times a woman is shown simply sitting still

<sup>35</sup> It is not possible to discern whether the person sits or stands: The size of the image is down to the chest.

|                                 |             |            |            |
|---------------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Dancing                         | 15          | 0          | 2          |
| Playing sports or exercising    | 10          | 2          | 2          |
| Riding a bicycle                | 3           | 2          | 0          |
| Riding on a mount <sup>36</sup> | 3           | 6          | 2          |
| Running                         | 1           | 0          | 0          |
| Acting                          | 2           | 2          | 1          |
| <i>TOTAL</i>                    | <i>1148</i> | <i>469</i> | <i>269</i> |

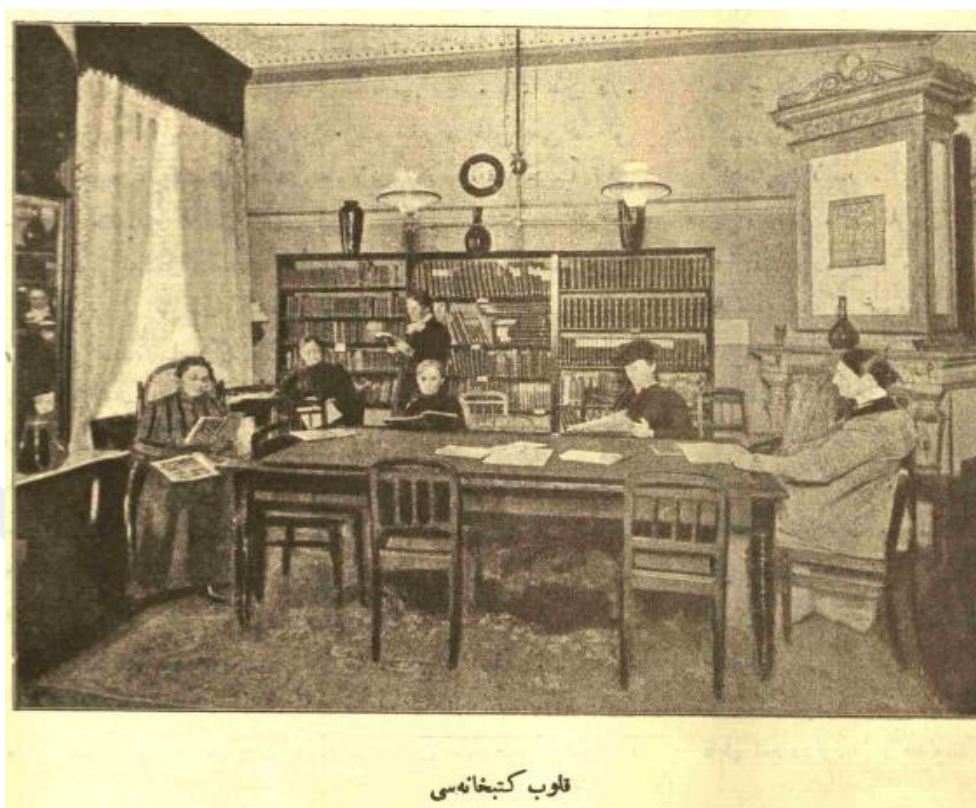
In this category, depicted actions and activities are grouped in terms of the physical effort they are considered to require. The most interesting finding out of this set would be the variety of activities. Despite this, in all three journals, women are mostly observed to be engaged in activities that did not require intense physicality, in fact, they are most frequently seen to be posing sitting down or standing up.

Another notable activity in this group is reading. The representations coded into this category include women actively reading and holding a paper implying they are literate. For example, in Figure 3.1 below, women of non-Muslim origin, as understood from their clothing, are seen to be reading at a library. The image caption informs the library is of a “club”, which could mean the women are members of a charity or a social organization. To introduce the group, SF’s decision to select this certain activity representation is interesting. Moreover, the year this was shared coincides with the Second Constitution in the Empire, which brought a strong wave of female publication efforts and the intensification of charity work.

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<sup>36</sup> Animals like horses or donkeys

**Figure 3.1** “*Kulüp Kütüphanesi*” (*Club Library*) (*SF*, No. 907)



The most frequently depicted medium-level physical work in SF is childcare and high intensity activities include gardening, animal care and housework. This reflects the traditional responsibility of a housewife, but the range of activities indicate some of the traditional conceptions might have been changing. For instance, we observe in SF, women are represented to be operating machinery and working at a workshop. Flying and driving are also observed, which are, according to Beyaz Özbey (2022), among activities that were considered “masculine”. An example can be found below in Figure 3.2 The female fashion designer prepared clothing for a play and then flew in an aircraft from France to England to deliver them. Although she is not named, she is remarkably represented as an artist, an entrepreneur and a person who is able to operate a complex transportation device.

**Figure 3.2** “Fransa ve İngiltere Arasında Ticari Ulaşım için Kullanılan Uçak... (The Airplane Flown between France and England for Commercial Transportation...) (SF, No. 1432).



The normally “masculine” area (within the Ottoman context at time) of a factory/workshop environment seems to be of a consistent representation; however, all workshops were not supposed to be exclusive male-only environments, either. In some cases, women are depicted to be weaving carpets— more “feminine” of a job (Naji, 2007) compared to a task in a “greasy” factory.

In the specific case of HM, it is noted that the variety of activities is much more limited. Most of the images are made up of posing women standing or sitting which is mainly because of the heavy fashion content. Despite this seeming limitation, the number of instances where a woman is seen reading or writing is noteworthy because although it barely surpasses the more traditional roles, like child rearing, it indicates education becoming a reality for at least upper-class women in the city from early on. Another

interesting highlight would be the playing of the musical instruments. Gürbüz (2001) shares an excerpt where the HM editor expresses that sharing musical notes is among the aims of the journal. This has been closely associated with the urban socio-economic structure. However, playing music and female musicians were observed both in the city and the rural areas, because playing an instrument was deemed a celebrated skill and that it would help a woman carry out the function of being a good wife and mother offering good times and training to children and the family (Özkişi, 2009). Figure 3.3, supporting this, presents an ad of a violin instructor in HM. It should be noted that other pursuits related to music for a woman are discouraged; however. It is feared to lead to the forsaking the sacred responsibilities of motherhood and wifeship (HM, No. 24, p.1):

*“Farzedelim ki fakir aileden bir kız bir mekteb-i âlide pek güzel terbiye ve tahsil görmüş. Piyano çalmayı, resim yapmayı da öğrenmiş; validesinin yanında ev içinde başka bir hizmetçi olmadığı için muâvin ve müzâhir olacak kız piyano çalarken ellerim çirkin görünür diye çamaşır yıkamaz, yemek pişirmeyi de nefesine yediremez. Evinde piyanosu olmadığı, belki de hiç bulamayacağı için mektepte talim ettiği piyano kendisine ne hizmet edecek? Bu kız için yemek pişirmesini, çamaşır yıkamasını öğrenmek, hesap ve coğrafya öğrenmekten ve öğrendiği şeylerle âile-i fakirânesinin hâl ve mevkîini kendince bir zül addedip daha bâlâyâ tereffü etmeye çalışmak gibi bir hiss-i gurur peyda eylemekten hâl ve âtide saâdetini temin için daha lazım değil miydi?”*

[Let's assume that a girl from a poor family receives a very good high school education. She also learns to play the piano and to paint. There is no other housekeeper but her mother, but she still would not do the laundry or cook, because she would believe that her hands would look ugly as she plays the piano.

As she does not have a piano at home, and because she probably will never be able to find one, how could the piano she learned to play at school be of any good to her? Wouldn't learning how to cook, how to do the laundry be more necessary for her current and future happiness than learning accounting and geography, or learning about things that would make her feel humiliated by the conditions of her poor household and would get her to aspire for higher ambitions with vanity?]

Although cautious as seen, the journal features a regular advertisement of a violin instructor and shares musical notes, supporting Özkişi (2009)'s perspective and keeping their editorial promise.

**Figure 3.3** “*Keman Muallimi*” (*Violin Instructor*) (*HM, No. 400*)



The case of women in KD posed as standing up and sitting down is mostly associated with the fact that there are many images taken in the studios and the notable women writing for the journal or a part of *Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukûk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti* (“Society” hereafter) were featured on the cover page. Around 52% of images show women looking away from the spectator and the rest features them keeping a direct eye contact. Although limited in variety compared to SF, the actions, such driving and flying an aircraft, are significant for transcending beyond the perceived limits of the “feminine” actions at the time. This does not mean they are not shown taking care of babies and children, though.

**Figure 3.4** *Büyük Şaire Yaşar Nezihe Hanım Efendi (The Great Poetess, Yaşar Nezihe Hanım) (KD, No. 124)*



Like in the case of SF, KD features reading and writing to an extent. Figure 3.4 presents an example. An acknowledged author Yaşar Nezihe is featured on the cover of Number 124, adding a physical characteristic to her relative fame. This photograph might have been taken at a studio or her home environment and shows her contemplating and in the process of writing. Therefore, she is not only depicted as a woman of letters but as someone performing her profession. In other words, she is not simply sitting and posing but the image reflects the intellectual capacity of an Ottoman woman with the photograph highlighting her activities rather than her physical image. The clothing worn normally outside of home and her manner in posing indicate this is a constructed scene that Yaşar Nezihe herself is aware of. She knows the image will be circulated around and that she is essentially in a public space.

**Figure 3.5** “*Osmanlı Ordusuna Muavenete Şitab İderken...*” (“*Hastening to Help the Ottoman Army...*”), (KD, No.102)



Both SF and KD share images with women speaking in public, at a rally or a conference. KD's affiliation with the Society helped the latter provide information and opinions through the journal. Its members attended women's conferences and networked with European writers (Aygül, 2010). One local gathering organized by women is shown in Figure 3.5. Muslim women are seen to have come together to assist the Ottoman army fighting the Balkan Wars. The almost yearlong conflicts had led women to work and oversee the responsibilities of men in the society, but this image also reflects the nationalist ideas the women bore in the same line of thinking the journal employed. Both those who are pictured and the ones who published the image acknowledged the roles of women in protecting the motherland, and the illustration shows the proclamation of their presence in the society. This also perhaps implied that they would be willing and able to eventually contribute to the decision making.

### **3.2.2 Context Mode**

This mode outlines the depicted locations, the people women are shown with and the image's perceived purpose. The information relies on the input from image captions, which offered a more extensive context variety of coding categories, but also helped place the images in the right groups.

#### **3.2.2.1 Perceived Purpose and the Function of the Image**

In this mode, predominantly, the image captions confirm the perceived purpose of the image where at least one woman is observed and included in the data set. Essentially providing reasoning and explanation to the images, this category can be considered as an important part of the qualitative characteristics of the investigation (Gopaldas, 2016). To achieve this, at times, the titles of the articles or sections the image is immersed in were

also referred to. The information is reported on each image (see Table 3.3), therefore equaling the total word count.

**Table 3.3 Purpose and Function**

|                                                            | SF                      | HM         | KD               |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>Perceived purpose or the function of the image</i>      | <i>Number of images</i> |            |                  |
| To accompany an article or story <sup>37</sup>             | 634                     | 114        | 45               |
| To show the identified woman in the captions <sup>38</sup> | 246                     | 44         | 64               |
| Fashion <sup>39</sup>                                      | 196                     | 191        | 26               |
| Illustrations accompanying literature <sup>40</sup>        | 74                      | 1          | 0                |
| Caricatures                                                | 26                      | 0          | 6                |
| Advertisement images                                       | 11                      | 95         | 36               |
| Page end/end of the article decoration                     | 9                       | 1          | 7                |
| Illustrated title name                                     | 7                       | 14         | 25               |
| No caption provided/Self-contained image                   | 3                       | 0          | 44 <sup>41</sup> |
| <i>TOTAL</i>                                               | <i>1206</i>             | <i>460</i> | <i>253</i>       |

To better understand the mission undertaken by the image, the captions are useful, and, in this study, they offer calibration in the correct visual reading of the images. In the case of SF, most captions are given to identify the name of the paintings, or they

<sup>37</sup> Images with this purpose had captions that did not identify individuals shown but described the scene or provided information about the image, like the title of the artwork.

<sup>38</sup> This information at times is given in the text the image is placed in, not in the image caption.

<sup>39</sup> This set doesn't belong to the advertisement of a (clothing) company, rather, it illustrates the regular fashion sections of the journal.

<sup>40</sup> This set includes the depiction of the events described in poems or novel excerpts or with a decorative purpose accompanying the mentioned texts.

<sup>41</sup> This includes cover images. KD features women's pictures on the cover, but it does not provide a caption or information around it to identify them. Instead, advertisements and information of the journal is given on those pages.

objectively describe what can be seen in the image. In comparison, women are not named individually as much. As for the intended purpose of the images, it is understood that illustrations for poetry or stories and other decorative imagery and fashion images stand out. For the fashion images, the captions highlight the fact that the represented clothing was that of popular and European origin indicating Paris trends, for instance, as a source of inspiration. This could imply that there might be an encouragement for a certain style change in female attire. The frequency of fashion imagery also suggests that women were accepted to be a part of the journal's audience.

Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7 exemplify the mentioned decorative female image and the fashion drawings respectively. In the first image, a fairy-like figure of fantasy accompanies a poem by Tevfik Fikret on the cover of the journal. The purpose of such a design could be to add pleasure to the reading experience, supporting it visually. The alignment of the figure's romantic nature with the environment she is depicted in equals feminine beauty with the beauty of nature and limits her role to a passive object for the gaze of the spectator. Oliver (2017) reminds how this concept has much been discussed within the context of the Western visual arts. SF's way to utilize such imagery, sometimes includes the incorporation of the antique Greek or Egyptian-inspired figures. It is known that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Europe witnessed an Egyptian revival in aesthetics, which was widely observed in fashion and art (Curl, 2006).

Figure 3.6 “Aveng-i Şühur” (“Sequence of Months”) by Tevfik Fikret (SF, No. 373)

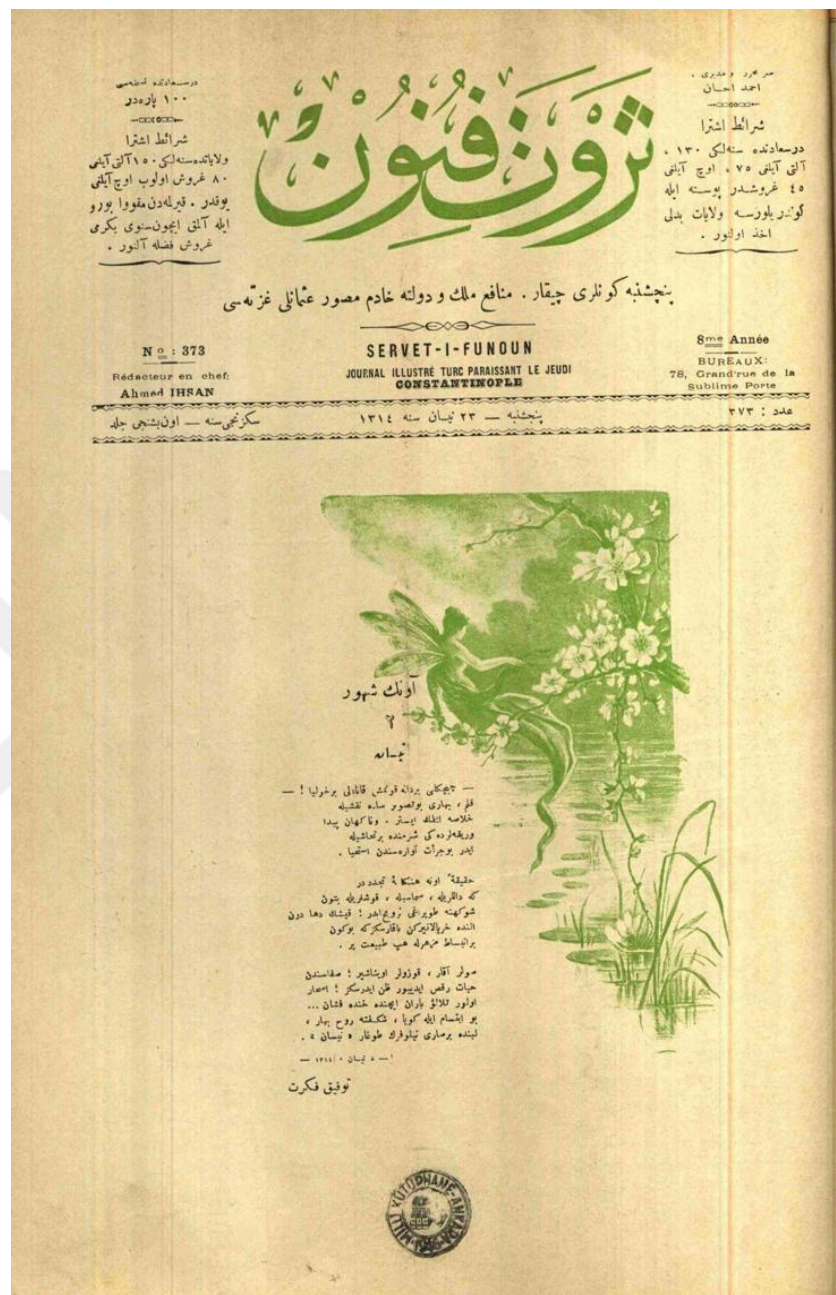
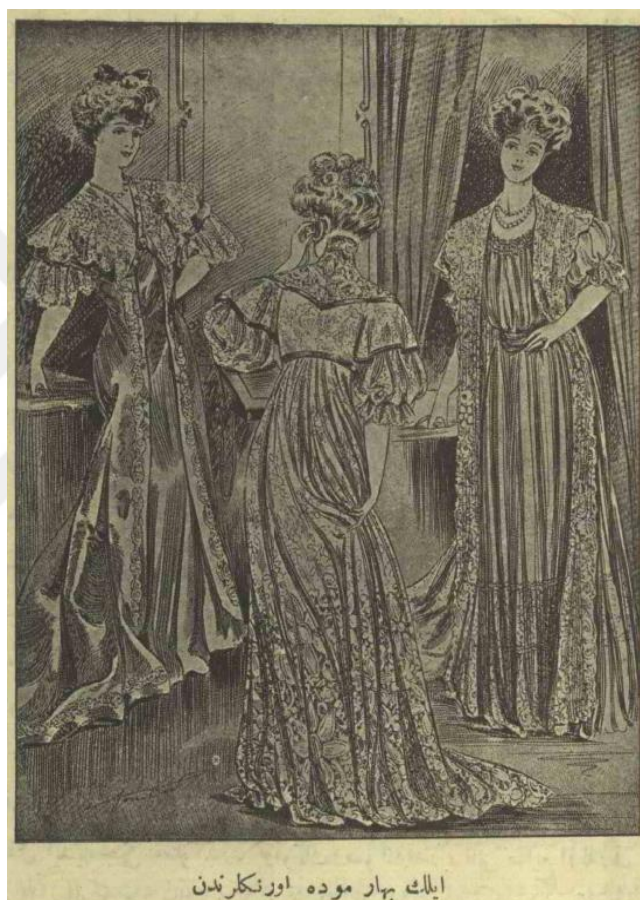


Figure 3.7 as seen below, shows a new set of “spring fashion”, with three women in elaborate nightgowns, feminine in style with ruffles and lace. The look was completed with jewels and make-up and their hair was an example of the curly bun trend observed frequently in contemporary images. Such imagery, mostly shared in separate sections on page 11, found intensified use upon the temporary termination of publication activities of

*Servet-i Fünûn* when Hüseyin Cahid's translation of a French political essay disturbed the Sultan Abdulhamid II (Tokgöz, 2020) in 1901. The new content both helped Ahmet İhsan avoid state politics and would also attract the female audience.

**Figure 3.7** “İlkbahar Moda Örneklerinden” (*Samples from the Spring Fashion*) (SF, No. 784).



For HM, fashion also is the most featured image type, which could indicate the issue of “women's clothing” was a leading content highlight. The type of clothes shown would inform us of the standing and recommendations of the journal about this matter; although individual stance of certain authors could tell a totally different story than what we could regularly see on the imagery (HM, No. 57):

*"Evet bir Osmanlı'nın her şeyi Osmanlı olmalıdır. Hatta giydiği elbisenin biçimi bile. Şimdiki esvaplarımızın biçimleri hep Avrupa modalarından alınmış şeylerdir."*

[Yes, everything of an Ottoman person must be of Ottoman nature. Even the shape of the clothes. All of our clothing nowadays are things borrowed from European fashion.]

As a result of this anonymity coming with fashion drawings, few women are identified in the captions and those are, as will be seen in the relevant section below, were mostly non-Muslim. It is known that one of the two main aims of the journal has been identified as "reporting news from women of the world" on the first issue (Güven, 2016). That could explain why famous European figures like Sarah Bernhardt were featured. We see an engraving of the actress in Figure 3.8, posing in character, hair done in the typical style of the period and in dramatic clothing, possibly put on for a show she was a part in.

**Figure 3.8** “*Meşhur Aktris Sara Bernar*” (*Famous Actress Sarah Bernhardt*) (HM, No. 117)



For KD, it is noteworthy to observe that a substantial number of women are named and identified. Yılmaz (2009) suggests that the journal opted frequently to feature real Ottoman and foreign women, with the likes of Bedra Osman<sup>42</sup>, Fatma Seher<sup>43</sup> and Selma Lagerlöf<sup>44</sup>. The most regularly featured women, though, were the members of the Society, which included both non-Muslim women and the KD authors. Figure 3.9 shows one such member and author, Grace Ellison, who traveled to İstanbul frequently, and wrote also for *The Times*. This networking both introduced the Ottoman feminist movement to Europe and brought inspiration back from the European activists. Such efforts would help overcome the stereotypes regarding women both at home and abroad (Yıldız, 2018).

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<sup>42</sup> The first Muslim Ottoman woman employed as a civil servant

<sup>43</sup> Kara (Black) Fatma, who participated in Balkan and later Turkish Independence Wars

<sup>44</sup> First female Nobel Literature Prize laureate

**Figure 3.9** *Grace Ellison, (KD, No. 121).*



KD also shared advertisements and fashion images frequently, which reflects the female business capacity as the publication was run by women. We see drawings of women in modern European style long dresses. It is known that KD editorial cooperated financially with stores and that they opted to share such imagery would indicate that there was a group within the audience that would be associated with or like the European look. However, it would also be an unrealistic claim to suggest Ottoman women felt strongly “European” especially at a time when the Empire was in constant wars and on the verge of dissolution. It was simply inevitable that they were being influenced by the developments in Europe and around the globe.

### 3.2.2.2 People Surrounding Women

This category, as summarized in Table 3.4, reports on who women are shown with.

**Table 3.4** *People Accompanying Women*

|                      | SF   | HM                      | KD  |
|----------------------|------|-------------------------|-----|
| <i>Companionship</i> |      | <i>Number of images</i> |     |
| Alone                | 587  | 386                     | 177 |
| Mixed age and gender | 292  | 23                      | 19  |
| Woman/women          | 138  | 25                      | 21  |
| Man/men              | 137  | 8                       | 14  |
| Children             | 52   | 18                      | 22  |
| TOTAL                | 1206 | 460                     | 253 |

In all three journals, women are mostly depicted alone in the images. In the case of SF, this is due to the heavy incorporation of female-featuring artwork. Berger (1972) speculated that in the classical Western art, solitary women and their bodies were traditionally exhibited to appeal to a male audience. What is interesting here is that when women are shown with company, instead of with women or children, they are depicted to be a part of a mixed gender group. The role of motherhood, the sacred responsibility of bearing the nation's children, and the idea that women were "souls of the family and the source of all happiness" (Keçeci Kurt, 2015, p. 1082) do not seem to have found as frequent a visual representation as one would have presumed. This does not mean the role is altogether undermined, but SF showing women with children the least is indeed among the outstanding pieces of findings in this category.

**Figure 3.10** “*Âmâların Tâlim ve Terbiyesi: Âlem-i Hayvanat Dersi*” (“*Education of the Blind: A Lesson on the Animal Kingdom*”) (SF, No. 648)

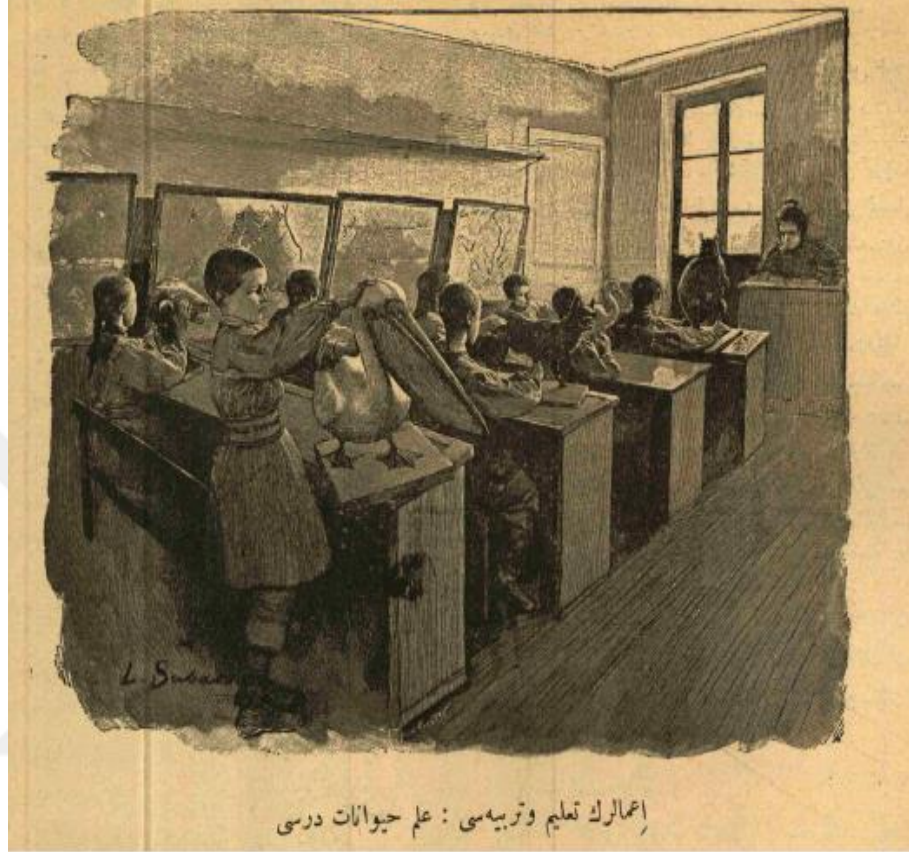


Figure 3.10 shows one of the rarer such images, where we observe a non-Muslim teacher with her class full of young blind students as they learn about animals. The picture is signed with a foreign name and the clothing shows that it is not of Ottoman origin. It is still, however, a notable choice to represent a woman with a profession having received vocational training, instead of at home with children. In the Ottoman context, Demirel (2013) reports that the education of the blind and the mute was introduced by Abdulhamid II but was subsequently terminated when he perceived dubious activities (Sağlam Tekir, 2021). International schools continued their operations, where a regular class would be similar to the scene seen above.

**Figure 3.11** “Tablo” (“A Painting”) (HM, No. 129)



Women and men’s co-existence and representation of them being one-on-one is not something we encounter so often during the period, neither in press nor in art originating in the Empire. Müfide Kadri’s *Lovers on the Beach* (1907) has been cited as a rare example of a couple, and Erişti (2015) reports a few other works by Osman Hamdi, but in those, women and men are depicted to be more in a traditional relationship like that of a servant and a master. The limitations around the visibility of women in general and the norms and prohibition of the “romantic relationships” must have led both HM and KD to show men as the least observed company for women in the image set. Koç (2019) clarifies this perspective with the example of a story published in HM by Nigâr Hanım, titled *Çiçekler Perisinin İffet-i* (The Chastity of the Flower Fairy). Seher, the main

character, is in love with her cousin but willingly gives up on her love and quickly manages to find happiness when her family marries her off to someone else without her knowledge or consent. The point is that holy matrimony should be the most important notion for women, and not the feelings of love, which, according to the author, is but childish and not really necessary to get married. Figure 3.11 shows, therefore, one of the uncommon images that would indicate otherwise. It is clearly a Western painting, not representing the lives of Muslim women in the audience.

Readings of the images in KD, considering how the women are also often named, went in line with the ideals of women deserving equal rights as men. The journal displayed women and men working together. Figure 3.12 is an example where we see a doctor and nurses photographed in Ladik, now a province of Samsun. The female nurses are understood to be trained or have worked for Red Crescent, indicating a sort of a career track. This is the way of the journal to show that, when they acquire an education and professional opportunity, women could pursue careers alongside and like men.

**Figure 3.12** “*Ladik’te Hasta Bakıcı Kızlar...*” (Nurses in Ladik, KD, No. 169)



### 3.2.2.3 Notable Locations

The locations women are presented in, whenever depicted is given in Table 3.5. The findings are grouped into “public”, “private” and “unidentified” locations. Unidentified locations are labeled as such due to the inability to make out the location

because of the low quality of the image, or because neither the background nor clothing allowed inferencing.

**Table 3.5** *Locations*

|                                               | SF                      | HM                | KD                |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|                                               | <i>Number of Images</i> |                   |                   |
| <i>Public Spaces</i>                          | <i>Total: 449</i>       | <i>Total: 92</i>  | <i>Total: 119</i> |
| Rural areas and around bodies of water        | 135                     | 29                | 14                |
| In the city                                   | 131                     | 8                 | 3                 |
| Studio                                        | 63                      | 20                | 84                |
| School                                        | 33                      | 0                 | 1                 |
| Unidentified outdoor space <sup>45</sup>      | 32                      | 33                | 13                |
| Workshops <sup>46</sup>                       | 24                      | 2                 | 1                 |
| Hospital                                      | 14                      | 0                 | 2                 |
| Fair and exhibit area                         | 9                       | 0                 | 1                 |
| Theater <sup>47</sup>                         | 8                       | 0                 | 0                 |
| <i>Private Spaces</i>                         | <i>Total: 437</i>       | <i>Total: 171</i> | <i>Total: 59</i>  |
| Inside an unidentified building <sup>48</sup> | 291                     | 132               | 45                |
| Garden/balcony/courtyard                      | 146                     | 39                | 14                |
| <i>Unclear locations<sup>49</sup></i>         | <i>Total: 320</i>       | <i>Total: 197</i> | <i>Total: 75</i>  |
| <i>TOTAL</i>                                  | <i>1206</i>             | <i>460</i>        | <i>253</i>        |

For all three journals, from among the identified locations, the most frequently occupied places are indoors. However, observing the distinction between the “public” and “private” spaces should be more meaningful. “Private areas” indicate domestic and

<sup>45</sup> The fashion images, where the women are pictured wearing clothing for the outside and carrying accessories like umbrellas were also coded in this category.

<sup>46</sup> This number may not match numbers given the action of “working at a workshop” code because the action mode directly denotes the observed activity: If a woman stands still there, then the image was coded as such.

<sup>47</sup> Either as part of the audience or as an actress: Those identified as actresses but photographed elsewhere, however, were coded in relevant location categories.

<sup>48</sup> The general category includes codes for images where it is understood that the woman is inside a building, but it is not possible to discern where exactly. The discernible places are coded in relevant categories— there is no overlapping.

<sup>49</sup> Some images and the captions/texts did not offer any information on the location. They were too small, the background was not clear, objects and clothing did not give away clues and therefore such pictures were coded under this category.

intimate locations, like home, and “public” where women are with strangers out in the city or country. For SF, it is observed that the number of images is very close to each other. This clearly shows women were not confined to home anymore. They are represented at fairs, studios, and workshops. Uysal (2019) suggests that the general content on fairs in the journal, for instance, bore the purpose of introducing the daily life, economy, politics, and culture of foreign countries. She exemplifies the case of the Chicago Fair, where the focus was on the infrastructure of the city as a model for İstanbul. Therefore, selecting images of such contexts with women in them, reflects the journal’s acknowledgement of their place in this modern urban projection for the Ottoman capital in the long run.

Moreover, as discussed, in the early years of his venture, Ahmet İhsan is known to have brought printing plates from Europe, which might have helped him connect to the printing network there and borrow imagery easily.

**Figure 3.13** “*İpekçilik ve Terakkiyat Ahiresi: Lyon’da bir İplik Fabrikasının Dahli*”  
(Recent Developments in Sericulture: Inside of a Yarn Factory in Lyon) (SF, No. 723)



Figure 3.13 is one of those images exported from Europe. We see a view of the Lyon yarn factory, occupied by mostly, possibly French women. They are working in a line and are all dressed in uniforms. We know that women became a part of the European workforce and factories with the industrialization brought about by the First Industrial Revolution (Mohajan, 2019). Although the scene is a mundane representation of life there, such locations would at the time be perceived as “masculine” for the Ottoman society, governed by different economic, social, and religious norms. Taking the choice of reporting on these environments and sharing images with women, the journal communicated the prospective and alternative working availability for them to its Ottoman audience.

SF also received and used images by local photographers in İstanbul, and featured traveling photographer’s submissions to show different landscapes of the Empire to showcase the modernization efforts across the country. Rural images mostly are those photographs and there are also some paintings depicting nature and countryside.

The almost non-existing presence of school or hospital settings in the HM data set, and the very limited occupation of the workshop or factory areas may suggest that “the indoors”, even when it was not possible to identify where exactly, must be the home environment. Overall, the variety of locations is limited but there is a certain representation of the women in the cities. These are not photographs showing real women, but in accord to the aim to feature updates from the world being a highlight for the journal, they are mostly drawings, or engravings; like one seen in Figure 3.14. The difference between the style of the woman seen in this image and the real women’s clothing during the later period as seen on KD is noteworthy. The corset on this woman and the high hat with elaborate feathers, in time, seem to have left its place to more comfortable dresses

and simpler headdresses. She is clearly an upper-class Parisian, on a bridge with the cityscape visible in the background.

**Figure 3.14** “*Son Paris Modasi*” (*Latest Parisian Fashion*) (HM, No. 233)



What is most striking about KD is that “the studio” is the most frequently observed location in this journal. Women pose to have their photographs taken and the editorial board’s decision to utilize such imagery could bear significance regarding the journal’s design of female visibility. Photography studios were active in Istanbul as early as the 1840s as presented before. Women and families had their photographs taken at home or in the studios for keepsake but what makes a difference in this case would be the acceptance of the circulation of their images in the press, in other words, in a public domain. In time, KD shared the images of many female artists and models for the audience to see. For example, Figure 3.15 shows Jeanne Lanvin (1867-1946), the French fashion designer, donning a jacket and a dress combination, possibly a set of her own design. She is posing with her hair down and bold in her gaze creating an intimate

ambience. If not identified, one would have believed that the image could have been included for its aesthetics, but KD's decision to feature this image would be to introduce this "artist" and businesswoman, possibly to inspire its female audience.

**Figure 3.15** "Artist Matmazel Jeanne Lanvin" (KD, No. 131)



### 3.2.3 Physical Appearance Mode

In the scope of this study, physical appearance mode outlines women's clothes and how revealing they were designed, the ornamentation and jewelry, and hairdo and

makeup. Age, race or other variables that would potentially be influential on the looks are not considered mainly due to inadequate image quality. Moreover, clarifying information regarding the depicted women that would inform the viewer of such variables is at times missing, so the interpretations would mostly have been speculative. However, considering the social meaning clothing or covering of hair have assumed, the provided information would still help draw implications regarding the extended socio-cultural context.

### 3.2.3.1 Hair and Make-up

Hair is a determining factor for the time to draw conclusions regarding social rules, conventions, and religious connotations.

**Table 3.6** *Hair & Make-up*

|                                            | SF                             | HM         | KD         |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Hair                                       | <i>Frequency of occurrence</i> |            |            |
| Partially or Fully Uncovered <sup>50</sup> | 1064                           | 431        | 186        |
| Fully Covered <sup>51</sup>                | 154                            | 29         | 68         |
| Make-up <sup>52</sup>                      | 107                            | 80         | 54         |
| <i>TOTAL</i>                               | <i>1325</i>                    | <i>540</i> | <i>308</i> |

Muslim women could not be seen without a headscarf among male strangers<sup>53</sup>. We know that photographs of women outside in a hat alone then must be of non-Muslim Ottoman citizens or foreigners. It should be noted here however, that not all women with covered hair had to be Muslims. Russian or Albanian Christians at the time put on similar

<sup>50</sup> Either the hair is fully uncovered, or the woman wears a hat. The norm for the hairdo style is a wavy bun worn up.

<sup>51</sup> With a veil or bonnet: Hair is not visible.

<sup>52</sup> The most discernible facial makeup is on the lips, recognized with a darker shade.

<sup>53</sup> Those men they were not married to or are daughters, siblings, mothers, aunts, nieces, granddaughters, daughters-in-law and milk siblings of

headscarves. For the Muslim women's case, one would not expect SF to ignore the religious requirements by and large, especially considering the support the journal received from the Sultan for a time, who also was the caliphate of Islam. But strikingly, a great majority of the pictures, as seen on Table 3.6, presents women without headscarves. If this is supposed to be the representation of what the European women looked like, then they are clearly presented in a positive light, due to the consistency and frequency of the imagery. In line with this thinking, the hair being almost always put up and hat being a major accessory, could again be understood as the images were showing the European trends. There are also flowers, feathers and hairpins adorning the hair.

The woman that is glorified in the HM journal's textual input, with her clothing and headscarf, the nearby child and that she's reading with or for her, is the one seen in Figure 3.16. As mentioned, because most imagery seems to have been borrowed from European sources<sup>54</sup> despite this perspective, the visual representation we mostly see in the journal is the uncovered woman in the European garments. The promoted looks going against the modesty advised in text seems confusing as exemplified in the "Perceived purpose and the function of the image" section above. But the upper-class urban women's style at home (then under the *çarşaf* outside, as well), that is dresses matching the European fashion, would be a way to explain this contradiction. Furthermore, the constant feed of a certain style might have subtly and slowly contributed to the visual normalization of the tighter and reformed clothing we see and read on KD in later periods.

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<sup>54</sup> Some art is also commissioned from European painters in İstanbul, who are reported to be employed in the Palace and the city in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Tütüneken, 2023).

**Figure 3.16** (*HM, No. 133*)



The situation with KD, considering the rate to the whole set, the number of women shown with a headscarf is remarkably higher than the other two journals. However, the most frequent depiction, like in other journals, was still of women without headscarves.

For the face, makeup is utilized mostly in the early periods. With the simplification of the dress code and the photography's introduction, a more naturalistic image representation is created.

### 3.2.3.2 Clothing, Accessories and Showing Skin

Clothing can be seen as a tool to interpret codes of social conduct, roles, and nature of people. For this purpose, Table 3.7 provides the striking aspects of female fashion as represented in the journals. These could have been specifically designed for an instructive purpose, as a way to inspire the masses through art, to glorify a certain notion of beauty, or as a realistic representation of everyday life. The numbers indicate the instances these listed garments and accessories are observed. For example, if a group of women collectively wore *çarşaf* and if the number of women could not be made out, that image is taken as one count of observance of the garment. But when a few countable women of differing styles can be seen on a single image, each piece of clothing (as seen on a single woman or more) is counted and presented.

**Table 3.7** *Clothing Highlights*

|                                                                | SF          | HM         | KD         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| <i>Frequency of occurrence</i>                                 |             |            |            |
| Ornate European style outfits, design patterns and accessories | 785         | 590        | 146        |
| Jewels <sup>55</sup>                                           | 263         | 100        | 87         |
| <i>Çarşaf</i>                                                  | 41          | 1          | 43         |
| <i>Şalvar</i>                                                  | 22          | 1          | 2          |
| Masculine                                                      | 20          | 13         | 5          |
| <i>TOTAL</i>                                                   | <i>1131</i> | <i>705</i> | <i>283</i> |

In SF, European fashion is frequently depicted. This was a chance for the female readers who did not have an opportunity to go and see in person what the “new and trendy” clothing was in Europe. A continuous visual provision of certain looks would

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<sup>55</sup> Includes tiaras and jeweled hair pieces, necklaces and chokers, bracelets, rings, earrings, and brooches. This part does not include the sparkly ornaments on clothing, but accessories are coded as jewels when worn separately.

inevitably lead to a connection of the represented woman. It could be expected that the reader would eventually or progressively be acknowledging the one on the page as the “beautiful and modern” woman she would herself aspire to be.

Figure 3.17 exemplifies a fashion advertisement from SF. The image presents a modern and trendy woman in a corset from Madam Ferdinand’s shop. Madam Ferdinand was a corsetiere, trained in Paris and her shop’s ads were also featured in KD. Kılıç (2020) associates this popularity with the common understanding that Paris was the center of fashion for women at the time. The hair, and exposed chest and feminine style of the clothing was reflective of the mentioned European look. However, some groups remained ambivalent towards this, as the negative reactions materialized and vocalized for corsets as of 1890s:

*“... fakat korseler ile vücudumuzu sıkıp da bir hâl-i zâ’f ve hüvâle düşmektense tahsil-i ma’lûmât ile dimağlarımızın neşvünemâsına hizmet edelim... Moda şimdi Avrupa’da aldığı tarz itibariyle hoş değildir...”*

[... but instead of squeezing our bodies with corsets and becoming weaker, let’s work on the improvement of our minds with education.... Fashion, as seen in Europe, is not nice...]

(Zeyneb Sünbül binti (daughter of) Sedad bin (son of) Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (Pasha) (HM, No. 9, 1895, p.4)

Figure 3.17 Huri Korseleri (Huri Corsets) (SF, No. 1166)



*Çarşaf* in this category is given as a term to include all types of all-covering outfits: The *ferace*, *yeldirme* (the long dresses and headscarf worn separately), and *yaşmak* (the long dress and headscarf which covers all but eyes), and the traditional Turkish style. The reason for *çarşaf* and *şalvar* being the only clothing pieces to be listed here is that the rest of the clothing (except for what fantasy figures wear) is made up of long, ankle-level skirts and dresses and blouses, boleros, and jackets with puffed up collars and shoulders, and high reaching collars. *Çarşaf* with its various versions is the common attire for the Muslim Ottoman outside in the period (Koç & Koca, 2007).

Femininity is a notion that clothing is associated with as understood from the heavy “embroidery and ornaments” utilized overall in all three journals. Ribbons, lacework, ruffles, sequins, tassels and beads, fur and feathers are all used for decoration on European style ornate clothes. These were, especially lace and similar ornaments, required handiwork and were costly for a long time, and therefore reserved to the aristocrats in Europe (Gormally, 2017). When fashion slowly started to become industrialized by the 1880s, such specialties were offered to the masses. According to Gormally (2017), this led to the “democratization” of them (p. 464). In the Ottoman context, we know that the urban and upper-class women’s all-covering attire had long been colorful and ornate. Osman Hamdi presented one example with his painting *Women in Travel*, completed in 1887. This standard looks in SF was rarely interrupted by the representation of *çarşaf* and *şalvar*, which Koç and Koca (2007) call as the typical outfit, for at least the women in rural provinces or those belonging in a “lower class” in the city. *Şalvar*, barely featured as seen from the table, is limited in representation because the journals were both addressing and representing the mentioned urban class women.

Regarding KD, some previous studies (e.g., Aygöl, 2010) cite the journal’s outlook on the issue of clothing as one of the social foci on the road to modernization, along with various economic and social activities. KD writers demanded reformation in clothing and modified *çarşaf* and *feraces* found frequent representation. As we learn from Kavas (2015), the Ottoman *çarşaf* reformation went in line with women’s familiarity and progressive alignment with European fashion. The earlier design turned into a looser garment when women desired to wear tight skirts and blouses or dresses under it. Then the overlying garment was ditched when the mentioned dresses and, accompanied by a veil, turned itself into a modern new attire. Gahramanlı (2012) traces this transformation

and the variety in contemporary literature. It revealed the coloring of the fabric to addition of capes and face veils to otherwise European style clothing in time. Press' role in establishing and disseminating this new look through fashion imagery and ads cannot be undermined. The KD editorial board must have viewed the clothing reformation issue significant enough to further contribute to it through a tailor shop enterprise they initiated and supported. Through this, women were also given an economic opportunity for their tailoring skills (Karakışla, 2014).

HM fashion content is given through advertisements, sewing and knitting instructions and images showing the European fashion context. As early as in its first year, the journal, like KD, helped with the opening up of a tailor's workshop, in collaboration with a local non-Muslim tailor. The owner of the place is indicated to be an Ottoman Muslim lady, and the employment options are reported to be also for Muslim women. Güler and Çelik (2023) interpret this as an emergence of professional life for them. Between the 400 and 500<sup>th</sup> issues, the journal regularly featured advertisements of clothing stores that came with various drawings like the one seen in Figure 3.18.

**Figure 3.18** (*HM, No. 400*)



The concept of “masculine” was also shared in this set not because of the frequency of representation but because it might have social or political connotations. This style included pants and military attire, not regularly observed on women.

**Table 3.8** *Showing of the Skin*

|                                    | SF                             | HM         | KD         |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|------------|
| <i>Skin Showing</i>                | <i>Frequency of occurrence</i> |            |            |
| Arms                               | 243                            | 76         | 70         |
| Neck & Chest                       | 194                            | 80         | 56         |
| Shoulders                          | 33                             | 11         | 11         |
| Full nudity & transparent clothing | 30                             | 1          | 4          |
| Back                               | 23                             | 1          | 3          |
| Legs                               | 16                             | 1          | 2          |
| <i>Total</i>                       | <i>539</i>                     | <i>170</i> | <i>146</i> |

“Showing of the skin” (see Table 3.8) is another area which will help us understand the limits and norms of female representation. The commercialization of the female body through press would be expected to be effective in shaping the public perception. If women were in revealing clothing and if the image was a studio photograph, then the woman would not be representing a Muslim woman as seen outside, but either a non-Muslim woman or a Muslim woman as seen in a home environment. Much of such imagery in the data set is of European-sourced artwork for SF. Nudity finding a certain rate of representation in the journal is a bold act considering conjunctures of the period, the Sultan’s hands-on monitoring of the press, and the long-established social norms and traditions. However, the multi-ethnic Ottoman society might have led the Muslim audience to take such women as belonging to another social group, therefore, to become more tolerant. One example of nude art can be seen in Figure 3.19, which was on the cover of the periodical.

Also, an important aspect for all three journals in this category is the impact of the style of clothing on the rate of showing skin. In HM and KD, we observe low-cut dresses and exposed chests to a certain extent. It’s interesting to note that HM, belonging to an earlier and perhaps a stricter period regarding the visibility of women, did not totally refrain from showing cleavage. As revealed by the adoption of the European fashion and as we learn from the contemporary literature, upper-class urban women had started to adapt to such styles. Gahramanlı (2012) gives the examples of Bihter and Peyker from *Aşk-ı Memnu* in revealing clothing, with the latter specifically when she’s out in public. Of course, total nudity, like in SF would have been unacceptable for women’s journals, therefore it is not surprising that the skin shown overall is still limited.

**Figure 3.19** *Sanâyi-i Nefîse'den bir Tablo.* (“Art from the School of Fine Arts”) (SF, No. 641)



### 3.2.4 Identity Mode

This section offers information as to the identity of the represented women. There is an account on their religious background and jobs to understand the general

characteristics of “the woman” as depicted by the journals. In some of the images, there are at times more than one woman, which, as explained above, yields a number that is different from the total number of images analyzed. However, there are also images where we see a group of women (sometimes even difficult to count exactly how many) all understood to have the same job, like nurses. In those cases, not all women are counted individually as separate nurses, but the group is taken as one. So, the total frequency of occurrence here does not match other categories, either. For instance, in the case of hair, if a group of 5 is made up of 3 women with headscarves and 2 with uncovered hair, then they are all separately coded. As seen, the nature of each coding category has led to an idiosyncratic coding scheme and offered differing numerical results.

**Table 3.9 Identity**

|                                              | SF                             | HM                | KD                |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Who                                          | <i>Frequency of Occurrence</i> |                   |                   |
| <i>Muslim Women</i>                          | <i>Total: 110</i>              | <i>Total: 7</i>   | <i>Total: 59</i>  |
| Anonymous <sup>56</sup>                      | 90                             | 4                 | 26                |
| Nurses <sup>57</sup>                         | 13                             | 3                 | 2                 |
| Telephone company workers                    | 3                              | 0                 | 2                 |
| Authors <sup>58</sup>                        | 2                              | 0                 | 23                |
| Artists                                      | 0                              | 0                 | 1                 |
| Dentists                                     | 0                              | 0                 | 2                 |
| Doctors                                      | 0                              | 0                 | 1                 |
| Teachers                                     | 2                              | 0                 | 2                 |
| <i>Non-Muslim women</i>                      | <i>Total: 412</i>              | <i>Total: 30</i>  | <i>Total: 47</i>  |
| Anonymous                                    | 314                            | 25                | 17                |
| Artists <sup>59</sup>                        | 44                             | 2                 | 8                 |
| Nurses <sup>60</sup>                         | 19                             | 0                 | 1                 |
| Activists <sup>61</sup>                      | 9                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Scientists and engineers                     | 9                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Soldiers and pilots                          | 9                              | 0                 | 6                 |
| Animal trainers                              | 1                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Authors                                      | 2                              | 1                 | 11                |
| Lawyers                                      | 2                              | 1                 | 1                 |
| Teachers                                     | 2                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Nuns                                         | 1                              | 0                 | 0                 |
| Sportspeople                                 | 0                              | 1                 | 1                 |
| Doctors                                      | 0                              | 0                 | 1                 |
| Journalists                                  | 0                              | 0                 | 1                 |
| <i>Other</i>                                 | <i>Total: 706</i>              | <i>Total: 460</i> | <i>Total: 152</i> |
| Anonymous, unclear religious background      | 375                            | 400               | 107               |
| Fantasy figures, e.g., fairies <sup>62</sup> | 161                            | 21                | 35                |

<sup>56</sup> Anonymous women in Muslim and non-Muslim categories are those who cannot be identified but are understood to belong in that group because the location, the source of the image or attire inform us so.

<sup>57</sup> Clear from the location, or the Red Crescent membership information

<sup>58</sup> KD writers (also members of the Society)

<sup>59</sup> Actors, singers, dancers, and painters.

<sup>60</sup> Clear from the location, or the Red Cross membership information

<sup>61</sup> Feminist activists and European suffragettes. KD's purposeful featuring of women's employment, for instance, can also be interpreted as a representation of activism but here the category identifies specific group of mentioned foreign women.

<sup>62</sup> Women whose representation either includes fantastical elements (e.g., fairies or magical characteristics) or non-realistic appearance considering the time and the age

|                                                                         |             |            |            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Notable women<br>(of high society or<br>celebrity status) <sup>63</sup> | 49          | 17         | 7          |
| Royalty <sup>64</sup>                                                   | 121         | 22         | 3          |
| <i>TOTAL</i>                                                            | <i>1128</i> | <i>497</i> | <i>258</i> |

In all three journals, artwork, and the frequent utilization of fashion imagery bring the anonymous women to the top of this list in Table 3.9. We cannot determine the religious background of most of the depicted individuals from the text, captions, or the setting of the image. In SF, among those that could be determined, Muslim women found more visibility for themselves. One also finds a good amount of royal imagery. This exemplifies the assumed role of SF in bringing news of the World to the Empire. Despite a long life and being a witness to the gradually increasing visibility of Muslim women, SF catalog remained limited in the representation of that. On the whole, it is seen that the women shown in SF are a representation of an urban and educated woman belonging to a privileged class. This group had gradually emerged following the *Tanzimat* period in cities like İstanbul, Thessaloniki and İzmir, with powerful and educated bureaucrats supporting their daughters to receive education (Avcı, 2007). This contributed to the emergence of a generation of female readers and writers.

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<sup>63</sup> The names of these women are shared but their professions are not clear, and they are not part of the royalty.

<sup>64</sup> Queens, baronesses, duchesses, and wives of heads of governments

**Figure 3.20** “Konya’daki Aziziye Camii” (Aziziye Mosque in Konya) (SF, No. 292).



Although urban population and locations are the main audience and setting for SF, we know that the journal shared photographs from traveling journalists and photographers from across the realm to reflect the modernization and transformation efforts (Eldem, 2015). One such image is seen in Figure 3.20. In the photograph is the Aziziye Mosque in Konya. Squares around mosques, like seen here, were places of social gathering and shopping before or after prayers. The women captured in the photograph is an example of the Anatolian women with an-all covering two-piece loose garment, reflecting the rural and traditional Ottoman Muslim attire. The women in this picture were coded in the “Anonymous Muslim” category because although we do not know who they are, the location and the garments tell us they are of this specific religious background.

Those who are personally identified in SF were mostly non-Muslim professionals and celebrities. The activist and writer Ellen Key as seen in Figure 3.21, was not only identified but her image is shared as the author of the piece on marriage she wrote with Leon Blum which was published in the journal.

**Figure 3.21** *İskandinavya'nın Muharrirelerinden Matmazel Elen Key (A Scandinavian author, Ellen Key) (SF, No. 893).*



Whether of Muslim or non-Muslim origin, the fact that SF shows a wide variety of jobs women were engaged with is noteworthy. This might hint at the changing social and economic life for women during the long lifetime of the journal. The choice to share the contribution and capacity of women during the years of the war, for instance, was not limited to the nursing responsibilities but an active role in the army. The number of such images increased after 1907, while the nurses appeared more often after 1912. In Figure 3.22, we see an American woman enlisting herself in the Marines and taking the oath. A more traditional expectation and the more frequent representation would see her working at a factory in the stead of a man or volunteering for the Red Cross around the battlefields. But to highlight their nationalist side, or high but overlooked capacity, the news and

images of female pilots or soldiers were used effectively, albeit rarely. We see feminist support from KD in such matters, where it is regularly proclaimed that women would be able and willing to “anything”<sup>65</sup>.

**Figure 3.22** *Kadınların ABD Donanmasının Hizmetine Alınması* (“Women Being Enlisted in the American Marines”) (SF, No. 1385)



HM women are of mainly of anonymous backgrounds, figments of imagination and there is not a variety in professions they are shown to hold. Considering the journal’s perspective on motherhood and womanly responsibilities, as mentioned, this is not

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<sup>65</sup> An example would be the article titled, “*Kadınlar da gemici olabilir*” (Women can be Sailors, too) in 1913.

surprising. So, the image of the women in this case, is not used to convey a social message at all times, but it acts as a visual support to offer attraction, introduce new fashion and commercialization.

KD, strikingly, shows more Muslim women than other journals. The wide array of jobs women is identified demonstrates the changing social and professional landscape for women. Visual representation of their own authors, the first ever Muslim women in the civil sector (i.e., the telephone company workers. This group of women is of importance because it was the first time a Muslim group of women were employed outside the home environment.), and those who have achieved the feat of becoming doctors and dentists might therefore be linked to the aim to change the public opinion regarding the rights to receive education and work. Kurt (2020) reminds, as *İttihat ve Terakki* started to align with Germany, many students were sent abroad, women included. Among these, there were those specifically sent for medicine education because *Dârülfünûn*'s school of medicine was not yet available for female students.

The mentioned Ottoman women employed in the Telephone Administration in 1914 were photographed, and the image (see Figure 3.23) ended up becoming one of the most remarkable visual representations of the change in the lives of women during the period. This final success was a product of a period of struggles, however. KD actively promoted the position and the chance to apply but Bedra Osman and her friends, upon application, were first rejected by the organization, which cited their lack of foreign language knowledge as the reason. The journal stepped in one more time, through its writers' reaction, helped resolve the issue, and both Muslim and non-Muslim women were finally employed within a year, before this photo was taken. (Baysal & Özkul, 2017). The image is interesting to observe the reformed female clothing, implications of

literacy, hair visible under the headscarf and eyes boldly looking back at the spectator as women posed.

**Figure 3.23** *Women Employed in the Telephone Company (KD, No. 138)*



#### 4. DISCUSSION

The Discussion chapter aims to build on the detailed analysis and explanations offered in the Findings section to comparatively discuss the employment of female visuality across the journals and time. Findings section focused on offering and elaborating on the individual sets of quantitative results of the content analysis for each journal, whereas this part endeavors to link all parts with the socio-political context to complete the general comparative discourse analysis, benefiting from the textual input from the journals and data from the historical context.

As presented in the Findings chapter, the journals have common features and differences, which could be explained in various ways. The observations regarding the women's visual representation change across time and is understood to be following the transformation of the socio-political landscape and perceptions of femininity, roles, and responsibilities of women most of the time, while in some cases going against them in an attempt to instill a social change. To report on this, the comparative discussion in this section will try to answer the research questions.

1. What are the distinctive qualities in women's self-representation in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and *Kadınlar Dünyası*? What are the implications of the differences between the journals across time?
2. How does *Servet-i Fünûn* typically represent women? What implications can be drawn regarding the differences between how women represent themselves in the women's press and the way observed in a mainstream journal?
3. What are some implications regarding the existence of the original contribution of women to the history of visual culture and press with what has been learned about their way of seeing the world and themselves?

The comparison will be carried out through a selection of modes and will be presented with charts. Frequency of visual features stands out as a reason for selection. However, in line with the discussed necessity for an in-depth analysis, more aspects are also added into the chart design. For example, to explain the difference between SF and the women's journals, even when the frequency of occurrence is low; the featuring of a topic in the former that is non-existent in the latter (or vice-versa) is incorporated into the comparison charts.

As also mentioned before, the number of images and the publication years of the journals differ dramatically. For an effective and reliable comparison, the graphs present the rate of observations within the single journal. Thereafter, the ratio of women working in a factory, for instance, represented in SF to the total images and occurrences is compared to the reciprocal ratio observed in HM and KD. This offers clues as to the journals' design choices, viewpoints, and expectations.

For a clear understanding of the visuals below, the following should be considered:

1. The graphs present the percentage of each item to the total amount of images/occurrences given in the relevant Findings table for that category and for that journal. Because not all observed items, but some selections from these categories are presented mostly, the total percentages of bars do not always equal 100. For instance, the selected activities do not comprise all that is listed in the analysis.
2. The rate of observations to the total images or occurrences for the journals is rounded up at decimals 0.5 and above.

#### 4.1 Women's Activities and the Frame of Setting

Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 present the comparisons of the rate of representation of activities and people women are shown with.

**Figure 4.1** *Comparison of the Percentage of Occurrence of Activities of Differing Intensity*

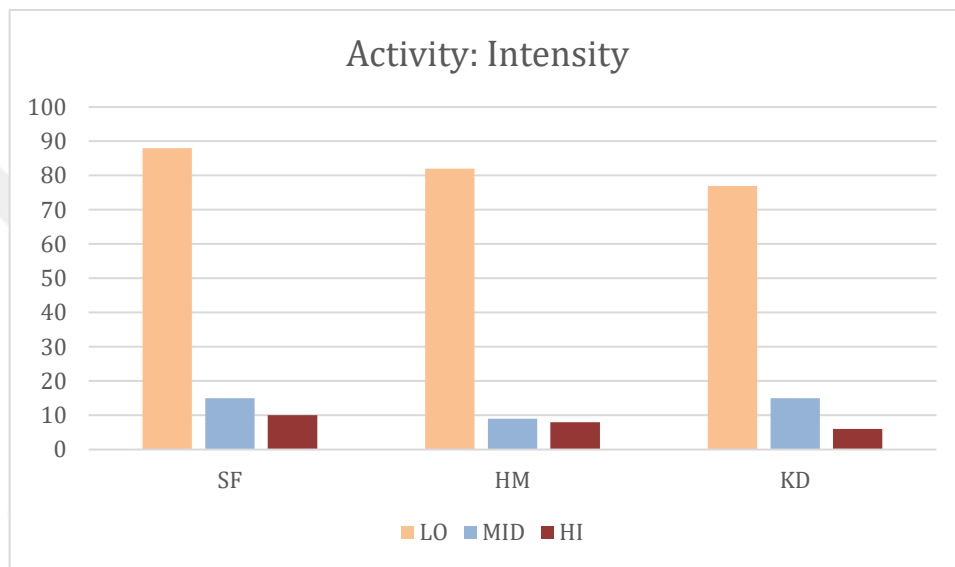


**Figure 4.2** *The Percentage Rate of Some Selected Activities as Represented in Each Journal*

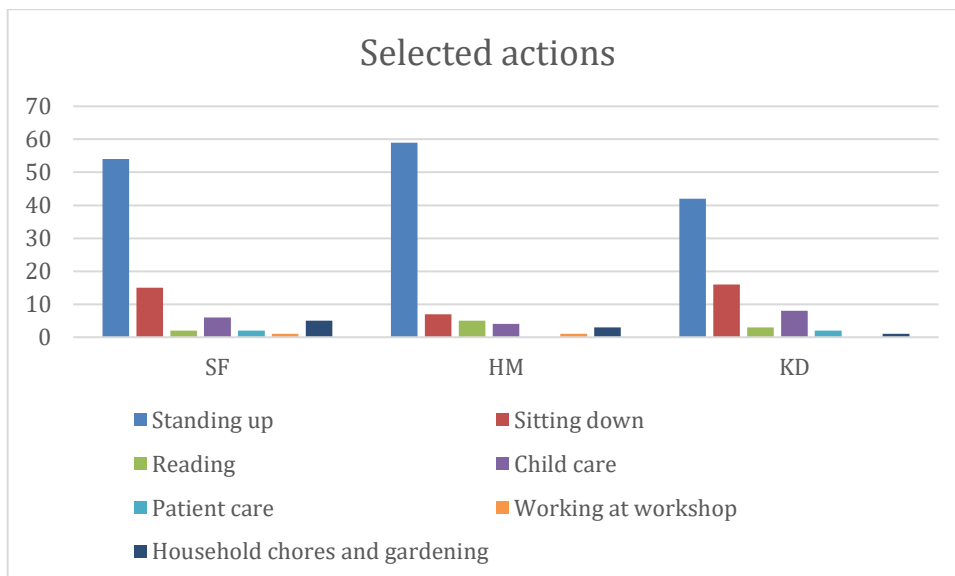
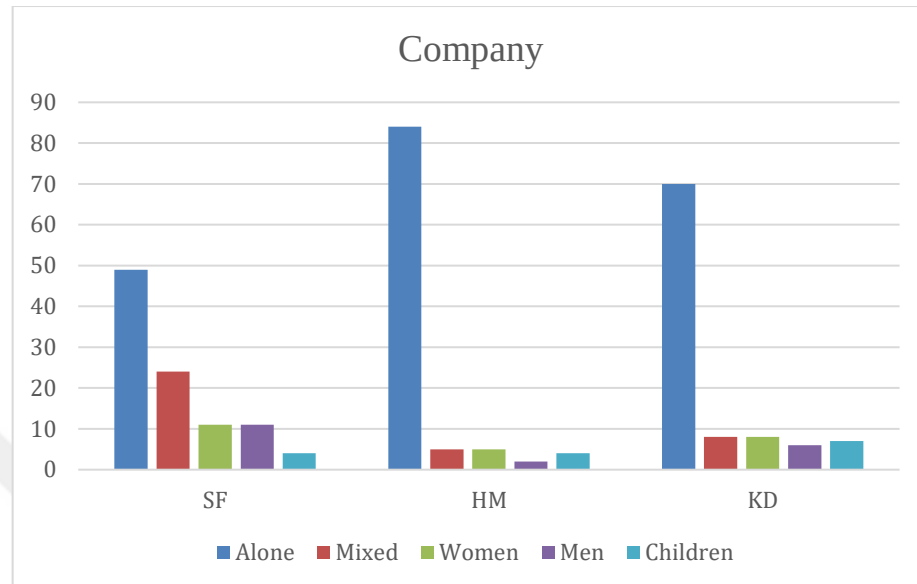


**Figure 4.3** *The Percentage Distribution of People Women are Shown with across Journals*



In all three journals, women are mostly shown to be standing still and on their own. The frequency of “sitting” and “standing” results in a high representation of the low-intensity actions. In SF, this category compared to the variety of actions, reflects a social duality. On one hand, the heavily represented lone woman is not the homemaker at home, which would remind the male audience his daily problems and responsibilities. That’s why, additionally, children are not the regular companions of the woman depicted in the SF. Despite respecting the mother of the household, the man could be expected to keep a mistress to run away from her as observed in the literature of the period. SF is understood to be feeding this “adventurousness”, offering a visual escapade opportunity with the attractive female imagery— alone and pleasurable to look at.

On the other hand, when we look at the activities other than standing up or sitting down, women are also observed to be in the childcare context. In other words, taking care of a child seems to be “the most commonly observed less frequent activity”. Therefore,

although SF features “children and women” together less often than the other two journals, “taking care of a child” still stands out within the variety of different actions. In fact, in SF, household chores and childcare combined appears to be one of the prominent activity sets, ultimately.

This dichotomous visual observation on the frequencies, that is women are either inactive or they look after children for the most part, is also connected to the society’s expectations and confusion regarding what woman should or could do at the time. People, for a long while, were ambivalent about the fitness of professional work life to women as it might be distracting women from the idea of being a mother (Şeyda, 2009). This has been discussed in terms of its relation to the rise of nationalism as an ideology in the frame of the time span covered in this research, especially for KD’s period. The writers in KD themselves advocated their overtaking an important nationalist mission in their articles and blamed the inefficiency of the education they receive for the failure of this.

*“Biz kadınlar evlâtlarımızı yetiştiremedik... Onların sükûtundan biz vâlideler mes’ulüz. Terbiye-i etfâl nâmına ne biliyoruz? Bir sürü ... ninnilerden, umacılardan, bir dudağı yerde bir dudağı gökte Araplardan... ibâret değil mi? Terbiye ve tahsilimizdeki noksandan, değil mi?”*

[Us, women, we could not raise our children. We, as mothers, are responsible for their silence. What do we know about educating children? Isn’t it just the lullabies, boogeymen, Arabs with a lip on the ground and another in the sky...? Isn’t it because of the deficiency in our own education?]

(Emine Seher Ali, KD, No.1)

Emine Seher Ali’s statements resonate with the facts we observe in our comparison of the representation of childcare and reading activities between KD and HM.

Both journals supported educational rights for women and both still glorified motherhood at the same time, albeit for different reasons. In KD's case, this resulted in a higher level of childcare representation compared to the activity of "reading" with respect to HM. But the women shown with a book in the former were "actual" living women while the latter featured anonymous people on drawings and artwork instead. Akgül (2017) had previously highlighted this interesting visual intersection of education and motherhood presented in KD. She discusses an example of a young woman's photograph with her children reading a book on one of the cover issues (see Figure 4.4) and believes that it presents the ideal mother-child relationship in the modern new world. The photograph reflects a constructed scene with the mother looking directly at the camera in a bold but innocent gaze alongside her daughters. Her active presence in the task of reading and her interaction with the audience in the image suggests that such learned women would take an active role in raising educated and modern generations of not only boys but girls. The direct gaze would help the audience to empathize with the subject in the image, feel and act like her.

**Figure 4.4** (KD, No. 147)



Similar ideas venerating motherhood were voiced by the authors of SF, too, supporting the frequent representation of childcare activity. Ahmed Recep (SF, No. 344) highlighted the women's and men's differing roles in defending the nation in his article in SF, much like the nationalist motherhood discourse undertaken by the authors of KD.

*“Vatanperver olan nisvan, muhibbe-i evlat olanlardır. Erkekler yaşamaya alışır, kadınlar ise yaşamaya ve yaşatmaya çalışırlar.”* (p. 96).

[The women who love their motherland are the ones who love their children. Men are accustomed to living; women strive for living and making others live.]

The visual construction of motherhood as a main role for women in HM emerging in this study correlates with the expectation that the earlier generation of women (than of the authors and the audience of KD) would dwell more on the necessity of holding onto the traditions within the socio-political context they were in. HM, in principle had acknowledged the education for women to be essential (Öztürk, 2019). Their perspective, though, was simply focused on one very important “task” women came into this world bearing, motherhood. This task is not necessarily understood as a direct part of the mission to defend the country or for personal ambitions unlike KD. Being a mother was a reason for a woman to exist, and no other prospect of a job should be distracting them from this.

*“...tâife-i nisânın kudreti yetmediğine kâni olunan hususâtı kadınlar becermeye, mesela cerrahlık etmeye de başlamışlardır... lakin bu ahvâl-i nisvaniyyete mahsus ve ondan muntazar hidemâtı sekte-dâr eylemiştir. Evlât muhabbeti eskisi kadar validelerin kalbinde cay-gîr değil. İzdivaçta ailesi içinde münzeviyâne hayatla, idâre-i beytiyesiyle, terbiye-i etfâl ile ve zevcinin ve çocuklarının istirahatı esbabını temin ve istihsal ile uğraşmaktan akvâm-ı medeniyye içinde kadınlar hoşlanmamak tavrı gösteriyor.*

*Bu hâlde kadınlar, fıtratlarının müsait ve müstait olduğu tahsil ile iştigâl etmeleri ve nisvana mahsus vezâifi ifaya yardım edecek ulum ve fûnûnu tahsil eylemeleri, saadet-i beşeriyyenin istihsal ve temini hakkında en muvâfık ve mutabık bir yoldur”.*

[... Women have started to achieve in areas believed to be beyond their power, like surgery... however this has impeded the services natural to and expected of womanhood. The love of a child no longer holds a place in mothers’ hearts.

Women of modern societies have shown discontent with a secluded life with her family, management of her household, education of children and working to provide for her husband and children's comfort. So, for women, studying for what would fit their nature and support to fulfil the womanly responsibilities is the right way for the welfare of humankind].

(HM, No. 21, p.1).

Akgül (2017) interpreted the different perspective as a result of the fact that although women were gradually becoming more independent as to being eligible for education, positioning them equal to men in the society would not be expected to take place overnight. As suggested, KD aspired for social change through an assumption of responsibility in the defense of the nation but even they kept in line with the women's sexual identity there. HM, however, is understood to have aimed to help women work towards achieving their sacred mission of motherhood. The editorial board explicitly presented this as their primary aim.<sup>66</sup>

*“İzdivaçta saadet emeli ise, bir kız için en birinci emeldir. Bir erkek bir meslekten hoşlanmaz, tebdil-i meslek edebilir, fakat kadın için izdivaç bâb-ı hayattır”.*

[The aim of happiness in marriage is the primary goal for a girl. A man does not like a profession and can change it, but for a woman, marriage is the beginning of life].

(*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, No. 24, p.3)

In the later periods, however, the modernizing life started to invite, almost forcing women out to be part of the social sphere out of her family regardless of such longstanding

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<sup>66</sup> The journal presented their secondary aim as informing the audience of the global developments from around the world (Aktaran & Peltekoğlu as cited in Güven, 2016).

social norms around motherhood and homemaking. KD ideology and practice were consonant with this, because according to Tekinsoy (2016), the compulsory professional activities of women in men's place during the war period could be interpreted as a fortification of the nationalist discourse with women sacrificing as much as men for their motherland. Nevertheless, it was SF that featured the representation of these efforts more. As discussed, the frequency of activities dwell mostly on inactive posing or traditional homemaking responsibility. However, the journal also offers a variety of different actions. For instance, in the Figure 4.2, SF is shown to be the only journal to have women "working at a workshop" among its frequently represented activities. The relatively limited in number but consistent representation of the educated and working woman in the journal could be linked to the influx of modernization from Europe, but Ahmet İhsan's viewpoints in agreement must have been influential in shaping the design of visuality, also. Again, the ideas that nationalism is the solution to the country's problems and women had to carry out their responsibilities whenever needed, or that women's presence had to be more a part of the reality of the modern world are both inferred from the journal's visual decisions. Moreover, the governmental policies by both Abdulhamid II and later by the *İttihat ve Terakki* must have played a role in promoting a certain image of women to the society. For example, Uğus (2020) observes a pattern of resistance to the Orientalist propaganda on the European publications through the power of visuality in the local journals and newspapers, and in the albums sent out to international libraries during the time of Abdulhamid II. Dedeoğlu (2023) considers this a governmental trust in visuality to be a harbinger of modernization. He shares that the Ottoman audience of journals like SF, were not only viewing the featured artwork, for instance, but they were putting them up at home and slowly integrating them into their new modern lives. *İttihat*

ve *Terakki*, afterwards, contributed to this modernization efforts as a part of its economic and cultural agenda (Özkiraz & Arslanel, 2011). Once more, in line with their Turkish nationalist ideology (Şenel, 2018), they further supported female participation in the workforce. Granting accommodation opportunities for workers of the Hereke Weaving and Carpet Factory, the establishment of female worker groups in Adana, employment of women across the country from İzmir to Urfa in the production of various goods in workshops culminated in passing a law structuring working hours of women in 1915 (Güzel as cited in Şenel, 2018), during the height of the WWI, acknowledging women as becoming a part of the country's economic system.

As seen, the male support to women clearly was opening spaces for them, shaping the social discourse of the time. When it comes to visually representing the mentioned professional change in women's lives, the findings of the study suggest "being a nurse" is the most frequently represented job for all three journals. During the Balkan Wars and WWI, SF offered collages of images reporting from the European and Asian fronts in addition to photography of many Red Cross and Red Crescent volunteers. Observation of this certain "profession" would then reflect the strong hold of the traditions and the male-directed system that "structured" what is still the most desired for women even if they could do other things. In other words, even when "allowed" to work, women were not widely represented to be pursuing professional tracks that were considered as "male-gendered occupations" unless the absence of men gave no other choice. In other words, a "socially acceptable" profession or domain was still determined based on long-standing patriarchal conventions. Therefore, when SF shared images of women in a wider range of activities alongside or in lieu of men, it is a sign of changing perspectives, demonstrating, and communicating the ability and intellectual capacity of women as a

part of the modern. But despite the range, the still more intense representation feminine characteristics of the depicted jobs, along with the previously discussed observation of homemaking and childcare standing as remarkable actions, ultimately proposes that the journal was more like a mediator than a direct imposer of change. This bifurcation is also reflected in the following excerpt, transliterated by Üzel (2007), from the original text by Mehmed Rauf. A prominent SF author of the time and a novelist, in his review of a noted female author, Nigâr Hanım Rauf wrote:

*“Bir kadın eserini daima böyle bir dikkat ve lezzetle mütalâa ederim; bu kadın bir Osmanlı hanımı, eser bir Osmanlı eseri olunca tabii bu mütalâyaya baska bir ehemmiyet ve kıymet geliyor.*

*Bir kadın eseri demek bir kadın kalbi demektir; bir kadın kalbi ise biz erkekler için tettebbu’ ve tedkiki son derece mühim ve zevkbahs bir nüktedir... Bütün eserlerin kadınlara dair bize verdikleri malûmat ya erkekler tarafından yanlış bir nokta-i nazardan görülmüş, bir erkek gözünde in’ikâs etmiş seylerdir, yahud –ekseriya muharrirlerde olduğu üzere- hemen hemen bir erkek gibi düşünerek yazan kadınların kitablarından alınan fikirlerdir.*

...

*Hâlbuki bize bir kadın kalbi, validelik, zevcelik sefkatleriyle lerzan, validelik, zevcelik elemeleriyle giryan bir kadın kalbi lazımdır... Bir erkek kalemi kadar sakın ve barid kalemle yazılan kadın siirlerinden, kadın eserlerinden zevk alınmaz; titreyen, sızlayan kadın kalbi, bir kadın eseri olmalı...”*

(SF, no. 440, p.278)

[I always consider a woman's work with such care and taste; when this woman is an Ottoman lady and the work is an Ottoman work, of course, this consideration gains a different importance and value.

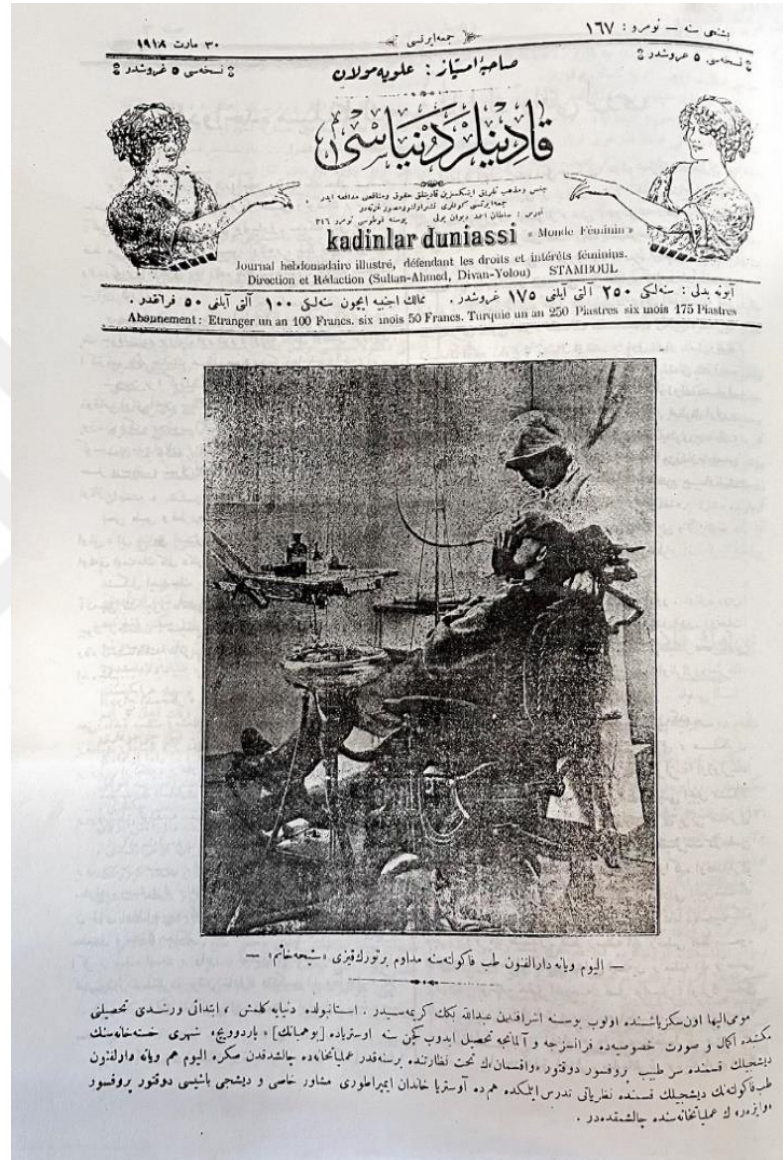
A woman's work means a woman's heart; a woman's heart is an extremely important and enjoyable point to consider and study for us men... The information that all works give us about women is either seen from a wrong point of view by men or is something that is reflected in a man's eyes, or – as is the case with many authors, they are ideas taken from the books of women who write almost like men.

...

However, we need a woman's heart, a woman's heart that is filled with the affections of being a mother and a wife, and the pains of being a mother and a wife... There is no pleasure in women's poems and women's works written with a pen as calm and pure as a man's pen; the trembling, aching woman's heart must be a woman's work..." ]

Reviewing a female author's work shows the growing acknowledgment and appreciation to the women as intellectual professionals but Mehmed Rauf's ideas and expectations of female literature, as in other sectors of work and life, seems to be affected by the feminine notion of womanhood, and the mentioned sacred mission of motherhood.

**Figure 4.5** “*Viyana Dârülfünûnu Tıp Fakültesi’ne Müdavim bir Türk Kızı Seniha Hanım*” (*Seniha Hanım, a Turkish Girl, Studying at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Vienna*), (KD, No. 167).



Despite this in-betweenness, SF's choice of utilizing women's images that positioned them in the modern and professional life alongside men could be due to the political support it received for a time, which granted it a relative liberty in communicating its ideas. Coming also at a time when *İttihat ve Terakki* was strong and supportive, KD's choice to feature professional activities associated with modernity could

better be explained by (beside the previously discussed nationalist ideology) their self-proclaimed feminist stance. In their opinion, women needed education not exclusively for motherhood but also because they deserved and could work like men. In other words, the journal's ideals were also about putting forward the capacity women had to demand a professional liberty like men in the longer run. Therefore, despite a more limited range in the overall activities, the journal's the sharing of activities associated with masculinity like driving or flying (Beyaz Özbey, 2022) must have been done with a belief in the potential of women. Women becoming dentists (see Figure 4.5), doctors, and Belkıs Şevket who, as the first Muslim woman, flying in an airplane were all praised because the editorial board wanted to extend the new spheres opening for women, proving they would be able to achieve much if given a chance, not only to help save the Empire, but also because they basically deserved to become equal citizens in the future.

Belkıs Şevket's photograph is presented below (See Figure 4.6). She stands on an airplane alongside a man wearing pants and in a pilot's attire. The photographer must have positioned her purposefully in the center of the image. This and the fact that she's alone, standing up without a support are a show of female potential, force and strength.

**Figure 4.6** *Belkıs Şevket, (KD, No. 120)*



However, when their articles are analyzed, we observe that the KD authors might also have been political in their clarity to express their social and economic demands. Their priorities were already “ambitious” in the social context, like divorce rights, reformation in clothing and higher education. In other words, they had not yet acquired certain basic liberties and were still trying to navigate through social limits. So, they might have acted diplomatically to receive as much male support as possible without attracting backlash at a sensitive time. Moreover, democracy as we know it, was not functionable in the Empire. The elections of 1913, for instance, was no more than a formality. So, this social infrastructure would prevent women’s suffrage from becoming a priority for the Ottoman women. An untimely demand of it would not be a realistic goal, despite the fact that the right to vote and parliamentary representation would be necessary to actually be counted as a real member of society.

This perspective could offer an alternative to the nationalist motherhood narrative in the journal and would explain why we see images of mothers frequently as well. The sacred, therefore secure domain of motherhood, when presented as the main reason for the demand for education would not face objection from the conservative circles. On the contrary, the insistence on the opportunities to protect the traditional and much valued family institution would help acquire further rights more easily. This is not to claim that women were insincere altogether in expressing the wish to become better mothers with the demanded education, but it is clear also that their overall feminist efforts could not have been limited to this.

Below we see the diplomatically prepared “reasonable wish list” of the KD editorial:

*“Bugün İngiltere’nin süfrajeterleri gibi hürriyet-i siyâsiye isteyemeyiz. Tekâmül-ü kanuna riayete mecburuz. Bunu biliyoruz... Bunun için ilk teşebbüsümüz maarif olacaktır. Tenevvür etmek, erkekler gibi âlim, mütehassıs, sanatkâr olmak istiyoruz. Bu gâyelerimizi temin edici mektepler istiyoruz.*

*Hâl-i hazırda alelmum istediklerimiz şunlardır:*

- 1. Mektepler tesisiyle ve tesis edilmiş mekteplerin 127slahıyla kadınlığı seviye-i irfânını yükseltmek*
- 2. Kadınlıkta sefâletin ref’i için kadınları hayât-ı sinaiyeye ithâl etmek*
- 3. Bu esasları temin edebilmek için de kıyâfet-ı hariciye-yi nisvanı ıslah etmek*
- 4. Kavâid-i izdivacı teshil etmek ve bundaki anânat-ı sâkimeyi yıkmak*
- 5. Kadının ailede mevkiini takviye etmek*
- 6. Çocuklarımıza terbiye-yi iptidâiyye-i fen-i hazıra mutâbık olarak verebilecek vâlideler yetiştirmek*

#### 7. *Kadınları cemiyet hayatına karıştırmak*

[Today, we cannot demand political freedom like English suffragettes. We must go by legal evolution. We know this... That's why our first enterprise is going to be about education. We want to be enlightened; we want to be scholars, doctors, and artists like men. We want schools that would meet these goals of ours.

At present, our general demands are the following:

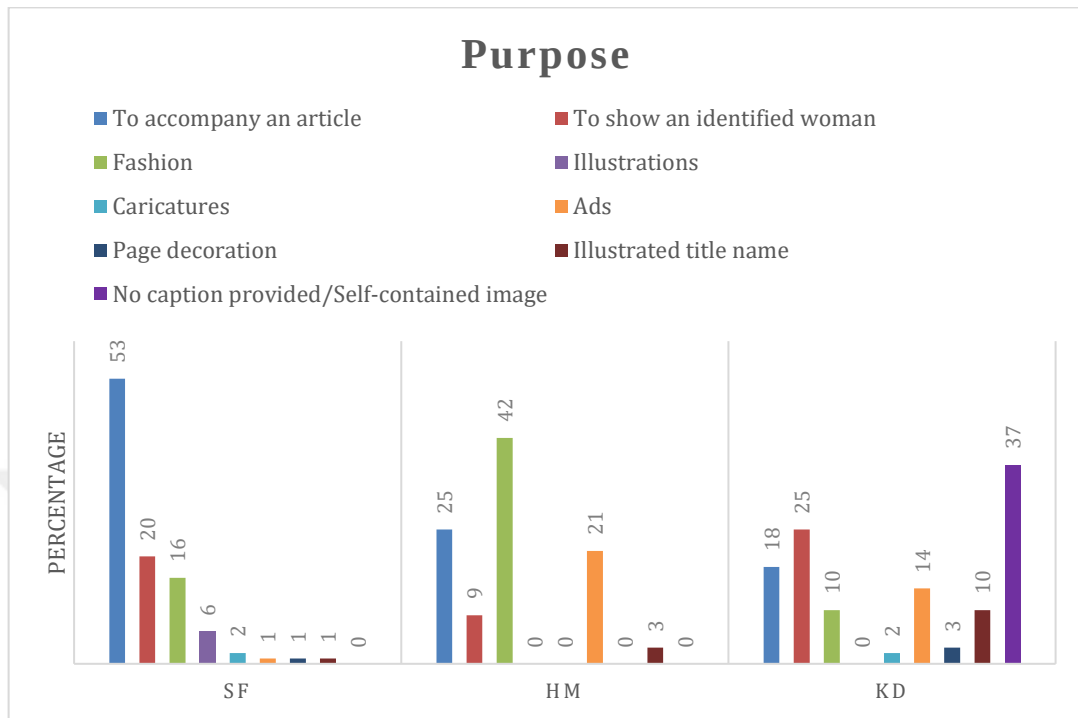
1. Raising the level of education of womanhood through the establishment of schools, and the improvement of those available now
2. Including women in the industrial life to end the misery in womanhood
3. To reform female clothing to achieve these principles
4. Moderating the rules of marriage and overthrow the wrong traditions
5. Supporting the woman's position in the family
6. To raise mothers that could offer basic education in line with science
7. Including women in social life

(KD, No. 112, p.1)]

#### **4.2 Purpose of the Image**

Figure 4.7 shows a comparative chart that covers all observed purposes and functions of an image. Therefore, both the range and frequency can be compared together.

**Figure 4.7** *Purpose Distribution within Journals*



In SF, the most common purpose of using a woman's image was to decorate an article, disconnected from its textual content just to create visual attraction for the viewer. As well as commercial media like photography and drawing, oil paintings with female imagery were also reproduced in SF. Dedeoğlu (2023) analyzed the reproduced artwork used in SF and suggested that consistent with Breton's understanding of images primarily functioning as a contributor to the design and only then to the meaning, the mainstream journal featured many paintings to increase sales. Fashion imagery stands as well-represented as in the other two journals, also. The hypothesis of the employment of images mainly to offer an "enjoyable" reading experience, could also be understood from this. Uysal (2019), observing how women's fashion images are detached from the textual context and that men's fashion is almost altogether missing from the journal, approves the idea of a fashion images being spectacle for the male and female audience alike, to attract the readership of both genders.

However, because the advertisements were not created for women in SF, unlike the other two journals, we once again come to understand that the journal does not view females as its primary audience, despite a growing acknowledgement in time. This sets women's journals in this study apart from it. First of all, unlike SF, HM had a more limited range of functions of imagery, but the utilization of the fashion imagery was more purposeful. HM, still distanced from expressing openly feminist ideals and demanding professional liberties, was inevitably focused on the "clothing issue", contributing to the achievement of modernization through a different lane. However, what's found to be very striking is that the message regarding European style clothing and the images stood on differing grounds. The textual content in HM focused on the necessity of education, marriage and the roles and responsibilities of women. There was commentary on clothing, and literature, also, but the purpose of the visualization seems to have been focused on the fashion-related content and advertisements. However, the power and attractiveness of imagery to boost the persuasiveness of the text message did not seem to have been utilized in the same supportive way as KD. HM's image set of women going out to the shopping at Paris-inspired stores suggested that they were now stepping out to the street as a part of the consumer body and was leaning towards a modern lifestyle (Güler & Çelik, 2023). But the bulk of the textual message was like this:

*"Moda! Bu mikroptan erkekler dahi muaf değillerse de en ziyade tesirini bizim taife-i nisâda göstermekte olduğuna şüphe mi var?"*

(HM, No. 26, p.2)

[Fashion! Even though men are not immune from this microbe, is there any doubt that it has the greatest impact on our group of people?]

The previously discussed undesired level of masculinity in “dandies” of the time, who were portrayed often in a negative light in contemporary literature, can also be observed from this quote by Seniha Vicdan, who condemns the trends as “microbes”. Therefore, what can be concluded is that like SF in its communication of modernization, HM also demonstrated a duality— almost a contradiction. The journal consistently visually fed the audience with a certain style, which could even be interpreted as having a European wannabe character, considering the rich upper-class urban women making up its audience. However, despite imagery helping with the transformation of the mindsets, the nature of change is not supported directly by the authors and editors through their articles and letters. More information on this will be provided in the comparison of clothing of women in section on “Physical Appearance”.

The most striking highlight here would be KD’s case of inclusion of ads and it being the journal where the most women are identified with their names on the image captions. Promoting the existence of named individuals was a part of the purpose of showing the potential to contribute to society as professionals and, in the longer term, citizens. Many authors and famous members of the charities were not only named individually, but also given a cover page. The ads, on the other hand, are a real indicator of this potential with the female-run KD acting successfully as a business enterprise. Along with other companies and shops promoting their ventures through KD, one specific case of a cologne producer using Belkıs Şevket’s pictures on their bottles is significant. “Belkıs” cologne aimed to commemorate the time Belkıs Şevket flew in an airplane, “elevating the Ottoman women’s honor”. The images in the journal (see Figure 4.8) promoted the product for the proud audience of the journal. This Muslim women’s photograph had then become a part of the “pop culture”, acknowledging Belkıs Şevket as

a celebrity, commercializing her image but without a doubt helping KD achieve the aim of promoting women's visibility in a unique way. The business also benefited from the visuality KD established as much as it reinforced the image.

**Figure 4.8** *Belkıs Şevket Immortalized on the Cologne Bottle (KD, No 135)*



### 4.3 Locations

Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10 show the comparison of the observed locations women are shown in.

**Figure 4.9** *The Percentage of Various Locations as Observed in the Data Set*

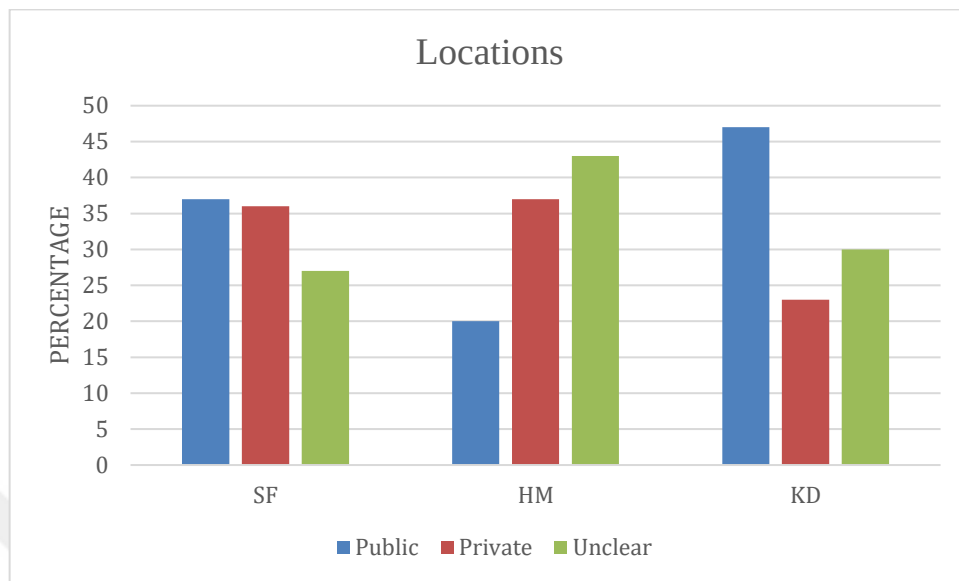
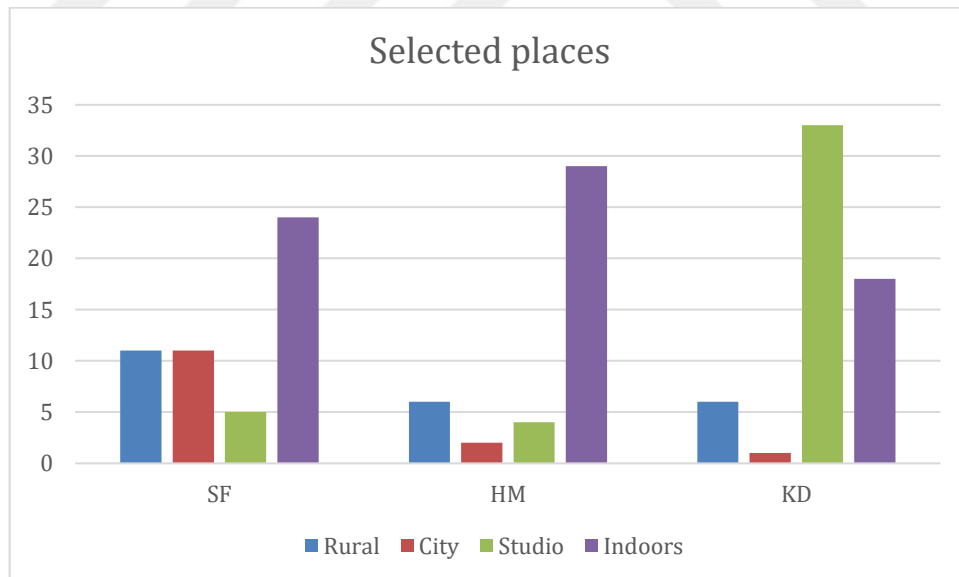


**Figure 4.10** *Comparison of the Rate of the Presentation of the Selected Specified Locations in the Journals in Percentage*



Uysal (2019), analyzing the contemporary and featured literature on the journal to draw conclusions regarding SF's standing in the discussion of modernization, believes that the authors' perspective was outward and in one with the Western world. Starting its journal's visual life with printing plates exported from Europe, Ahmet İhsan kept his

network intact and fostered this connection with the major centers of modernity at the time. Uğuş (2020) reports that İhsan witnessed the good critical reception for issues with cover pages showing the modern capitals of the world and their modern facilities like hospitals and schools. This promotes a certain path of modernization and modern lifestyle. Conversely, when we observe the selection of female images to see if they were positioned in “the modern locations”, we see that SF may not have been purposeful in designing a visuality showing women at certain locations. As mentioned, SF has been described mainly to be addressed to and featuring an urban audience (when it comes to women’s representation, specifically), but it also sponsored, hired, and received submissions of many photographers traveling across the Empire. Therefore, the comparison chart shows a true balance between the representation of the city and the countryside. It should still be noted though, that the women shown in the countryside were not always a part of the rural population. For example, in line with its mission to share the world’s news, SF reported on the visit of the German Imperial Family around Damascus. We see a photograph from that visit in Figure 4.11. Just in the way pointing European cities as examples to modern urbanizations, sharing global leaders as representatives of that modern life similarly communicates the same message (Uğuş, 2020). Women being a part of this leader’s entourage, therefore, is meaningful, also. Germany, specifically, was an important ally during the time, with many reproductions of art published by SF also coming from the German sources (Dedeoğlu, 2023). Moreover, according to Ahmet İhsan, Abdulhamid II personally aimed to be in good relations with Wilhelm II who came to visit the Sultan twice in the Ottoman capital (Korkmaz, 2018).

**Figure 4.11** “*Alman Hükümdarlar Şam’daki Kırklar Dağı’nda: Özel Fotoğrafçımızdan*”  
*(German Sovereigns at Mount Kırklar in Damascus, from our Own Photographer)* (SF,  
 No. 404)



The most important difference one can observe between the locations on HM and KD, on the other hand, is the representation's change in time. In HM, the women were shown on anonymous fashion and ad content, but they were still represented to be inside home. Anonymity was due to the fact that HM did not feature identified women as much as KD, but drawings of anonymous female figures. The latter offered more studio photography of Ottoman Muslims or non-Muslim women. This is proving that they were

aiming to share the images and stories of real, living women, whose image was obviously no longer intensely discouraged from becoming a part of a press or public domain. Although photography taken both in the studio and at other locations coded as “indoors” could feature a scene arrangement by the photographer, studio photography in KD consistently identifies the individual to introduce her to the audience. Nevertheless, photos taken at home also featured anonymous women drawing the attention to the scene and not the person per se. Taking the design decision of including studio photography by themselves, KD shows an effort to split from the previously mentioned male dominant norms observed in the visuality of SF, offering a unique female perspective in the press. Although SF also publishes female authors, for instance, the consistency and intensity observed in KD suggests that they were not blindly mimicking the mainstream publication.

As we learned from the contemporary travelers, the idea of “the Orientalist and exotic harem” was being largely deconstructed for the benefit of the Ottoman women, who would go outside for shopping, and visiting friends and families (Güler & Çelik, 2020). However, the fact that images of Muslim women on KD entering the paper circulation did create a one-of-a kind occupation of the public space. Setting out to explore this visual discourse in this study, we understand from the images on KD that women offered a persistent visual self-representation with a specific aim. This would also contribute to the visual culture of the Ottoman press, because it challenged the limits of what can and cannot be displayed when it comes to female visuality. Women were no longer depicted at certain locations alone due to social limitations of where they can go. Those limitations were being stretched and the women’s press had taken over the role of normalizing it. The identified women having their photos taken and circulated showed

they were important enough figures to be featured as such. Ultimately, one would expect to see an acknowledgment on the side of the audience and getting used to the idea of a new womanhood upon being fed such imagery regularly.

#### 4.4 Physical Appearance

Figure 4.12 below outlines the comparison of the styles of clothing observed across the journals.

**Figure 4.12** *The Percentage Comparison of the Style of Clothing as Observed across Journals*



In this study, the most common attire is found to be the typical European-style dresses and blouse-long skirt combinations across all three journals. As identified, the social context given in the publications was an “upper-class urban” society, which has long been observed to harbor a woman’s fashion that’s different from what the rural population followed (Bayer, 2010). Therefore, it would be safe to assume at the beginning that the European-style outfit either represents what urban women wore at home as well as under their *feraces* outside, or a representation of the foreign women, set as a track of

change. In the process of investigating what might have been the case for the women's journals in this study, Akgül's (2017) previous interpretation has been inspirational. She had suggested that some women's journals exhibited a consistent European style, and some others reflected the traditional Ottoman outfit for the Muslim women (the *çarşaf* without a face veil) and both were promoting certain ideologies. According to the researcher, the former is supposed to be aligned with the idea of the complete modernization and the latter was to consolidate the traditions with the modernization efforts. When this hypothesis and our image analysis results are considered, we would be tempted to believe that HM would then have to be supporting Westernization blindly, unlike KD. However, when the textual content of HM and the nature of the images (i.e. drawings versus photography of actual women) are taken into account, an alternative view considering two different points can be put forward. Firstly, in the case of HM, the sociopolitical landscape created a reservation for the representation of actual Muslim women in the press. Secondly, access to photographic technology was more limited. They featured anonymous drawings of women, although this would still contribute to the normalization of a certain style in the long run as discussed. But this does not show that HM defended full modernization at the time— if anything, we know the authors stood against the direct adoption of European fashion. Therefore, we suggest that HM's visuality is not product of a conscious effort. It does not choose images, but it accepts them based on face value. In other words, those available at hand and esthetically appealing make up the collection.

KD, in comparison, chooses more visually literate images, accomplishing a purposeful editorial task. Two sets of interpretations are drawn regarding this conscious design the journal employed. First of all, the journal features “real” women more often,

showed the mentioned *çarşafs* more frequently, not because they would be ideologically more hesitant about the change only, but because they simply reflected the reality of the female attire of the time. With the liberties the Second Constitution brought and building on the input from the earlier generation (those who wrote for and read HM, for example), KD instead found an opportunity to put a realistic woman's image in the public space. That did not mean they did not demand reformation or modernization of their clothing. The general perspective towards *çarşaf* and the necessity to restyle it is highlighted by Nebile Kâmuran below and an example of a reformed *çarşaf* is seen in Figure 4.13.

*“Avrupa’da ne türlü elbise icât olursa, İstanbul’da da o biçim moda oluyor... Bunları yapmaktansa sade bir usûlde çarşaflarımızı ıslah edip de istihzâlara, tel’imlere hedef olmasak nolur? ... Fakat ben mutlaka şalvar giyelim... demiyorum. Yalnız bizim milliyetimizle<sup>67</sup> mütenâsip elbiseler icât ederek çarşaflarımızı ıslah ile herkesin nazâr-ı takdirini celbedecek bir şekle sokalım demek istiyorum”.*

[Whatever style of clothing is invented in Europe, we see that in Istanbul, as well... What if, instead of this, we reform our *çarşafs* and avoid mockery?... But I am not saying that we must wear *şalvar*... I just want to say that by creating clothes fitting our nation, we should reform our *çarşafs* that would be appreciated by everyone. (Nebile Kâmuran, KD, No. 20)]

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<sup>67</sup> Note the highlight on the “nationality”. The ideology KD is associated with was the rising nationalism in the country. This is not only reflected on the roles and responsibilities of women, but also the appearance, as seen here.

**Figure 4.13** Aziz Haydar, in the “Reformed and Modern” *Çarşaf* (KD No. 139)



Kaplan (as cited in Şenel, 2018) suggests that women protesting the enforcements on their clothing in public and expressing their demands created heated discussions between social groups of different stances on the issue. This ongoing political debate (Akagündüz, 2013) led to the transition to be slow, as expected. Demir (2016) states that dating back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, women’s clothing was under the control of the government, with the Palace trying to regulate it through *fermans*<sup>68</sup> but the *Tanzimat* Period onwards, the women started to be more resistant to those in practice, especially in

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<sup>68</sup> The formal orders of the Sultan, written in line with the decisions taken at the Imperial Council (Kütükoğlu, n.d.)

İstanbul, where following the western fashion itself had become a status symbol. Bayer (2010) shares the anecdotes of Muhammed Osman bin Senûsi, who noted this evasive behavior of İstanbul women. They were reported to be meeting men, wearing just a transparent face veil, even smoking. Despite efforts of the police forces, Bayer (2010) maintains that women and the taste for the European fashion were triumphant in getting their style accepted ultimately. Ceylan (as cited in Şenel, 2018) believes the fact they were required to work outside also paved the way for a stronger demand of more practical clothing and the reformation of the loose garments. In other words, along with the women's efforts, the social context also seemed to have driven the change. However, women taking a social risk and an initiative is still quite noteworthy and is influential in interpreting the clothing reformation during the Republican period. Because the women of İstanbul (and other big cities) were already cited to be talking, walking, and fighting for what they wanted to wear, the removal of the limitations altogether in the later years must have been a smooth welcome for them. Together with the acquisition of more social rights, KD's explicit desire for this reformation and the careful conduct of its visuality must have strengthened the effort in a grounded and realistic but also an idealistic way. Instead of fantasy images, the choice to show real women as they appeared in real life was itself a feminist act.

Secondly, the plain and regular attire of the women would get the audience to focus more than on the looks and help move the female image ahead of being a tool for the viewing pleasure or a page filler as observed on SF and HM. While these two journals present a certain Western female image, the real Ottoman and eastern woman on the streets of Fatih and Sirkeci, for instance would not showcase anything for viewing. KD, aware of the tense relationship between Europe and the Ottomans would not embrace a

Western identity and representation without question. Islamic conventions would also regulate the visibility and social status of women and would therefore restrict the visual design options. So, KD, also under the influence of Turkish nationalism, seems to be creating a “new woman”. She is both traditional and modern with her distinctive style of clothing and profession. This also gave the message that Ottoman women were progressively getting educated and could become a part of economic and social spheres. As proof, the journal persistently used studio photographs of noteworthy individuals having achieved this. In short, KD does not only present a real woman but also constructs a new Turkish woman identity.

Along with its place in the life of women and the importance of the issue in the modernizing society, KD also viewed the fashion topic and imagery as a part of the commercial instrument for the endeavor. We know that visuality was seen to be helping sales tool for journals (Odabaşı, 2021) and with women invited more into the audience, the fashion pages became a staple for publications. KD editorial acknowledged this, too. They openly answered a comment one board member overhead out in the city, regarding the lack or inefficiency of fashion input in the journal. The open reply is as follows:

*“Biri ‘bari modadan bahsetseler, modeller gösterecekler’ dedi. Öteki ‘adam, bizde adamakıllı iş görmezler ki’ dedi.*

*Biraz daha sabrediniz. Yakında milli modadan dahi bahsedeceğiz, resimleriyle göstereceğiz”.*

[Someone said, ‘why don’t they talk about fashion and show us some models?’.

The other said, ‘Well, you know, no one does their job right around here’.”

Patience! We will talk about national fashion, too, and soon; and we will show pictures”.

(KD, No. 31, p.1)]

The concept of “national fashion” in this quote, as also mentioned by Nebile Kâmuran above, is particularly interesting. Reminding the social influence print media on shaping the audience’s opinions, Demir (2016) observes the process of a conscious effort by *İttihat ve Terakki* to foster an understanding of fashion that would reflect the nationalist policies the party adopted. The journals did not only communicate these policies one way, but through the submitted audience letters, fashion would be discussed as a social phenomenon by larger populations in time and boosting the sales of the journal despite low literacy rates (Demir, 2016). It is reported that there was a competition to choose the most “national” and modern *yaşmak*<sup>69</sup>, a consistent encouragement by the journals for women to sew their own (therefore national) clothes and even an offer of training for professional fashion opportunities.

Across time and journals, there is a similarity in representing women in feminine clothing regardless of the accepted norm and style and ideology. Bilgen (1999) reporting on Ottoman women fashion through the centuries, talks about capes, heavy ornamentation, and Bayer (2010) highlights the importance of jewelry. Very much reflecting this, in our study, we find not only ornamentation, furs, differing beads and patterns associated with femininity on the clothes, but also jewelry was a staple; except for the cases in KD where Ottoman women’s photographs taken in studio showed them in modest attire. All other photography and artwork, however, featuring jewels, help us

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<sup>69</sup> A two-piece face veil, covering all but the eyes worn with *ferace*, the long outside garment worn by Muslim women at the time (Küçüktaşçı, n.d.).

understand them to be a part of everyday fashion for Muslim women of the urban elite at home. They were also reported to be using fur a lot especially after the Second Constitution, even when they are inside (Bayer, 2010), and the non-Muslim rich women wore them in and out of home regularly.

So, it is understood that despite the rise of nationalism becoming a determinant in the clothing, and the criticism of adopting European fashion, women overall did not give up on the ideas like corsets, jewelry or other feminine clothing. It should be noted here that jewels themselves are not exclusive to European style fashion, clearly. In Anatolia, for instance, gold and silver accessories can be encountered complementing traditional clothing. However, in this study, the type of jewelry that's most frequently observed (rings, bracelets, necklaces, tiaras and crowns, etc.) are seen to be part of Western style outfits women wore. That's why the visual analysis reveals that the characterization of woman with a perceived beauty that is associated with the ornamentations specific to Western fashion. This supports Kurt (2020)'s conclusions regarding female clothing trends in the period. The influence of European population in the Ottoman capital and the consistent<sup>70</sup> visual fashion input by journals like HM must have helped the masses adopt and change the understanding of what makes a look in the long run stylish (Akgül, 2017).

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<sup>70</sup> Akgül (2017) suggests that HM was able to avert Palace's restrictions and censorship and its unbroken publication life offered a regular image construction.

**Figure 4.14** *The Comparative Representation of Hair in Percentage*

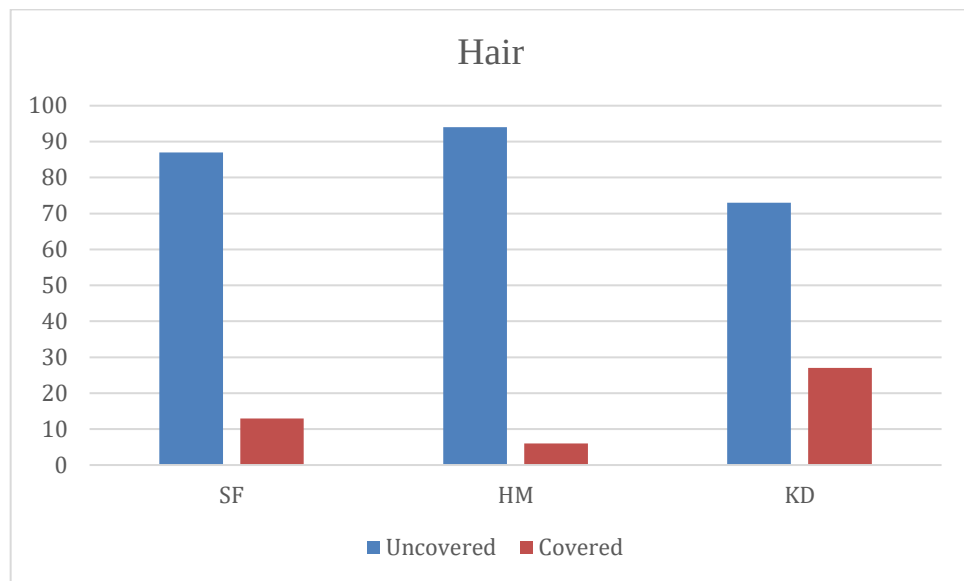
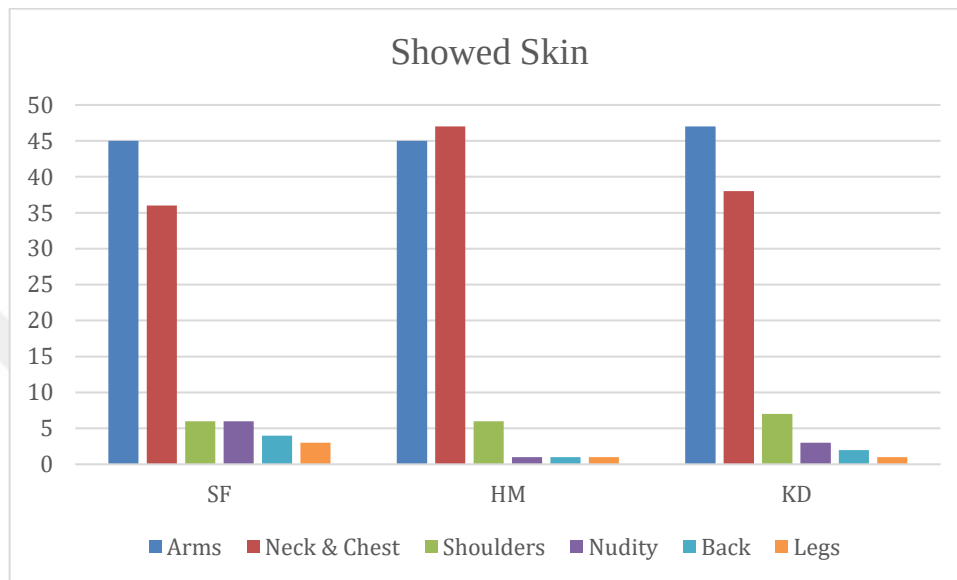


Figure 4.14 presents the comparison of the nature of representation of hair. In HM, the “uncovered hair” is shown slightly more often than the other two, although all three disproportionately showed women without a headscarf, anyway. Besides the reasons discussed above as to the modern attire display, there is a chance that women were also being shown in the intimacy of their home, with uncovered hair, appearing in a way only to her family would be allowed to see. Despite the depicted locations being private, this is still an interesting visual decision. It proved that the modern life was slowly being presented as including women looking in a certain way, in control of choosing what they want to wear to an extent regardless of who was there to see. And such an image of a home was shared in a public sphere, supporting the mentioned resistant attitude of women above and normalizing the look for the larger social milieu in time.

What’s most striking in the comparison of the journals is that KD shows much fewer women with uncovered hair than the other two journals. We understand that one in five women is covered in SF and HM while in KD the rate is around 1 in 3. This means there is more representation of Muslim women and that KD’s visuality construction is more

realistically connected to that of the Muslim Ottoman women of the time, supporting the previously made conclusions made regarding clothing.

**Figure 4.15** *The Distribution of the Exposed Parts of the Body in Percentage*



The topic of “fashion and clothing” brings forth the discussion of how revealing the featured clothes were, too. When we see the comparison of representation (see Figure 4.15), the most commonly exposed body part seems to be the arms in all three journals. The women did not only wear sleeveless dresses or short-sleeved tops but as shown previously, they were also frequently depicted to be active in the house with cleaning and gardening or more rarely, at a workshop stand. So, the arms were not bare only due to aesthetic or exhibitivite reasons.

Regarding the representation of the naked bodies or transparent clothing without reservations, however, Zorlu (2017) suggests that this could be linked to the commodification of the women’s body for the male viewer. Although women’s journals also commodify women by creating a desire to become like women shown, a focus on nudity cannot be observed for KD and HM. Therefore, we see a more limited

representation of bold exposure of the female body. Yet, considering SF being a prominent mainstream journal, one could not ignore this possibility for it. An SF author, although not specifically addressing commercialization of the women's body in the press per se, confirms this perspective into the female visuality in general with the statement below:

*“Bu derece, aciz, zayıf, mazlum olan kadınlar bu yamyamlara yalnız leziz, hazmı kolay bir gıda olmak tecellisiyle yaşarlar. Evet, biz tabiatın gözü bağlı kurbanlarıyız!”*

[Oppressed women of such weakness live only by the idea to become a delicious and easy to digest food for these cannibals. Yes, we are blindfolded victims of nature”!]

(Ahmed Hikmet, SF No. 453, p.422)

In an effort to explain the contradiction this bears with the restricting government, and the traditions and the fearlessness in featuring nudity, Dedeoğlu (2023) investigating the reproduction of the European art in SF, realized that the samples taken from the fine arts collections led to a more tolerant response by the censoring authorities. This also helped SF stand on the apolitical ground Ahmet İhsan desired. Dedeoğlu (2023) interprets the process also as an attempt to align with the European journals linked to the high art traditions they are associated with. It would help with breaking taboos in the fullness of time.

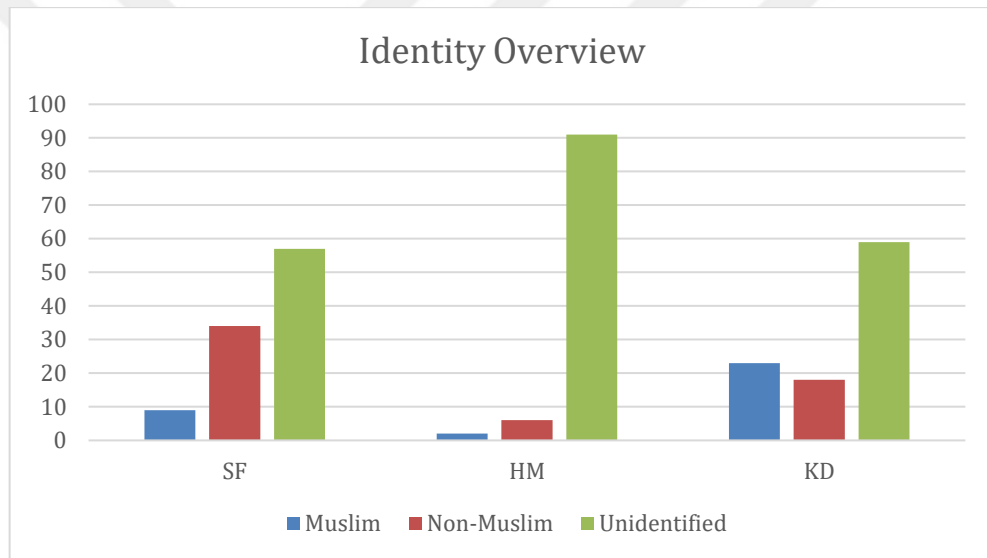
In line with the reasons outlined above, SF also features more images with exposed legs. This body area overall seems to find limited representation in HD and KD. We could guess that this is due to the general fashion and beauty norms of the time. Regarding legs, for the Ottoman context of the period specifically, Gahramanlı (2012)

suggests that the shorter skirts were reserved for young girls and the longer dresses were an indicator of young adulthood. An example would be the fashion choices of the younger female character of *Aşk-ı Memnu*, Nihâl and older Bihter, who takes the former for *çarşaf* shopping to welcome her into womanhood.

#### 4.5 Identity

Figure 4.16 compares the background of the women depicted.

**Figure 4.16** *The Percentage of Understood Identities of the Represented Women*



The comparison tables show that most women shown in all three journals are by far those whose religious affiliation is unclear. They could be Muslim women in a domestic space or non-Muslim. The paintings, fashion drawings or unidentified women photographed in studios are examples of this group. What is remarkable, however, is that in SF and KD, there is also a substantial representation of women whose background is clear, but in HM, the Muslim women are almost non-existent, and the non-Muslim are lot fewer in count than those of an unclear background. In other words, through the images a new fashion and other social transformation are subtly fostered (Demirel, 2020);

however, this was done with anonymous women mostly. We have mentioned that without a valid and newsworthy reason, publishing a photograph of a Muslim woman would have been frowned upon in the earlier periods, which would rationalize the underrepresentation of the Muslim women. Moreover, Eldem (2015) reminds that during Abdulhamid II's reign, the photography and postcards of non-Muslim women posing in studios in Muslim character and clothing was banned, clarifying the restrictive viewpoint regarding Muslim female visibility.

While Ottoman women were visually underrepresented on HM, their stories were printed in the text. Demirel (2020) analyzed the characteristics of the women presented in HM and found that that “a good woman” was defined bearing the qualities of being a Muslim, educated, a good mother and a socially responsible individual. “A bad woman” in contrast is defined to be reckless, guilty of committing socially unacceptable actions, and an uneducated one. The rate of the “good women” is found to be comprising more than half of the total women-related written discourse. This “good womanhood” message in the journal is then understood to be supported with the visual decision of following the norms of not working outside or displaying her body to the public.

Bayer (2010) claims that, the non-Muslim women of the country dressed exactly the way the women were shown on the journals. Thus, we can conclude that the creators of HM opted to show anonymous women in the style of non-Muslims mostly. The idea to give European women's looks and careers as a benchmark could also explain the frequency of the non-Muslim representation. They had the “newsworthy” reasons as professionals, sports people, or artists, while Muslim women needed more time for this until KD's period (and after). KD not only prints Muslim women more than the non-Muslims but offers a visual reflection of the effort showcasing a cohort of educated and

opinionated women through photographs of its authors. Moreover, with the change in the perception emerging especially during the Second Constitution Period, women were more and more employed in the workforce, and they found representation in the journal that would inform and inspire the society about this, as well.

**Figure 4.17** *Bedra Osman (KD, No. 138)*



**Figure 4.18** “İki Meslektaş İzdivacı” (*Marriage of Two Colleagues*) (KD, No. 157)



In the images above Figure 4.17 shows Bedra Osman, from the team of first Muslim women employed in the Telephone Company. The studio photography was purposefully taken to present this new Muslim woman to the public, creating the newsworthy cause the HM did not and could not find. This meant a contribution to the visual culture of the time, as well. Its limits of it were being extended and the contribution of KD in comparison to SF and HM, with its committed visuality, is very clear in this category. SF did present Muslim women, as well, throughout its long life, but the consistent and purposeful introduction of women of influence and capacity is an original contribution of KD unlike the other two journals. Non-Muslim women of similar potential is also highlighted for inspiration and setting them as ideals. For instance, Figure 4.18 shows two barristers or professors understood to be married and colleagues at the same

time. This image is powerful in designing and communicating the message KD brings. Women desired professional and educational equality, they had a potential for it and the newly emerging social roles could be fostered through their representation in the changing visibility domains.



## 5. CONCLUSION

### 5.1 Summary

This thesis investigated the visual representation of women in the late Ottoman Period press, analyzing images of women in three journals: *Servet-i Fünûn* (SF), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (HM) and *Kadınlar Dünyası* (KD). The main objective was to see if KD, a journal published by and for women, differs in the representation of women when compared to SF, a mainstream journal, and HM, a woman's publication of an earlier timeframe. Research so far has been inadequate in understanding the design of visuality of women in press at the time, specifically concerning their self-representation. The study does not only offer a meaningful contribution in this regard, but it also provides insight as to whether women might have offered an original contribution to the period's visual culture as observed in press. The findings suggest that the journals have certain common visual perspectives, but the woman constructed in each differs from the others in their characteristics, roles and responsibilities, as understood from the utilization of imagery.

Firstly, SF aims to present the image of a modernizing Empire with women a part of it, but instead of being a direct imposer of change, it acts as a mediator between the ambivalent audience and those who view modernization as a necessity. For instance, the frequent representations of women working in the outside world in new clothing, together with those at home with children and doing housework reflect a period marked with a duality emerging from the effort to adapt to the modernizing world and not aggressively discarding the traditions. Moreover, in especially the later periods, the nationalist ideology encouraging women to take more active part for the country to survive was influential in presenting women in several different job environments. Ahmet İhsan was not an explicitly political individual himself, but his design and use of imagery suggest

that the journal's intentions were an inspiration to drive a change and an approval of modern life with women gradually taking more part in it. The direction of this change is understood to be Western.

HM limits the women's representation to fashion drawings, artwork, and ads, also of European origin. Variety is limited in identity, locations, and action. The woman shown overall, is an anonymous upper-class urban woman either of non-Muslim background or Muslim Ottoman of a privileged background shown at home. However, the decision to feature these women's images, regardless of the location, essentially carries them to the public space created by the press.

KD presents "a new woman" into this public space that naturally expanded in time since the period of HM. The journal openly presents itself as a feminist endeavor and the written content, as expected, is formed in agreement with this. Although one might expect the use of images and visual discourse to conform to this approach, there are a number of reasons that would restrict the editors' decisions. First, the limits of visibility of women, especially those of Muslim women, in line with the social and ideological structure still could have been discouraging. Second, as a business enterprise, the journal could have chosen to rely more on ads or fashion images to appeal to the audience, and could have turned itself into a fashion magazine, the contemporary likes of which are abundant. Instead, the cumulative sum of the comparative analysis reports suggest that through a purposeful curation of imagery (mostly photography) of Ottoman and non-Muslim women by the journal editors, KD is understood to have chosen to present a distinct woman identity different from SF and HM. The female visuality here can be described as grounded and realistic, as the woman shown on the journal is committed to the socio-religious understanding of womanhood and motherhood, but her image consistently

reflects her growing presence in public, and not exclusively at home. In line with this, her characteristics are idealistic, and indicate that as a young woman, she aspires to become professional, an educated and active individual in society, demanding more rights. She is constructed and presented as a modern woman that challenges the long-standing traditional religious discourse on women, but she is not fully Westernized as to lose contact with her culture. When we look at the shared images of the KD authors in the journal, for instance, we see a learned, socially present, individual thus self-sufficient, confident looking Muslim woman who accommodates the contemporary world. The journal systematically uses the “we” language in the textual content to associate this image with the creators of this representative language, and the audience alike, supporting the identity building process with the imagery. This stands as a major difference to what is seen on SF, where women are not considered a major part of the audience, let alone journal showing an effort to design a meaningful woman identity of this kind. Therefore, KD offers a distinctive contribution to how women’s images are utilized in the press in this respect, as well.

The specific sets of conclusions regarding the roles and responsibilities, appearance and identity are summarized below:

- Both SF and KD were in an effort to disseminate new roles and responsibilities for women, who were shown to be a part of the modern world in SF and capable to be part of economic and social life extensively in KD. After the Second Constitution, the policies of the *İttihat ve Terakki* party that promoted nationalism and encouraged women to contribute to the development of the nation, which led KD to embrace the nationalistic discourse assigning tasks to women to defend the country were contributive in these designs.

- The woman constructed by HM's visual discourse was a Muslim woman of a wealthy upbringing mostly dwelling in domestic space, or non-Muslim shown outside during leisurely activities or simply posing. She is usually an anonymous woman. KD's main difference, in line with the item above, is that it shows not only women of elitist background but women of all walks of life. The image construction indicates a woman, in capacity to work and is personally identified.
- In HM, women's anonymity was due to the strict social reservations of Muslim women's representation in public and the inadequacy of access to photographic technology. The progress from HM's woman representation offered through drawings, to photography of real women in KD, the Ottoman Muslim women on the outside is remarkable and KD's presentation of a new construction of visibility in the press would undoubtedly have contributed to the acceptance of the presence of women in social spheres. It is a part of the trajectory to demand the rights of citizenship and underscores KD's feminist standpoint.
- The fact that women were shown in the company of mixed gender groups in KD alone conveys a political message. The photographs of actual, living Muslim women circulated in press and featured as a part of the popular culture proves that KD was setting up the limits of where and how women can be positioned in the press and public.
- Motherhood and women's role as mothers are not ignored by any of the journals, but they all have differing priorities and explanations for it.
  - SF does not promote a clear directive message regarding motherhood. There is a visual acknowledgement of this responsibility because "taking care of children" is an observed activity set. But women are shown mostly

on their own or among other people as well. This suggests the journal does not intend to specifically emphasize the message that motherhood is sacred, and that it is the exclusive job of women. But it does not deny it altogether, either.

- KD highlighted the nationalistic responsibility of motherhood for women, rather than simply acknowledging it a reason to exist like HM did. While the journal promoted a more progressive lifestyle with employment opportunities, they did not overlook motherhood. They might have used this mother narrative to their benefit. They were reserved or diplomatic as to the limits of their ideals, both acknowledging the nature of the socio-political context and possibly making compromises to get support from the powerful men.
- KD's consistent promotion of women becoming a part of the labor out of home upon receiving training is at a feminist and idealistic position among other women's journals, like HM, whose agenda was receiving education simply to fulfill the sacred task of motherhood fairly.
- All journals promoted, or at least intensively featured European style of clothing, indicating the one of modernization's steppingstones would be women's appearance. This is also easy because changing clothes is more convenient than changing the mindset.
- Fashion images are used for SF and HM as tools for boosting viewing experience's pleasure. In HM's case, the textual message contradicts the images. We observe anti-consumerist authors criticizing Western fashion; however, the

journal continues to publish fashion images thus it can be concluded that the editors could not resist the commercial appeal of them.

- Femininity is a staple in clothing, when the women were pictured indoors or as seen on non-Muslim clothing. KD, showing more of the two-piece *çarşaf* and the tighter reformed version of it as worn by Muslim women outside, does not feature as much ornamentation as the figures present in the other two journals, making it more serious in tone and less of a tabloid-like nature.
- All journals acknowledged the power of the ads and welcomed them for commercial sustainability. SF's advertisers are found not to be specifically addressing women like the women's journals, attesting that Ahmet İhsan did not acknowledge women as a major audience group.
- The entrepreneurial collaboration of the advertisements of KD shows the women's capacity to run a business effectively.

In conclusion, in assessing the self-representation of women, KD proves as a unique cause of a press effort, driven by feminist, nationalist and progressive ideologies. The visual design contributed to the construction of a new identity for the women, supporting the idealistic message of the journal as to what women are capable of doing for the society. In other words, a new woman of a new mind, appearance and social presence aimed to be visually constructed. They were aware of the limits of the social discourse in expressing demands and therefore were not ignoring the traditions altogether, but their stance is different from the previous generations' publications. HM refrained from questioning the women's social prospects and SF aimed to appeal to the masses with the imagery and considered women's image a tool among others to communicate a new modern life. KD, on the other hand, aimed to bring real women to the forefront by

identifying them and promoting their professional achievements which was supported by the images consistently. Imagery supported the textual message regarding not only social roles but also appearance. All of this renders the journal's purposeful visuality a significant tool and contribution in the contemporary press and in the path to restructure women's rights in the society and representation in the media.

## 5.2 Limitations and Further Research

This study aimed to provide a look into the visuality of the selected journals. Instead of limiting the time frame or sampling the images or issues, the idea was to offer a totally comprehensive account of all visuals featuring a woman so that the general comparisons could be made without missing out on exceptions or contradictions. Due to this ambitious reason, the number of images across 30 years has inevitably led us to limit the textual investigation to the image captions, article titles and to an occasional read into some texts. In other words, there was not an availability, nor it was considered to fall within the scope of this study to directly read the entire journals.

If achieved; however, this would help clear out potential confusions or differences in the interpretation made through visual analysis. However, as this cannot be done within a single study still, future research can focus on each journal individually, or on shorter time periods or on certain categories of images, like advertisements, fashion images or photography. The case studies of these kinds would yield deeper understanding of each, would help transliterate the texts in the Ottoman script, and would inspire even further research with new findings emerging from the data.

Moreover, comparisons with contemporary foreign publications could confirm the conclusions made regarding the European context and the Ottoman context. Although *Kadınlar Dünyası* has not been found to directly mimic the mainstream *Servet-i Fünûn*,

a look into whether it is similar to women-run European publications could be informative. Considering the authors of the journal to be in a network with European writers and travelers, this would be an interesting addition to the publication network studies.

Finally, although some studies were done comparing the Ottoman period journals and the Republican period publications, a women's journals focus could be added to the understanding of the press efforts of the period by extending the analysis into the realm of visibility. As mentioned at the introduction part of this thesis, most studies focus on the content and the historical background; and the inadequacy of the visual analyses leads to a limitation in the depth of knowledge on women's visibility.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A. CURRICULUM VITAE

**Name-Surname:** Saadet Tıkaç

### **Education:**

BA: Boğaziçi University, English Language Teaching, 2009

MA: Boğaziçi University, English Language Teaching, 2013

### **Work Experience:**

Teacher Trainee: Robert College, 2008-2009

Research Assistant: Boğaziçi University, Faculty of Education, 2010-2012

Instructor: Beykent University, School of Languages, 2012-2013

Instructor: Özyeğin University, School of Languages, 2013- Ongoing

### **Awards and Scholarships:**

Faculty Secretariat Special Award: Boğaziçi University, 2009

Rectorate Excellence Award in Teaching: Özyeğin University, 2019

### **Scientific Publications:**

İlhan, I. O. & Tıkaç, S. (in press). Mapping food tracking practices for a broader user base: learning from non-trackers across age groups. *Journal of Design Research*. 10.1504/JDR.2024.10065885

Tıkaç, S., & Özkal, Ö. (2023). The Visual Representation of Women in Servet-i Fünun. *Marmara Üniversitesi Kadın ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 7(2), 65-93.

Tıkaç, S. (2015). Nitel veri analiz programlarının veri analizinde kullanımı: Nvivo'ya bir bakış. In F. N. Seggie and Y. Bayyurt (Eds.). *Nitel araştırma, yöntem, teknik, analiz ve yaklaşımları*, (pp. 260-371). Anı.

### **Scientific Presentations:**

- Tıkaç, S. (November 24-25). Daha kapsayıcı çözümlerin tasarımı için gıda alımının izlenmesiyle ilgili kullanıcı olmayanların deneyimlerinden öğrenme. STS Türkiye 2022 Konferansı. İstanbul, Türkiye.
- Tıkaç, S. (2020, August 18-21). Social Construction of mobile phones in the classroom: An STS case study on the relationship between the use of mobile phones and English language development of ab-initio pilots. 4S-EASST Conference 2020. Prague, Czechia, Virtual event.
- Tıkaç, S. & Bayyurt, Y. (2011, July 11-13). *The role of gender in author positioning in academic writing*. The 6th International Symposium on Linguistic Politeness: Corpus. Ankara, Türkiye.
- Bayyurt, Y., Erçetin, G., Başoğlu, N. & Tıkaç, S. (2010, July 26-28). *An overview of European Commission Leonardo da Vinci (LdV) Programme Transfer of Innovation Project: MLARG -Mobile Learning for the Young People at Risk Groups*. The Canada International Conference on Education, Toronto, Canada.
- Tıkaç, S. (2010, May 14-16). *The use of corrective feedback by native and non-native teachers: A comparative analysis*, 6th International ELT Research Conference, Çanakkale 18 Mart University. İzmir, Türkiye.
- Tıkaç, S., Bayyurt, Y., Erçetin, G. & Başoğlu, N. (2010, April 26-28). *A learning innovation: MLARG- Mobile learning for young people at risk groups*. IET-C 2010, İstanbul, Türkiye.
- Doyum, J. & Tıkaç, S. (2009, April 30-31). *Peer playwriting: Process and product*. ELT Conference Maltepe University. İstanbul, Türkiye.